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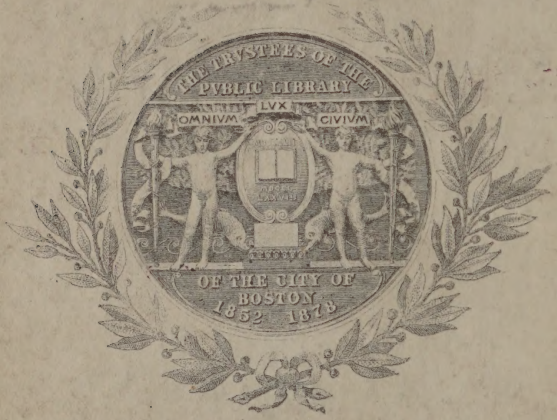
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# GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BY

VICTOR DURUY

FORMERLY MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY

*TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH*

2215.71

THOROUGHLY REVISED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND A SUMMARY OF CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY (1848–1898)

BY

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theless, for two reasons thorough revision has been necessary. At times M. Duruy dwells on events, connected with France, at greater length than is desirable for us. Furthermore, history, like science, is progressive and never standing still. Not rarely does she change her verdicts in consequence of later light. In her domain, however often travelled over, discoveries are constant. Therefore I have abridged, enlarged or modified as I deemed best. Some few chapters I have entirely recast, among them that on "The Three Eastern Questions." But, except with a careful and a reverent hand, I have touched no word which the great master wrote.

The work of M. Duruy ends with the year 1848. The last quarter of the book — that devoted to "Contemporary History" and covering the last fifty years — is wholly my own. To write the story of to-day has been difficult. It has been none the less arduous because a delightful task. For aid in its treatment I have been indebted to many friends, and specially to Professor H. B. Adams, LL.D. of Johns Hopkins University. I have sought to continue the same system which, in the earlier portion of the volume, the French author follows so successfully and well. I have endeavored to avoid the mistakes consequent upon nearness, wherein the recent is prone to fill the sky, and have striven to observe just proportion between related facts. But the eye of a hundred years hence will mark and gauge the closing events of this century with clearer and wiser vision than can we.

EDWIN A. GROSVENOR.

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
*September* 7, 1898.

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THE WORLD
AS KNOWN TO THE ANCIENTS
of 70
Ferro
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INTRA IMAUM
EXTRA IMAUM
Issedon Serica
Hyrcanum Mare
Oxiana Palus
Jaxartes
Oxus
SOGDIANA
ASIA
SACAE
Thagora
Solana
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HYRCANIA
BACTRIANA
Paropamisus M.
PARTHIA
ARIANA
Taxila
Imaus
Bucephala
Serinda
Emodi M.
THINAE
Thina
Susa
Aria L.
Carmana
CARMANIA
PERSIS
Pura
GEDROSIA
Indus
Agara
INDIA
Sydrus
Ganges
Patala
Ozene
Palimbothra
Gange Regia
Sagida
Triglyphion
Calinga
Hippocura
Cocala
Pityndа
Maesalia
Harmagana
Saphar
Syagrus Pr.
Omantum
Corodamun Pr.
SERAPIDIS I.
ERYTHRAEUM MARE
DIOSCORIDIS I.
Aromata Pr.
Mangarud
Arcati
FORTUNAE I.
SINUS GANGETICUS
Sada
Sabara
Cattigara
Modura
Sindocanda
TAPROBANE OR SALICE I.
Dana
Palanda
Sabana
Perimulicus
Balonga
Zabe
Opone
Notu Keras
Parvum Littus
Magnum Littus
INDICUS OCEANUS
OCEANUS
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# ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST

## I

### THE BEGINNING

**The Earth.** — Every primitive religion has sought to explain God, the world, the creation of man, and the co-existence on earth of good and evil. Therefore all ancient peoples had or still preserve pious legends in harmony with their country and climate, their customs and social state; that is to say, with the conditions under which they lived, felt, thought, and believed. Of these early narratives the most simple and the grandest is Genesis, the sacred book of the Jews and Christians.

Science, in its turn, seeks to fathom those mysteries, although the origin of things must forever elude it. It indeed renounces the task of solving questions which faith alone must decide. Yet, by a magnificent effort of examination and comparison, it has succeeded in acquiring a mass of truths, the discovery of which would prove the greatness of man, were not his littleness demonstrated every moment by the infinity of time and space into which his gaze and thought plunge with an insatiable and too often powerless curiosity.

Our solar system, with all the stars which compose it, is only a speck in immensity. According to the hypothesis of Laplace, which nothing so far has disproved, those stars themselves originally formed but a single whole. It was one of those prodigious nebulæ, such as are still seen in the vastitude of the heavens, and are probably so many suns in process of formation. Our nebula became concentrated into a focus of heat and light, but as it followed its path through space, it now and again threw off masses of cosmic matter which formed the planets. The latter, as if demon-

strating their origin, still revolve in the orbit of the sun from which they emanated.

The globe which we inhabit is therefore a tiny fragment of the sun, which extinguished as it cooled and enveloped itself successively in a gaseous ocean, the atmosphere; then in a liquid ocean, the sea; and finally in a solid crust, the land, the highest points of which emerge above the waves.

Animal life awoke first in the bosom of the waters, where it was represented in most ancient times, thousands of centuries ago, by species intermediate between the vegetable and animal, and analogous to corals and sponges. Then came molluscs, crustacea, and the first fishes. At the same time the seaweeds had their birth in shallow waters. Meanwhile the air, saturated with carbonic acid and nitrogen, developed upon the half-submerged land a mighty vegetation, wherein predominated those tree-ferns and calamites whose remains we find in mines of anthracite and bituminous coal.

Thus in the animal and vegetable kingdoms the simplest organisms were produced. Time passed, many thousand centuries elapsed, but the work of creation went on. Ancient forms were changed or new forms were created. The organism became complicated; functions were multiplied; life took possession of the earth, the sea, and the air, blossoming in greater variety of forms, and richer and more powerful in its means of action. At last man appeared.

Thus, continual ascent toward a more perfect life seems to have been the law of the physical as it was, later on, of the intellectual world. During the geological period nature was modifying the organism, and hence the functions, and was developing instinct, that first gleam of intelligence. In the historical period, civilization modifies social order and develops human faculties. In the first case, progress is marked by change of form; in the second, by change of ideas.

**Man.** — At what epoch did man make his appearance upon the earth? Hardly more than half a century ago unlooked-for discoveries shattered all the old systems of chronology, and proved that man himself had part in the geological evolutions of our globe. Flints and bones shaped into axes, knives, needles, arrow heads, and spear heads; bones of huge animals cleft lengthwise, so that the marrow might

be extracted for nourishment; heaps of shells and débris of repasts; ashes, the evident remains of antediluvian hearths; even pictures traced on shoulder bones and slate rocks, representing animals now extinct or seen only in places very distant from those they then inhabited; finally, human remains found unquestionably in the deposits of the quaternary epoch, and traces of human industry, which seem to be detected even in the tertiary strata, — prove that man lived at a time when our continents had neither the fauna, the flora, the climate, nor the shape which they have to-day.

The most numerous discoveries have been made in France. But, on the slopes of Lebanon as in the caves of Périgord, in the valleys of the Himalayas as in those of the Pyrenees, on the banks of the Missouri as on those of the Somme, primitive man appears with the same arms, the same customs, the same savage and precarious life, which certain tribes of Africa, Australia, and the New World still preserve under our very eyes. The future king of creation was as yet only its most miserable product. Thus, science has moved back the birth of mankind toward an epoch when the measure of time is no longer furnished, as in our day, by a few generations of men, but where we must reckon by hundreds of centuries. This is the Stone Age. It is already possible for us to divide it into many periods, each showing progress over the one preceding. We begin with stones roughly fashioned into implements and weapons, and with caverns which serve for refuge; we reach stones artistically worked and polished, pottery shaped by hand and even ornamented, and lake cities or habitations raised on piles; at last we arrive at dolmens and menhirs, those so-called druidic monuments which were formerly recognized only in France and England, but which now are found almost everywhere. Thus the first man recedes and becomes lost in a vague and appalling antiquity.

Do all men descend from a single pair? Yes, if we determine the unity of the species from the sole consideration that intermarriage of any two varieties of the human race may result in offspring. Nevertheless, physiology and linguistic science set forth very wide differences between the various branches of the human family.

**Race and Language.** — Intermarriage and the influence of habitation, that is, of soil and climate, have produced many

varieties of race. These are generally grouped in three principal classes, the White, the Yellow, and the Black. To them may be added a number of intermediate shades arising from amalgamations that have taken place on the borders of the three dominant classes. If all spring from a common origin, they have none the less developed in distinct regions: the White, or Caucasian, on the table-land of Iran, whence it reached India, Western Asia, and all Europe; the Yellow, or Mongolian, in China, in Northern Asia, and the Malay peninsula; the Black in Africa and Australia. This race is regarded by certain authors as descending from an earlier creation of mankind. The aborigines of America appear to have Mongolian blood.

Languages are also classed in three great groups, the monosyllabic, the agglutinative, and the inflected. The first class possesses only roots, which are at once both nouns and verbs, and which the voice expresses by a single sound, but the meaning of which varies according to position in the sentence and the relation they sustain to other words. In the second class the root does not change, but is built upon by the juxtaposition of particles that are easily recognized and answer all grammatical demands. In the third class the root undergoes modifications of form, sound, accent, and meaning. In this way the noun is made to express gender, number, and relation; and the verb, tense, and mode. Hence the inflected languages are the most perfect medium for the expression and development of ideas.

All the languages spoken on the globe, whether in former times or to-day, represent one of these phases. The white race, being the most developed, employs the third. The Turanian idioms (Tartar, Turkish, Finnish), those of the African tribes, and of the American Indians, belong to the second. The ancient Chinese stopped at the first phase. Their descendants advance slowly toward the second, retaining for their written language some fifty thousand ideographic characters, each of which was, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, originally the image of an object or the conventional representation of an idea.

**The Black and Yellow Races.** — History preserves no narrative of the Black Race, whose existence, passed in the depths of Africa, has resembled rivers, the sources of which are unknown and the waters of which are lost in the

desert. We know little more about the American Indians or the islanders of Oceanica. Our science is small as yet, for it is young. In our own time it has created paleontology or the history of the earth, and comparative philology or the history of languages, races, and primitive ideas. Thus it has lifted one corner of the veil that conceals the creation of nature and the beginning of civilization. Hence, of the black and red races, the ancient masters of Africa, Oceanica, and the New World, there is nothing to inscribe in the book of history save their names.

The Yellow Race, on the contrary, boasts the most ancient annals of the world, an original civilization, and empires which still exist. The Chinese and the Mongols are its best-known representatives. Attached to it are all the peoples of Indo-China and several among the most primitive populations of Hindustan. So, too, are the Thibetan, Turkish, and Tartar tribes, whose fixed or nomadic habitations extend from the west of China as far as the Caspian Sea; also the Huns, so terrible to Europe in the fifth century of our era, and probably the Hungarians or Magyars.

**The White Race: The Aryans and Semites.** — The White Race, which has accomplished almost alone the work of civilization, is divided into two principal families: the Semites, in the southwest of Asia and Northern Africa; the Aryans or Indo-Europeans, in the rest of Western Asia and Europe. They appear to have had their cradle in the lands northwest of the Indus toward ancient Bactria, now the khanate of Balkh, in Turkestan. Thence powerful colonies set out which planted themselves at intervals from the banks of the Ganges to the uttermost parts of the West. The kinship of the Hindus, Medes, and Persians in the East; of the Pelasgi and Hellenes in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; of the Celts, Germans, and Slavs north of the Black Sea, the Balkans, and the Alps, has been proved by their idioms, by grammatical analogies, and by word-roots. Thus Greek and Latin are sister tongues, closely allied to Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Indian Brahmans. Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic languages or dialects show likewise that they are vigorous offshoots of this great stock.

Before their separation these tribes had already domesticated the sheep, goat, pig, and goose, and had subdued the ox and horse to the yoke. They had begun to till the earth, to work certain metals, and to construct fixed dwellings.

Marriage among them was a religious act. The family was the foundation of all public order. Associated families formed the tribe; many tribes constituted the people, whose chief was the supreme judge during peace, and led the warriors in battle. They had the vague consciousness of a First Cause, "of a God raised above other gods." But this doctrine, too exalted for people in their infancy, was obscured and concealed by the deification of natural forces.

As for the Semites, established between the Tigris, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, they had, as far back as we can penetrate, one single system of languages, which leads us to attribute to them a single origin. Moreover, the Bible makes the Arabs, as well as the Jews, descend from Abraham. The Syrians and Phœnicians were of the same blood. Semitic colonies peopled Northern Africa as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. It was in the midst of this race, born in the desert where nature is simple and changeless, that in all its purity and splendor the dogma of one only God was to be preserved.

Thus two great currents of white populations were formed, which, starting from the centre of Asia, flowed from east to west, over the western region of that continent, the north of Africa, and the whole of Europe.

**Earliest Centres of Civilization.** — These men of the ancient ages, the first-born of the world, continued for a long time savage and miserable before they constituted regular societies. When, at last, they had found localities endowed with natural fertility, where the search for means of existence did not absorb all the forces of the body and mind, association assumed regular forms. The elementary arts were invented, the first compacts made, and the great work of civilization was begun, which man will never complete, but which he will always carry farther.

If we study the physical configuration of Asia, we shall readily understand why in that continent there were three centres of primitive civilization: China, India, and Ass ... Like waters which, held back for a time in elevated regions, flow toward lower levels and there form great streams, so men descend into the plain sheltered by mountains and rendered fertile by rivers. Such great natural basins, cradles, as it were, of flowers and fruits, prepared by the hand of God for infant races, were the valley of the Ganges, which the Himalayas surround with an impassable rampart, the

plain of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which the mountains of Media, Ararat, Taurus, and Lebanon encompass, and the fertile regions of the Kiang or Blue River and of the Hoang-Ho or Yellow River, bounded on the west by the Yung-Ling and In-Chan mountains. Egypt offers another example of such civilization blossoming out upon the banks of a great stream in a fertile land.

**Primitive Books.** — If from these general facts which history has recovered we wish to pass to more precise details, we must scrutinize the books which go far back in the series of the centuries, and which narrate, without hesitation, the creation of heaven and earth, and of man and animals, the formation of the oldest societies, and the invention of the first arts. But the examination and comparison of cosmogonies, of religions, and primitive legends, make us recognize everywhere the creative power of popular imagination in the youth of the world. We see man in the state of childhood, with the rashness of ignorance, applying his curiosity to nature in its entirety. As the laws of the physical world were then hidden from him, we see him trying to understand everything by conjecture. We see him, still like the child in his effort to explain all, transforming into living persons the effects derived from the First Cause, while the Supreme Legislator remains hidden behind the multiplicity of phenomena resulting from his laws. Even in these venerable books, the exhaustive study of languages, following the order of their historical development, has enabled us to discern the interpolations of various later epochs. Therefore it has been necessary, sometimes, to separate what has been brought together, to bring together what has been separated, and to give a new meaning to expressions, images, and ideas that had been wrongly understood. All the sacred books of ancient peoples have been subjected to these sure processes of modern science. This mighty work of philological research, dating almost from our own day, has already shed upon the relation of peoples and the formation of their beliefs a light which, though vacillating on many points, the preceding centuries could not even suspect.

## II

### CHINA AND THE MONGOLS

**Great Antiquity of Chinese Civilization.** — To all ancient peoples their antiquity is a title of honor. Thus the Chinese inhabitants of the Celestial Empire, or, as they still call it, the Middle Kingdom, claim for themselves eighty or a hundred thousand years of existence prior to their half-authentic history. Even that goes back to the thirty-fifth century before Christ, and about ten centuries later becomes sufficiently positive to present connected annals.

We know not when or how that strange society was formed, which for at least four thousand years has retained the same character. Its practical mind was wholly occupied with the earth, which it conquered by agriculture and by industry, and but little concerned with heaven, which it left empty and deserted. On one side of the Himalayas, man, cradled with half-closed eyes on the bosom of an over-fertile nature, was intoxicated by the enervating breath of the mighty magician, and dreamed of countless benevolent or terrible divinities, who enjoined upon him contempt for life, and annihilation in Brahma. But on the other side of the mountains, a laborious, patient, active race drew from life all that it could give, and replaced the formidable systems of the Hindu gods by a merely human system of morality. The Emperor Chun, who reigned in the twenty-third century before our era, had already established for his people the five immutable rules, or the five duties of a father and his children, of a king and his subjects, of the aged and the young, of married persons, and of friends. At that time the empire was divided into provinces, departments, districts, and cities, with a great number of tributary peoples and vassal princes, who often revolted.

**Imperial Dynasties and Chinese Feudalism.** — Until about the year 2200, the emperors were elected. Beginning with that period heredity was established, but with the corrective that the grandees could still select the most capable from

among the sons of the dead sovereign as his successor. The Emperor Yu began the Hia dynasty, which lasted four centuries, and ended as an abominable tyranny with frightful disorders. The founder of the second or Chang dynasty was a superior man, whose virtues were celebrated by Confucius. To appease the wrath of heaven during a famine, he made a public confession of his faults; and afterwards, whenever a great calamity occurred, his successors followed his example. They and their people believed that heaven would certainly be moved by this voluntary expiation, and there was both grandeur and lofty morality in this belief.

The last of the Chang resembled the last of the Hia. When one of his ministers remonstrated with him, he replied: "Thy discourse is that of a wise man. But it is said that the heart of a wise man is pierced with seven holes. I wish to make sure of it," and he ordered him to be disembowelled. Wou Wang, prince of Tchu, revolted against the tyrant, who was vanquished, and died like Sardanapalus. He heaped together all his wealth in a palace, set fire, and flung himself into the flames (1122). Wou Wang reorganized the ancient Tribunal of History, whose members held office for life that they might be independent. The political wisdom of the Chinese was chiefly founded on respect for their ancestors and for the examples which these had left. Under this dynasty the feudal kingdoms increased to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, and China had a real feudal system, which favored its civilization. To this epoch must be referred the construction of an observatory, which still exists, as well as the sun-dial set up by the successor of Wou Wang. The Chinese were already acquainted with the compass and with the properties of a right-angled triangle.

**The Great Wall and the Burning of the Books. Immense Extent of the Empire at the Beginning of our Era.** — Nevertheless, Chinese feudalism ended, like our own, by producing a vast anarchy. The emperor was without power. One of his tributaries asserted his prerogative of offering the sacrifice to Heaven, and confined the last Tchu in a palace. A new dynasty, that of the Tsin, overthrew all the feudal lords, and restored the great empire, which took its name. Its most illustrious chief, Tsin-Chi-Hoang-Ti, accomplished this revolution (247 B.C.). He opened roads, tunnelled mountains, and, in order to stop the incursions of

the nomad Tartars, constructed the Great Wall, twenty-five kilometres long; but he has a deplorable celebrity for having burned books and persecuted men of letters. That everything might date from his reign, he wished to efface the past. Fortunately he could not destroy all the books or kill all the learned men. Chinese society was disturbed for the moment by this violent reformer, but soon returned to its traditional life. The Tsin dynasty did not last long. It was replaced by that of the Han, who ruled from 202 B.C. to 226 A.D. Under them the literati regained their influence, and China attained the apogee of her power. Her armies penetrated even to the Caspian Sea, almost within sight of the frontier of the Roman Empire; and on the shores of the Eastern Sea kings and peoples obeyed her.

**Invasion of the Mongols in the Thirteenth Century.** — But the two empires which shared between them the greater part of the then known world, secretly undermined by the vices fostered by too great success, tottered and fell under the repeated shocks of invasion. From the steppes, extending from the Great Wall to the Caspian Sea, hordes set out at different periods and hurled themselves, right and left, upon the two societies where civilization had accumulated the wealth which these barbarians coveted. The result, for China, was its first dismemberment in two kingdoms, separated by the Blue River; and in both many obscure dynasties followed one another. The two were reunited in 618, but the new empire did not possess sufficient strength to resist the continual incursions of the Mongols.

These nomads inhabited the same places whence, in the fourth century, had begun the invasion of the Huns which resulted in hurling barbarian Europe upon Roman Europe. They were always easily set in motion. Horses, herds, houses, all moved, or were readily carried, for the houses were only chariots or cabins placed on wheels and drawn by oxen. Such was the itinerant dwelling of the Tartar. He himself lived on horseback, remaining there, in case of need, day and night, awake or asleep. Meat packed between his saddle and the back of his horse, and milk curdled and dried, furnished his food. He feared neither fatigue nor privations, yielded to his chief a passive obedience, but was proud of his race and ambitious for his horde.

Temudjin, the chieftain of one of these Mongolian hordes, united them all under his authority, in 1203. He took the

name of Genghis Khan, or chief of chiefs, and promised this irresistible cavalry, ferocious and cunning as few people ever were, to lead them to the conquest of the world. He began by overwhelming the Tartars, his former masters, wrested from them northern China, which they had conquered, and, leaving to his successors the task of subjugating the provinces to the south of the Blue River and Corea, threw his armies upon Western Asia and Europe, where they marked their road across Persia, Russia, and Poland by bloody ruins. The hardy horsemen who had bathed their horses in the Eastern Ocean made them drink the waters of the Oder and the Morava at the foot of the Bohemian Mountains. Never had the sun shone upon such a wide dominion. It was necessarily brittle, yet the Russians were forced to endure it for two centuries, and were released from the Mongol yoke only by Ivan III., at the beginning of modern times.

At the death of Genghis Khan (1227) his empire was divided into four states,— China, Turkestan, Persia, and Kaptchak, or southern Russia. His grandson, Kublai, who reigned over all China, Thibet, Pegu, and Cochin China, bore the title of grand khan, to which was attached an idea of superiority, so that, from Pekin to the banks of the Dnieper, everything seemed to obey him. But this suzerainty was not exercised long. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the separation between the four kingdoms was complete.

**First Europeans in China.** — Kublai Khan, founder of the Yen dynasty (1279), adopted the customs of his new subjects, respected their traditions, encouraged letters and agriculture, but embraced Buddhism, a religion originating in India, and now claiming in China two hundred million adherents, or half the population. A Venetian, Marco Polo, lived seventeen years at his court, and we still possess the interesting account of his travels. A national revolution in 1368 expelled the foreigners, when the Chinese Ming dynasty replaced that of the Mongols. This family occupied the throne until 1644, or till long after the arrival of the first European colonists in China, since the Portuguese establishment at Macao dates from the year 1514.

**New Mongol Empire in Central Asia and India.** — During this period are determined the destiny of the Ottoman Turks, a people originally from Turkestan, and hence re-

lated to the Mongols, and the career of Timur, surnamed Lenk, or the Lame, a descendant of Genghis Khan. The Turks took Constantinople in 1453. Timur, best known as Tamerlane, for the second time united the nomad Mongol hordes. Between 1370 and 1405 this terrible rival of Attila conquered Turkestan, Persia, India, and Asia Minor, defeated in the Kaptchak the Mongols of the Golden horde, though he did not destroy their kingdom, and at the famous battle of Angora vanquished the Turks, whose sultan he took prisoner. Gazing from one end of Asia to the other, Tamerlane saw no empire still standing except that of China. He was marching his innumerable hordes against it, when death at last arrested the tireless old man who lives in history as the most terrible incarnation of the malignant spirit of conquest. His empire was divided, and disappeared with the exception of a magnificent fragment, the Empire of the Great Mogul, which arose in the peninsula of the Ganges, and which fell only at the close of the last century under the blows of the English.

**China in Modern Times.** — In China the indigenous Ming dynasty reigned with honor, but, content with prosperity and peace, neglected the customs and institutions of war. Thus the Celestial Empire was once more invaded in 1644 by western nomads, the Mantchu Tartars. The Tsin dynasty, which they founded, still reigns at Pekin. Yet such was the resistant and absorbent force of this great Chinese society that, far from yielding to foreign influences, it has always conquered its conquerors. The Mantchu emperors made no change in its customs, and restored its fortune by giving it the boundaries which it possesses to-day. It was these princes who in 1840 waged with the English the opium war, which ended by the opening of five ports to foreign commerce, and who carried on with the English and French the war of 1860, which resulted in the victory of Palikao and the capture of Pekin.

So the yellow race has made a great noise in the world. Through the Huns, it brought about the fall of the Roman Empire; through the Mongols of Genghis Khan, it raised, in the thirteenth century, the vastest dominion of the universe; through those of Tamerlane, it overthrew and crushed the population of twenty kingdoms; through the Turks, it held Christianity in check for centuries; through the Chinese, it has constituted a great society which, for fifty cen-

turies and with unbroken continuity, has caused a large portion of the human race to enjoy the benefits of civilized life.

**Confucius and Chinese Society.** — One man contributed, if not to establish, at least to maintain, the character which the Chinese constitution still preserves. This was Kung-fu-tsze, or Confucius. His books, serving as a gospel in the Middle Kingdom, must be learned by those who undergo the examinations required for obtaining literary rank and for admission to public functions. Confucius was not a legislator; he never had authority to publish laws, but he taught wisdom. "There is nothing so simple," he says, "as the moral code practised by our wise men of old; it is summed up in the observance of the three fundamental laws which regulate the relations between the sovereign and his subjects, between father and children, and between husband and wife, and in the exercise of the five capital virtues. These are: humanity or universal charity toward all members of our own species without distinction; justice, which gives his due to each individual without partiality; conformity to prescribed rites and established usages, so that those who make up society may live alike and share the same advantages as well as the same disadvantages; uprightness, or that rectitude of mind and heart which causes one to seek the truth in everything, without deception of self or of others; sincerity and good faith, or that frankness mingled with confidence, which excludes all pretence and disguise in conduct as well as in speech. These things are what have rendered our first teachers worthy of respect, and have immortalized their names after death. Let us take them for our models; let us make every effort to imitate them."

Elsewhere he sets forth the principles of religion and worship. "Heaven," he says, "is the universal principle, the fruitful source whence all things have flowed. Ancestors who emerged therefrom have themselves been the source of succeeding generations. To give to Heaven proofs of one's gratitude is the first duty of man; to show himself grateful toward his ancestors is the second. For this reason Fou Hi established ceremonies in honor of Heaven and of ancestors." Thus religion and government rest upon filial piety. Heaven is honored as the author of beings, and the emperor, the son of Heaven, is the father of his nation.

Thanks to the strength of this sentiment, China has been enabled to pass through the numerous revolutions which the succession of its twenty-two native or foreign dynasties have brought upon it, while no essential change has been wrought in the internal system of government, under which the welfare of 400,000,000 men has been developed. Thus the Chinese have the right to say to us: "We envy you nothing; we enjoy all the useful arts; we cultivate wheat, vegetables, fruits. In addition to cotton, silk, and hemp, a great number of roots and barks furnish us with tissues and stuffs. Like you we understand mining, carpentry, joinery, the manufacture of pottery, porcelain, and paper. We excel as dyers, stone-cutters, and wheelwrights. Our roads and canals furrow the whole empire. Suspension bridges, as daring and lighter than yours, span our rivers or unite the summits of mountains." They might add, "We have a literature which goes back more than four thousand years, and a moral code as good as many another. Our sciences need no aid from those of Europe to compete with some of yours. Earlier than you we were acquainted with the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing, those great discoveries of which you make such boast. Now, if we have reached this point without foreign assistance, it is because, fixing our eyes on the past, we have not made over our institutions with every generation. Despite the changes of individuals on the throne of Pekin, and modifications of our frontiers, we have, through the confusion of conquests and invasions, preserved our social order and respected the state, because we respect the family."

In that country there are neither nobility to guide and govern the people, nor slaves to corrupt it. The emperor, in homage to labor, himself at certain seasons opens the furrow with a plough. Intellect has forced a recognition of its rights, since office is bestowed with regard to neither birth nor fortune, but on account only of learning. Nevertheless, there we see the vice and misery to which immense agglomerations of men or long-continued prosperity gives rise. Falsehood works its way into the institutions, which it distorts. Since, so to speak, this people has neither religion, nor philosophy, nor art, and is ignorant of an ideal, it has remained on that midway mental level whence the fall to a still lower plane is easy. Absorbed by its needs and pleasures, it has not undergone those painful birth-

throes of ideas, on account of which other nations have suffered so much, but have gained thereby an imperishable name. China has given nothing to the world; to the world she has been as though she existed not.

Thus they have an airy architecture but no monuments. Their brick and wooden houses suggest the primitive tent. Their palaces are only piles of buildings constructed upon the tent type, sometimes not devoid of grace, but always devoid of grandeur. In painting and sculpture they imitate what they see, but they see the ugly and grotesque rather than the beautiful and true. Their imagination takes pleasure in strange forms, instead of idealizing natural forms. Their landscapes are without perspective and their paintings without moral life. Everywhere are vulgar scenes which represent neither a sentiment nor an idea, but only reveal the sensual appetites of this listless and yet active race.

## III

### INDIA

**Contrast between India and China.** — China and India adjoin each other. Nevertheless, between them intervenes more than the bulk of the Himalayas, "the Palace of Snow," as the Hindus call it. The two races are absolutely separate by natural character and disposition. On the one side a harsh, positive spirit, without horizon, has settled and prescribed the rules of a moral code; on the other are a disordered imagination, a faith ardent but without works, a useless asceticism which kills the flesh, and unbridled passions which satiate it; in short, man lost in the bosom of nature, and aspiring only to lose himself in the bosom of divinity. On both sides, a regular, changeless machine is the idea of government. With the former, this machine is set in motion by the learned, who devote all their attention to the life of the body; with the latter, it is set in motion by the priests, who issue their commands in the name of the gods. In the former case, any one can attain anything; in the latter, no one has the right or power to leave the caste in which he was born.

**Primitive Populations: the Aryans. The Vedas.** — India, which consists of the two great valleys of the Indus and the Ganges, Hindustan, and of a peninsula, the Deccan, was first peopled by a black race, of which the Gonds are the last remnants; then by the Turanian tribes, such as the Tamils and Telingas, a distant branch of the Mongolian race; and lastly by men with brown and reddish skin, who appear to have been the base of population along the shores of the Indian Ocean, and with whom Herodotus was acquainted in Gedrosia, under the name of Ethiopians. It was the Aryans, however, who gave India its place in history. These Aryans formed part of a large group of white people permanently established in the valleys of the Hindu-koosh, the Indian Caucasus, possessing the same degree of civilization with similar languages, habits, and beliefs. When

long centuries had crowded into this narrow place a too numerous population, had accentuated tribal differences, and aroused political and religious quarrels, then from this table-land, in four directions and at different epochs, streams of men poured forth who inundated half of Asia, India, and the whole of Europe. The Celts, Pelasgi, Iaones, or Ionians, flowed toward Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Gaul; the Iranians toward Media and Persia; the Germans and Slavs, from the Ural Mountains to the Rhine; as for the Aryans, they turned to the southeast and crossed the Indus. They subjected the region of the Five Rivers, or Punjaub, after a prolonged struggle, the memory of which has been preserved in the Vedas, the first of their sacred books and among the most ancient monuments of our race.

Fifteen centuries, perhaps, before Christ, the Aryans of the Punjaub conquered the fertile valley which the Ganges overflows with periodical inundations like the Nile, and advanced as far as its mouths, which mingle with those of the Brahmapootra, a river equally mighty, whose source is found upon the northern slope of the Palâce of Snow. Checked on the east by the mountains and the mass of Mongolian nations of Indo-China, the Aryans fell to fighting among themselves. The Mahabharata, the great Indian epic, still tells in 250,000 verses the story of the terrible war between the Kurus and the Pandavas, which ended only on the appearance of the hero Krishna, the incarnation of the god Vishnu.

Delhi is the theatre of the principal events in the Mahabharata, whose heroes do not quit the valley of the Ganges. This Indian Iliad presents singular affinities with the Greek Iliad, in certain parts surpasses the latter in beauty, and is, like it, the work of centuries. Together with the Vedas it throws light upon the origin of many beliefs and symbols spread among the ancient populations of Greece, Italy, and Northern Europe. The Ramatana, another epic poem, relates to the conquest by the Aryans of the peninsula of Hindustan and of the great island of Ceylon, whither Rama, "of the divine bow," carried the Vedic religion. This time a single author, Valmik, narrates in 48,000 verses the exploits of the hero. The brilliancy and grandeur of his pictures and the touching grace of his poetry place him by the side of Virgil and Homer.

**History of India.** — Unfortunately, this poetic and relig-

ious race possesses no other history than that of its gods. The conquest by Darius of the countries on the right of the Indus gave Herodotus no information concerning the India of the Ganges. On the left bank Alexander found the two Porus and many kings and independent peoples. He wished to go to Patna, the capital of the great Prasian Empire, at the junction of the Jamna and the Ganges. A revolt among his soldiers stopped him on the banks of the Hyphases. An Indian of humble origin, named Tchandragoupta, expelled the governors whom the Macedonian hero left in the Punjaub. He overthrew the empire of the Prasians, and received the ambassadors of Seleucus Nicator. The Greek kings of Bactriana held a part of the valley of the Indus, where we still find their medals. Later on, regular commercial relations were established between Egypt and the Indian peninsula, where Roman merchants founded counting-houses. Every year they carried thither more than four million dollars in cash to purchase silks, pearls, perfumes, ivory, and spices. Thus, at the expense of the rest of the world, began that flow of precious metals to India whereby such enormous wealth has been accumulated in the hands of its princes.

Such treasures tempted the Mussulmans of Persia. Early in the eleventh century, a Turkish chieftain, Mahmoud the Gaznevid, carried into the midst of those inoffensive populations his iconoclastic rage, his cupidity, and his religion. The latter was adopted by a large number of the Hindus. The Turks were followed by the Mongols, whose chief reigned at Delhi until the last century under the name of Great Mogul. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the arrival, in 1498, of Vasco da Gama at Calicut, placed India for the first time in direct relations with Europe. After the merchants of Lisbon came those of Amsterdam, France, and England. The English ended by seizing everything, and now reign from the Himalayas to Ceylon over 200,000,000 subjects.

**The Castes: Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Sudras.** — Thus, nearly ten centuries ago, this intelligent and gentle race lost its independence, but it preserved its social organization, religion, and literature. The great god Brahma, say the sacred books, divided the people into four castes: the Brahmans, or priests, who sprang from his head; the Kshatriyas, or warriors, who came from his arms; the Vai-

syas, or laborers and merchants, who issued from his belly and thighs; and the Sudras, or artisans, who came from his feet. The first three, or "the regenerated," who represent the Aryan conquerors, are the ruling castes. Marriage is prohibited between them and the lowest caste, which also includes the descendants of the aborigines, or the vanquished first inhabitants. The children born of forbidden unions, and all violators of religious laws are the parias or impure. They cannot inhabit the cities, bathe in the Ganges, or read the Vedas. To touch them occasions defilement. The Brahmans alone had the right to read and expound the Holy Scriptures or the revealed book. As all science and all wisdom were contained therein, they were both priests, physicians, judges, and poets. Interpreters of the will of heaven, they reigned by virtue of religious terror. Thus they were able to surround the rajahs or kings, chosen from the warrior caste, with the thousand prescriptions of a ceremonial which the laws of Manu have preserved for us.

Not without terrible struggles did the Kshatriyas submit to this sacerdotal supremacy. Legends have preserved the memory of their resistance. The final triumph of the priests does not appear to have been complete until after the ninth century before Christ. India then received the organization, which in its principal features it still retains, and which we find in the book of the laws of Manu. The last compilation of these laws, certainly prior to the Buddhist reform in the sixth century before Christ, carries back this religious, political, and civil code to a far distant antiquity.

**Political Organizations and Religion.** — The laws of Manu remind one of the Pentateuch of Moses. They undertake to set forth as by divine revelation the origin of the world; the institution of priests; certain precepts for the individual, the family, and the town; the duties of the prince and of the castes; the civil and military organization, and penal and religious laws. Everything is summed up in two rules: for society, the subordination of castes; for the individual, physical and moral purity. The Vedic gods are preserved therein, but are subordinated to Brahmi, the being absolute and eternal, impersonal and sexless, whence, nevertheless, emanates Brahma, the active principle of the universe, which in turn produces Paramatma, the soul of

the world. He, uniting with Manas, or the intellectual principle, gives origin to all beings, who deviate less from Brahma, their supreme source, in proportion as they possess more wisdom.

Thus heaven and earth, with all the powers and beings therein, are the product of a series of successive emanations. In this immense chain, each being has the rank which his intellectual or moral value has assigned him. Thus, below the absolute Being appears the Indian Trimurti: Brahma, who creates the worlds; Vishnu, who regulates them; and Siva, who destroys in order to regenerate them; then the Devas or gods, symbolical representations of the forces of nature; then man; still lower, the inferior creatures, real or imaginary, such as the Nagas and the Raxasas, with changing forms. By means of learning and of the rigorous observance of religious practices, especially by austerities which subdue the flesh, and ecstasy which annihilates personality and empties the individual soul into the soul of the world, man may equal the gods, command nature, and deserve at death annihilation in the bosom of Brahma. They whose asceticism and piety have not sufficed to secure such supernatural power and such annihilation in God are recompensed for their vulgar merits, after Yama, the god of death, has touched them, by entrance into the Svarga, and into the seven and twenty places of delight. The guilty are hurled into Naraka, which is divided into twenty-one parts, according to the diversity of tortures undergone there.

But the effect of good, as of bad works, is worn out by time. Heaven and hell cast back into life the souls which they have received. These souls reënter existence in different conditions, which are always determined, nevertheless, by the law of rise and descent in the scale of being according to their merit and demerit. This is metempsychosis, a doctrine which subjected to successive transmigrations all organized nature from the plant up to man. At the time fixed for the completion of a cycle everything was engulfed in Brahma, but speedily another creation emerged from him, and a new cycle began. The soul of the righteous alone was exempt from these painful rebirths, since his perfections had won for him the privilege of absorption into the eternal essence. This was the reward awaited by the priests who had traversed a series of previous existences in such a

manner as to deserve a final rebirth in the superior caste, whence they were to pass into the bosom of Brahma.

This original conception of the transmigration of the soul, at once profound and simple, forced a vast system of expiation and reward, wherein evil and misery were explained by sin, and good fortune and power by virtue. Unfortunately this doctrine rendered legitimate a hierarchy of beings. It ratified the unalterable distinction of castes, and the contempt of the high for the low. It confirmed the constitution of a theocracy which, the better to defend its power, made purity consist, not in real virtue, but in the observance of innumerable rites, the performance of which the priest superintended and regulated.

**Buddhism.** — This theocracy, the most powerful which the world has ever known, was shaken in the sixth century before our era by the preaching of Gautama, surnamed Buddha, or the Wise. His father was the rajah of a country near Nepaul. He was born in a royal palace, but at the age of twenty-nine abandoned his family, wealth, and rank to seek truth in the desert. Seven years later he returned from his wanderings. To mixed crowds, regardless of individual position or origin, he began to preach, but only by parables. He moved his hearers profoundly. This popular teaching was in itself a revolt against the Brahmans, who forbade teaching of doctrines to the Sudras. Although it was presented only as a reformation, the new doctrine went much farther. Gautama was destroying Brahmanism by substituting the equality of all men before the moral law for the principle of caste, and by substituting virtues which consist in the practice of the good, for the spurious virtues exacted by a ritual. The promises of salvation, of union with the divine essence, made to the Brahman alone, he replaced by the recognized capacity of all men by their merits to win Nirvana, or deliverance. In short, he broke up priestly heredity by calling to the priesthood the poor and the beggars who devoted themselves to a religious life.

Buddha established for men six perfections: knowledge, which must, above all, apply itself to distinguishing between the true and the false; energy, which makes us war against our chief enemies, the pleasures of sense; purity, which demonstrates victory; patience in enduring imaginary ills; charity, the bond of society; alms, the necessary consequence of charity. "I am come," he said, "to give to the

ignorant wisdom, and wisdom is knowledge, virtue, alms. The perfect man is nothing unless he comforts the afflicted and succors the miserable. My doctrine is a doctrine of pity. The prosperous find it difficult, and pride themselves on their birth; but the way of salvation is open to all those who annihilate their passions as an elephant overturns a hut of reeds."

These words, this so pure moral code, were astounding novelties. "This law of grace," opposed to a law of terror, made rapid progress among the lower castes, and even among the Kshatriyas, who had to endure the haughty domination of the Brahmans. Thus, despite the hatred of the priests against the reformer, Gautama was able to continue his apostolic work in peace until the age of eighty, without ever appealing to force, because he respected established order, and taught that men should render to princes that which was their due. When he died, his disciples collected his discourses, and convoked the first Buddhist council. Five hundred monks were present. After seven months of discussion they formulated their religious ceremonies and doctrine, which were stated with precision in a second council held in the fifth century, and in a third council about one hundred and fifty years before Christ.

The ritual is extremely simple. The temple contains the image of Gautama, who is honored and respected as the wisest of men, but who receives no adoration. There are no sacrifices or superstitious practices; at least there were none at the time when Buddhism had not yet been corrupted by the idolatrous traditions of the peoples among whom it spread and degenerated. In matter of dogma there was no separation from the ancient church. It even added to the Vedic divinities new but purer gods. It preserved the theory of rebirths, which, according to the Brahmanic doctrine, were for the mass of the faithful only periodical returns to misery and despair; but it gave to all men the means of escaping from these evils by the individual's own merit without the providential intervention of the gods.

The Western religions submit human personality during life to the action of Providence, and eternally preserve that personality after death by the resurrection of the body. In the pantheistic religions of the East, on the contrary, since all beings are of the same substance, they end by absorption into the bosom of the absolute Being, which is the

metaphysical bond of the universe. Buddhism did, it is true, recognize man's power to accomplish his own salvation; but the soul, for it, as for Brahmanism, was a temporary emanation from the infinite substance. Consequently, it solved the problem of the future life by the return of this particle of light to its home, by the absorption of the part in the great Whole.

The Hindu has at once less and more ambition than the Jew, the Mussulman, and the Christian. The latter hope to live again after death, and behold God face to face; the former consents to lose all individual existence on condition of becoming God himself.

We lay emphasis upon this moral history of India, because, in the first place, its political history is not known; and because, in the second, that country has been the main reservoir of philosophical and religious ideas, which, starting thence, have taken their course in different directions. The Brahmans, like the priests of Egypt, could well say to the Greeks: "You are children." Who would affirm that no echo of those great collisions of ideas of which India was the theatre, of those philosophical and religious controversies, of that peculiar organization of Buddhist churches which were animated by an ardent proselyting spirit, did not reach the commercial cities of the Asiatic coast, where Hellenic civilization had its awakening, and even as far as that great city of Alexandria whither the Ptolemies caused the books of the nations to be brought and translated?

Against Buddhism the most terrible persecution finally arose. "Let the Buddhists be exterminated," cried the Brahmans, "from the bridge of Rama (Ceylon) to the snow-whitened Himalayas! Whoever spares the child or the old man, shall himself be put to death." Persecution was successful in India, which returned to the Brahmans; but Buddhism spread into Thibet, which is its stronghold to-day, and into Mongolia, China, Indo-China, and Ceylon. In those countries it still numbers multitudes of believers, very few of whom, it is true, know and practise the pure doctrine of Gautama.

From this brief history it is evident that, if India has acted little, she has thought much. Let us add that the country is covered with imposing monuments of great elegance, of which we as yet are acquainted only with a small part. In thought, poetry, and art, India has developed three of the glories of Greece.

## IV

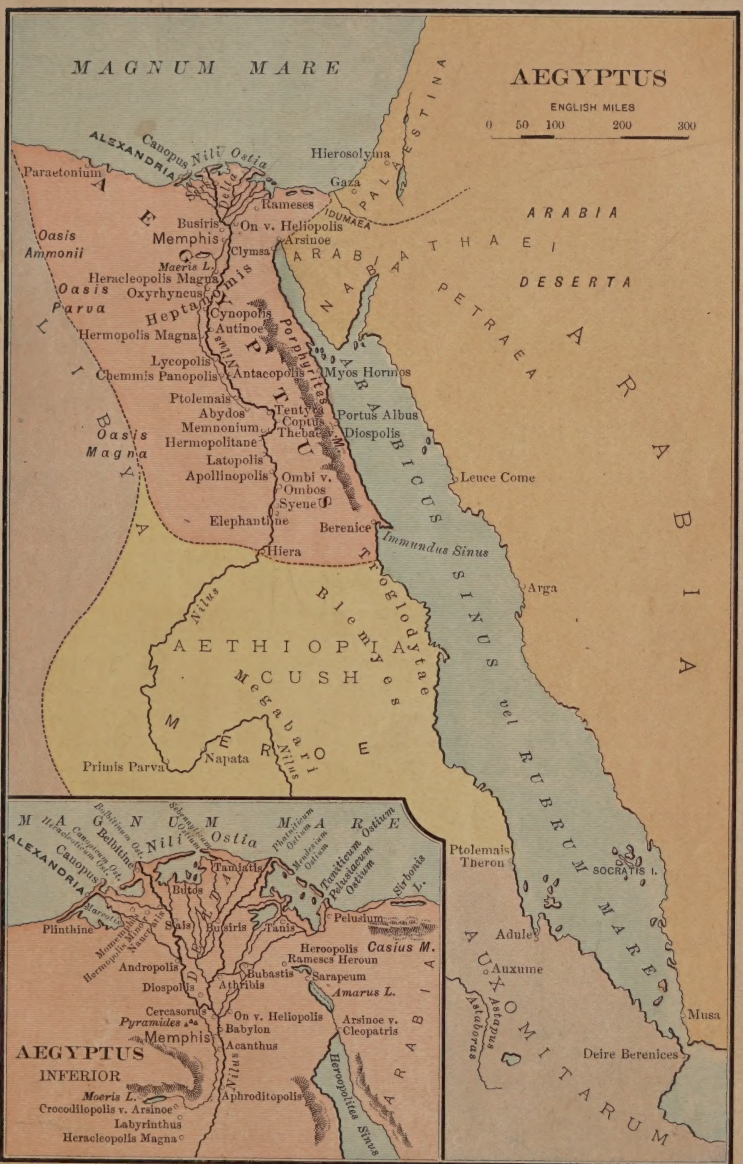
### EGYPT

**First Inhabitants.** — Herodotus said of a part of Egypt, "It is a gift of the Nile." The same might be said of the whole country, for without the periodical inundations of that river the desert would cover everything which was not hidden under the water.

This country is certainly not the one where the first civilized society was formed. Nevertheless, its history, explicit as to a very great number of facts and persons, covers seventy centuries. Before the Persians conquered it (527 B.C.), it had already been ruled by twenty-six dynasties. The names and acts of many of its sovereigns are carved on the monuments with which they covered Egypt. To the fourth king of the first dynasty we may attribute the step pyramid of Saccara, whose worn and crumbling stones seem to support with difficulty the weight of the centuries accumulated upon its head.

The first inhabitants of Egypt did not come from the south, descending the Nile, as was long supposed, but from the north, via the Isthmus of Suez. They belong to the race personified in Genesis under the name of Ham, and called by the Arabs "the Red" from the color of their complexion. This race appears to have formed, under the name of Cushites, the basis of the population all along the shore of the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. These Cushites founded small states, which doubtless existed for long centuries before a powerful chief, Menes, subdued the whole valley from the sea to the cataracts of Syene, and founded, at least five thousand years before our era, the first royal race. To account for this unknown period and for the revolution in which it ended, it was said that at first the gods had reigned, then the demi-gods, that is, the priests, their representatives, and that the latter had been forced to yield their power to a warrior chieftain.

**First Dynasties** (5000 years B.C.). — Little is known of the first three dynasties, whose sway, eight centuries in

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duration, reached the peninsula of Sinai, where on a rock the name of one of their princes has been found, who worked the copper mines in the peninsula. Under the fourth we behold all the marvels of a civilization then unparalleled. Art then reached such development as the most brilliant periods will hardly surpass. What space of time must have elapsed between the day when the first man was cast naked upon the earth with the instincts of a wild animal, and that day six thousand years ago, which saw the admirable statue of Chephren come forth from the hands of an Egyptian Phidias, the pyramids of Gizeh rise, and a great monarchical society formed with a strong political and religious organization? The paintings or the inscriptions of temples and tombs recall to us its industry, its commerce, its agriculture, and all the bloom of its vigorous youth. So early did Egypt enjoy all the art and science which it ever possessed, and subsequent centuries found themselves able to teach it little.

The most celebrated members of the sixth dynasty are a conqueror, Apapu, and a queen, Nitocris. Manetho calls the latter "the rosy-cheeked Beauty," and says that in order to avenge her brother, she invited the persons guilty of his murder to a banquet in a subterranean chamber, into which the waters of the Nile were suddenly admitted.

From the sixth to the eleventh dynasty, monuments are rare, and consequently history is silent. Great calamities must have befallen the country during this period. When the light reappears, we find royalty banished to the Thebaid, whence it emerged in triumph with the kings of the twelfth dynasty, who restored to Egypt its natural boundaries, and began the great struggle against the Ethiopians. One of the family constructed an artificial reservoir, covering sixty-three square miles, and called Lake Mœris, to regulate the overflow on the left bank of the Nile.

**Invasion of the Hyksos or Shepherds** (2200 B.C.). — A horde of shepherds, without doubt crowded westward by some great movement of humanity in Assyria, penetrated into the valley of the Nile by the Isthmus of Suez and subjugated the Delta and Middle Egypt. Their kings, who formed the seventeenth or Hyksos dynasty, established themselves at Memphis, and fortified the town of Avaris or Plusium at the entrance of the Delta in order to prevent other nomads from following in their footsteps. Appar-

ently it was one of these kings whom Joseph served as minister. After having reigned for five hundred years, the Hyksos were at last defeated by the kings of Thebes, and gradually forced back to the very walls of Pelusium. Ahmes I. succeeded in driving them thence, and the greater part of the nation quitted Egypt. Nevertheless to this day, in the vicinity of Lake Menzaleh, men of robust limbs and angular features are to be found, who may be descendants of the Shepherds.

**Prosperity of Egypt from the Eighteenth to the Thirteenth Century.** — The expulsion of the Hyksos was followed by prosperity that lasted for more than five hundred years. Thanks to the protecting deserts and its strong political organization, Egypt again developed a brilliant civilization which the greatest men of Greece came to study. This epoch begins with the princes of the eighteenth dynasty (1703–1462): Ahmes the Liberator; Thothmes I., who commemorated his victories by columns on the banks of the Euphrates and Nile; the regent Hatasu, whose exploits the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes hands down; Thothmes III., the conqueror of western Asia and of the Soudan, "who set the frontiers of Egypt wherever he pleased," as says the author of a heroic song carved on a pillar in the Museum of Boulaq; Amenophis III., the Memnon of the Greeks, the King of the Speaking Statue, which at sunrise saluted Aurora, his divine mother. In the tomb of the mother of Ahmes a veritable treasure of precious stones of the rarest workmanship has been found.

This good fortune continued under the princes of the nineteenth dynasty (1462–1288), several of whom rendered the name Rameses glorious. Seti I., after having carried his arms as far as Armenia, built the pillared hall of Karnak, a masterpiece of Egyptian architecture. He even opened from the Nile to the Red Sea a canal, vestiges of which can still be discerned, and on the arid road to the gold mines of Gebel Atoky he dug a well, which must be called artesian, since the water spouted from it. His successor, Rameses II., is the Sesostris to whom the Greeks have ascribed all the conquests of those ancient kings. He was indeed a warlike prince. Columns found near Beïrout, and a whole poem carved on a wall of Karnak, still attest his achievements. He was above all a great builder. He erected the two temples of Ipsamboul, the Ramesseum of Thebes, and the

obelisks of Luxor, one of which, a granite monolith seventy-seven feet high, covered with inscriptions in his honor, is the central monument of the Place de la Concorde in Paris. He compelled his captives to work on these monuments. The Israelites, scattered in great numbers over Lower Egypt, were treated as slaves. They were forced to labor in the quarries, to make bricks, and construct embankments to protect the cities from inundation. The oppression of their taskmasters fired the slaves with resolution. Under Meneptah the Hebrews departed from Egypt. The tomb of this Pharaoh is still to be seen in the valley of Bab-el-Moluk.

**Decline of Egypt. Invasion of the Ethiopians.** — The twentieth dynasty (1288–1110) begins with a great king, Rameses III., who represented on the magnificent temple of Medinet Abu at Thebes his exploits in Syria and the Soudan. After him came the decline. Egypt had become enfeebled in attempting to expand. Instead of remaining upon the banks of her sacred river, wherein was her strength, and in the midst of the deserts which gave her security, she sought to subdue Asia and the country of the Cushites and Libyans, and even the great island of Cyprus. She desired to control the sea. When indolent kings succeeded the glorious Pharaohs, priestly intrigue seated the high priest of Ammon upon the throne of Thebes, while another dynasty, the twenty-first, reigned at Tanis in the Delta. Thus divided, Egypt submitted to the influence of neighboring peoples instead of imposing her own. Her kings assumed Assyrian names, gave princesses of their blood to Solomon's harem, and surrounded themselves with a Libyan guard, which portioned out the country among its chiefs. The Cushites or Ethiopians took advantage of these discords to seize Upper Egypt. Sabaco, their prince, even captured King Bocchoris and burned him alive. "The vile race of Cushites," as the twenty-fifth dynasty, reigned for fifty years over all the land of the Pharaohs (715–655). Among their kings are Sebichus or Sua, whom Uzziah invoked against Shalmaneser, and Tharaka, who helped Hezekiah against Sennacherib. According to Manetho, a revolution drove the third successor of Sabaco back to Ethiopia. The leaders of this movement were natives of Sais and founded the twenty-sixth dynasty.

**The Last Pharaohs.** — Herodotus thus narrates the expulsion of the Ethiopians: "The last of the Ethiopian kings

was terrified by a dream, and fled to his native states, leaving the government of the country to the priest Sethos. At his death the warriors seized the supreme power and intrusted it to twelve of their number. Psammeticus, one of the twelve, overthrew his colleagues by means of Carian and Ionian pirates. Realizing the military superiority of the Greeks, he invited them in great numbers to the country, and thereby angered the native army, part of which emigrated to Ethiopia. Aided by the newcomers, he tried to recover Syria, and for twenty-eight years besieged Azoth, which he finally captured." Necho, his successor, attempted to complete Seti's canal and unite the Red Sea and Mediterranean. He caused the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa, and defeated Josiah, king of Judah, at Mageddo. Master of Palestine, he pushed on to the Euphrates, but was defeated by the Babylonians and lost all his conquests. The second of his successors, Apries, likewise failed in his attempts against the Cyrenians. His soldiers, believing themselves betrayed, installed in his place Amasis, one of their own number, under whom Egypt emitted a final gleam of brilliancy. Twenty thousand cities are then said to have covered the borders of the Nile. This prince gave the city of Naucratis to the Greeks, and entered into close relations with the Median, Lydian, and Babylonian kings, who were themselves menaced by a fresh invasion of the barbarous Persian mountaineers. He could not avert their ruin, and beheld the successive fall of Astyages, Crœsus, and Balthasar. The same fate awaited his own son, Psammeticus III., who, after a reign of six months, was overthrown by the Persian Cambyses (527).

**Egypt under the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs.** — Since that day Egypt has never been independent, though often rebelling against the yoke of foreigners. An unruly province of Persia, she was conquered by Alexander, who founded the famous city which bears his name (331). The dynasty of the Ptolemies reigned gloriously for a century, and ingloriously twice as long. The Romans took their place after the death of Cleopatra (30 B.C.). In 381 A.D. an edict of Theodosius suppressed the religion of the Pharaohs. The temples were mutilated, the statues of the gods destroyed, and of one of the richest civilizations of the world nothing was left except the ruins, which at the present day we piously preserve.

Egypt, thus violently forced into Christianity, remained nominally Christian for two centuries and a half without finding peace. The Arabs brought Islam (640). It took definite root, and under the Fatimite caliphs the land enjoyed a brief splendor. Cairo, a city which they founded, still contains the largest Mussulman school in the world. Thrice has France touched the land, always leaving glorious recollections of herself: in the thirteenth century with Saint Louis; in the eighteenth with Bonaparte; in the nineteenth with Frenchmen who conquered Egypt by their science and opened to the commerce of the globe the Isthmus of Suez, thus grandly realizing the dream of a Pharaoh who had been dead thirty-five centuries!

**Egyptian Religion, Government, and Art.** — Two religions existed side by side, the one held by the people and the other by the priests. The former was coarse and material. It regarded certain animals, the ichneumon, ibis, crocodile, hippopotamus, cat, bull, and many more, as divine beings. It was the old African fetichism, though elevated by theogonic ideas, as is shown by those gods with the head of a dog or falcon, and by the worship of the bull Apis, "engendered by a flash of lightning." The latter religion sought to account for the mysterious phenomena of nature, and explained the good and evil encountered everywhere by the opposition of two principles as Osiris, the representative of all beneficent influences, and Typhon, the god of night and of evil days. It even seems at first to have taught belief in one God without beginning or end. The care taken by the Egyptians to preserve the bodies of the dead proves that they hoped for a future life. The inscriptions even speak of numerous rebirths, which recall the metempsychosis of the Hindus. But this idea of the absolute and eternal Being was veiled from the eyes of the people and the priests by the conception of a divine trinity, — Osiris, or the sun, the principle of all life, Isis or nature, and Horus, their divine child. After once abandoning pure monotheism, the Egyptians glided rapidly down the descent of polytheism. The representations on their monuments and in their religious rites of a host of secondary divinities made them forget the chief god, of whose attributes the others had at first been merely symbols.

The government was a monarchy, all the stronger because

its kings, according to common belief, were participants of divinity. All were "Sons of the Sun," and in that capacity were chiefs of religion as well as of society.

Society had neither a sacerdotal nor aristocratic caste, nor a popular body which might form a counterpoise to the king. This state of affairs ended in the establishment of a certain number of classes, which were non-hereditary, but in which the son habitually remained in the father's state of life. Herodotus enumerated seven of these classes: priests, warriors, laborers, herdsmen, merchants, mariners, and, after Psammeticus, interpreters. There were, no doubt, many others. "Egypt," says Bossuet, "was the source of all good police regulation." We read in Diodorus that perjury was punished with death; that he who did not succor a man engaged in combat with an assassin, suffered the same penalty; that the slanderer was punished. Every Egyptian was obliged to deposit with a magistrate a document setting forth his means of livelihood, and a severe penalty discouraged false statements. The tongue of the spy, who betrayed state secrets to enemies, and both hands of counterfeiters, were cut off. In no case was accumulated interest allowed to exceed the capital; the property of the debtor, not his person, constituted the security for his debt. An Egyptian could borrow, giving his father's mummy as surety, and he who did not pay his debt was deprived of burial with his family.

The Egyptians successfully cultivated many industrial arts, as well as mechanics, geometry, and astronomy. They invented hieroglyphic writing, whose characters, at first simple figurative representations of objects or symbols of certain ideas, were completed by phonetic signs, which like our letters and syllables stood only for sounds. In painting they employed vivid colors, which time has not effaced. Some of their finest statues might rival those of Greece, did not a certain stiffness indicate a conventional art wherein liberty was lacking; but their architecture is unrivalled in its grand impressiveness. In proof are the temples of Thebes; the hall of Karnak, where the vault is supported by 140 colossal columns, many of which are seventy feet high and eleven feet in diameter; and the pyramids, one of which, 481 feet in height, is the most tremendous pile of stone ever heaped up by man. Further demonstration is furnished by the obelisks, the rock tombs,

the labyrinth, the enormous Sphinx, which measures twenty-six feet from the chin to the crown of the head, the dikes, the highways, the canals to contain or guide the waters of the Nile, and Lake Mœris. No people in ancient times moved so much earth and granite.

## V

### THE ASSYRIANS

**The Tigris and the Euphrates. Babylon and Nineveh.** — From the mountains of Armenia descend two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, whose sources lie near each other, and which, after uniting their waters, fall into the Persian Gulf. These two rivers embrace in their course a vast tract of country, mountainous on the north and flat and sandy in the centre and south, to which the general name of Mesopotamia is applied. Its first inhabitants were: in Chaldæa, or the southern part, those Cushites with whom we are already acquainted; toward the mountains, Turanian tribes, which perhaps made the great Hyksos invasion along the banks of the Nile; in the centre, Semitic peoples of a white race whose origin is unknown, but who are famous in history as the Assyrians, Hebrews, Arabs, and Phœnicians.

In this country rose two splendid cities, Babylon on the Euphrates and Nineveh on the Tigris, each in turn the capital of the Assyrian Empire. Nothing in antiquity is so celebrated as Babylon, whose walls measured a circuit of twenty leagues, and rose three or four hundred feet high. The Chaldæan priests ascribed to it an antiquity of four hundred thousand years, but Genesis fixes its foundation within the historical period, where also it places the origin of the Hebrews. It ascribes the building of Babylon to Nimrod, the mighty hunter. His descendants reigned there until the time of the great Iranian migration, which bore one body of Aryans toward the Indus, and another to the middle of Persia. Those who took the latter direction arrived at Babylon, but did not rule there long, and Assyria reverted to her first masters. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty held her in subjection for more than two centuries, and Arab chiefs, as their vassals, reigned on the banks of the Euphrates. When the decline of Egypt began with the twentieth dynasty, the Assyrian princes freed

themselves, and became conquerors in turn. All the country between the Euphrates and the Lebanon recognized their sway. On the east of the Tigris, Media became their vassal province. If we are to believe the Chaldæan priest Berosis, they penetrated to Bactriana and India. The monuments begin to give us certain information only with the ferocious Assurnazirpal and his son, Shalmaneser, whose war against the Hebrews and whose victory over Hosea, king of Israel, is recorded in the Bible. A successor of these princes had for his queen Semiramis, who was left at his death sole mistress of the empire. She enlarged Babylon, constructed quays and hanging gardens, and surrounded the city with a wall forty-two miles long and broad enough for six chariots to pass abreast on top.

Sardanapalus was the last sovereign of the first Assyrian Empire. His excesses and effeminate life encouraged the Chaldæan Phul and the Median Arbaces to rebel. Not discouraged by four successive defeats, they succeeded finally in imprisoning the king in Nineveh. Rather than surrender, Sardanapalus caused a funeral pyre to be prepared, and flung himself into it with his wives and treasures. Nineveh was destroyed (789).

**Second Assyrian Empire.** — The Medes had regained their independence, and the Babylonians ruled over Assyria. His victory rendered Phul, their leader, sufficiently strong to resume the wars of the Ninevite kings against the nations west of the Euphrates, and to compel Menahem, king of Judah, to pay tribute. At his death, the Assyrians rebelled under Tiglathpileser, a descendant of their ancient kings, who conquered Babylon and set up a second Assyrian Empire (744 B.C.). The distant expeditions of this prince from Palestine to the Indus, the victory of Sargon at Rapha over the Ethiopian, Sabaco, the successes of Sennacherib, who rebuilt Nineveh (707), of Esarhaddon (681), who conquered Egypt, and of a new Sardanapalus, who subdued Asia Minor, show the might of the new empire. But it fell, like the first, before a coalition of the Babylonians and Medes. Sarac, its last king, following the example of Sardanapalus, threw himself and his treasures upon a funeral pile, and the victors, entering Nineveh, utterly destroyed the detested city (606). Wiped from the face of the earth for twenty-four centuries, no one knew even the site of its famous temples, when suddenly it reappeared in the world.

with its arts, its language, its customs, its civilization, all rescued from oblivion and attested by its numerous bas-reliefs and sculptures, which the Frenchman Botta discovered in 1844 at Mosoul, and which can now be wondered at in the Louvre.

**Last Assyrian Empire. Capture of Babylon by Cyrus.** — Babylon replaced Nineveh. Nebuchadnezzar, its king, won a glorious victory over the Egyptian Necho at Circesium. He destroyed Jerusalem (588), took Tyre after a siege of thirteen years, traversed Egypt as a conqueror, and adorned Babylon with magnificent monuments. His four successors reigned shamefully. Cyrus, king of the Persians, besieged Babylon and entered it by the bed of the Euphrates, which he had diverted from its channel (538). Instead of destroying the city, he made it one of his capitals. So did Alexander. The construction of Seleucia caused its abandonment by the Greek kings. To-day nothing is to be seen on the spot which it occupied except a heap of ruins, upon which the Arab rarely plants his tent, and which furnish a lair for the beasts of the desert. When the Parthians, and afterwards the Persians, raised the great Oriental Empire which the Romans were unable to overthrow, Ctesiphon was their royal residence. Each new sovereign authority gave birth to a new capital. Under the Arabian caliphs Bagdad was the queen of the Orient. It is still one of the great cities of the heir of the caliphs, the sultan of Constantinople.

**Government, Religion, and Arts of Assyria.** — The king of Nineveh or of Babylon was the absolute master of the life and possessions of his subjects. Such is the law of oriental monarchies. At least, on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the king was not considered a deity, as on the banks of the Nile. Neither were there any castes, nor even a hierarchy of classes. Assyrian society was that sort of promiscuous mass which is not displeasing to despotism, because it permits the prince to raise or degrade whomsoever he sees fit.

At the base of the religion of these peoples, the idea of a single God can be descried; but there also this idea was concealed by a throng of secondary divinities, who are always the personification of some force of nature. In those immense plains of Chaldæa, where the horizon extends so far, under that cloudless sky, and during those

nights which the Orient makes so beautiful, because the stars shine there with a brilliancy unknown to us, the dominating worship was Sabianism, or the adoration of the stars. The sun, Baal, was the great god of the Assyrians, and in the celestial bodies they located spirits which exercised upon man and upon his destiny a powerful influence. Thus their priests had a great reputation as astronomers. To them we owe the zodiac, the division of the circle into 360 degrees, and that of the degree into sixty minutes, the calculation of lunar eclipses, the so-called table of Pythagoras, and a system of measures, weights, and money which served nearly all the commerce of the ancient world, since it was employed by the Phœnicians and the ancient Greeks. To them also we owe astrology, whereby they developed a lucrative trade through the sale of talismans or consecrated signs, supposed to give their possessors magical powers. The common people found the objects of their adoration nearer at hand. They had fish gods, like Oannes and Derceto, or bird gods, like the doves which typified Semiramis. The worship of Mylitta, the goddess of generation and fecundity, gave rise to abominable disorders by sanctifying the grossest sensual appetites.

The inhabitants, by their industry, their skilful agriculture, and their commerce, which two magnificent rivers favored, accumulated prodigious riches in this empire, so long the rival of the empire of the Pharaohs. The carpets of Babylon, its textile fabrics, its enamelled potteries, its amulets and canes, and its thousand objects of the goldsmith's art, were in great demand, even in the Roman Empire. The Assyrian sculptures reveal a degree of skill hardly suspected. Herodotus, visiting Egypt in the time of its full splendor, believed that the Greeks had derived their art and gods from the banks of the Nile. We now know that in the depths of Asia the origin of their religious ideas must be sought. Probably through Cilicia and Asia Minor Assyrian art reached the Greek Asiatic colonies, and from them awoke the genius of artists in the mother country. More than one sculpture at Athens recalls forms on the monuments of Khorsabad. The figures of Selinus, and even in a certain degree the marbles of Egina, seem to have been touched by the Ninevites.

## VI

### THE PHŒNICIANS

**Phœnician Cities between Lebanon and the Sea.** — Between the Euphrates and the western sea stretch the desert, which belonged to the Semitic nomads, and the Lebanon, the fertile valleys of which became the habitation of numerous Canaanitish tribes who originally occupied the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Phœnicians, near kinsmen of the Hebrews, the most famous of all these tribes, established themselves in the country of the Jordan, and on the farther side of the mountain chain on the narrow strip of coast which is bathed by the Mediterranean. The conquests of Joshua gave the valley of the Jordan to the Hebrews. Hemmed in between the mountains, whose venerable forests furnished the timber for the construction of ships, and the sea, which formed numerous harbors and invited to navigation and commerce, the Phœnicians became skilful mariners, both from necessity and natural situation. Their ships ploughed the Mediterranean. Population increased with general prosperity, and cities multiplied. Soon, both for the interests of commerce and to relieve the congestion of population, it became necessary to plant colonies at a distance. The most widely known of Phœnician cities were Sidon, whose glassware and purple were celebrated; Tyre, which held the highest rank; Aradus, Byblos, and Berytus. We learn from Holy Writ what luxury and effeminacy and what an impure and often sanguinary religion reigned in Phœnicia. Mothers burned their children alive in honor of Baal-Moloch, and the utmost license was approved by their chief goddess, Astarte.

**Phœnician Commerce and Colonies.** — But the Phœnicians offset their vices by industry and commerce, and above all by those colonies which so contributed to the expansion and progress of civilization. They established themselves in the Ægean islands long before the Greeks; founded counting-houses in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Sicily; and profited

by the commerce of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia. In the fifth century they still possessed in Sicily the three cities of Motya, Selinus and Panormus. In Gaul the traces of their settlement vanished early, but they covered the whole south of Spain, then so rich in silver mines, with their colonies. On the African coast rose Leptis, Adrumetum, Utica, and Carthage, the new Tyre, which became the most powerful maritime state of antiquity, and forced the neighboring Phœnician colonies to acknowledge its supremacy. While Carthage thus monopolized the commerce of the western Mediterranean, the Phœnicians of the mother country shared with the Greeks that of the eastern Mediterranean, and endeavored to form closer relations with the countries washed by the Indian Ocean. They forced the Jews to cede to them two ports on the Red Sea, Eliath and Eziongeber, whence their fleets sailed to seek ivory and gold dust in the land of Ophir, incense and spices in Arabia Felix, the most beautiful pearls then known in the Persian Gulf, and in India a thousand precious wares. For them numerous caravans traversed Babylonia, Arabia, Persia, Bactriana, and Thibet, whence they brought back the silk of China, which sold for its weight in gold, the furs of Tartary, and the precious stones of India. They added to this commerce the products of their national industry in glass, purple, and a thousand articles of attire.

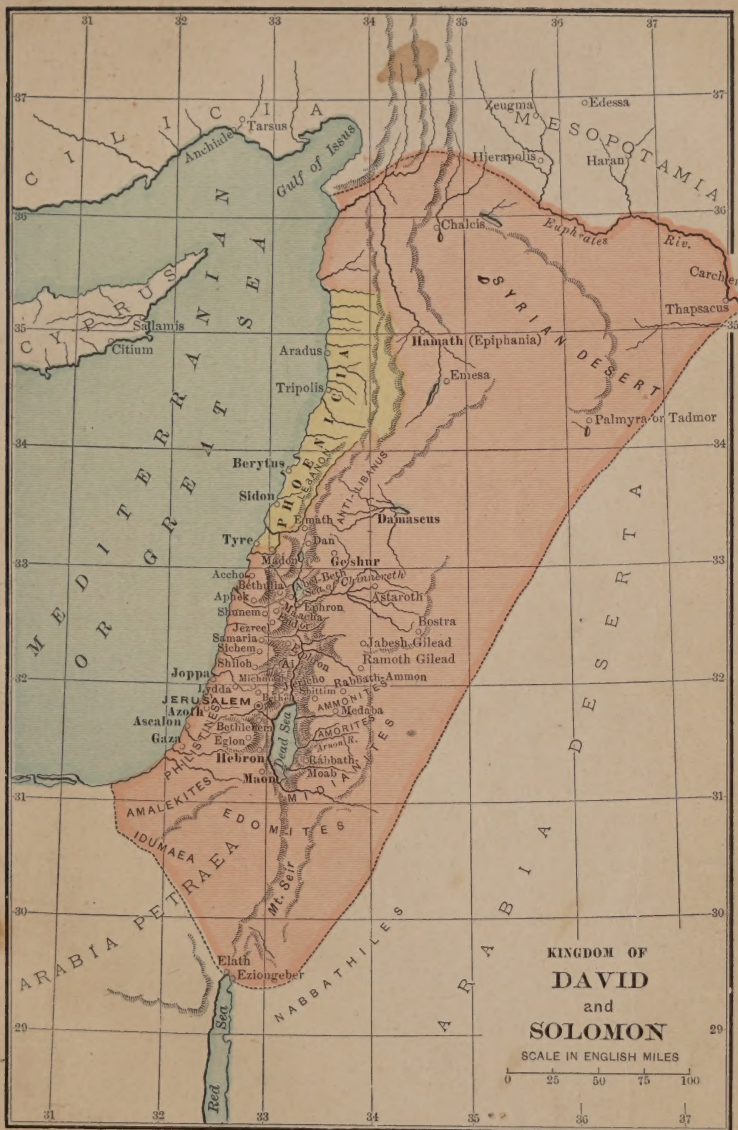
**Conquerors of Phœnicia.** — This prosperity of Phœnicia excited the cupidity of invaders. She was conquered by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The Assyrians many times appeared under the walls of Tyre, which was taken by Sennacherib, almost ruined by Nebuchadnezzar, and destroyed by Alexander. Phœnicia found herself almost lost in the vast empires of the Persians, the Seleucidæ, and the Romans; but, placed between two great centres of civilization, Egypt and Assyria, she took from them and carried to the West whatever they had best developed. She diffused something of the art, the industry, the science, of those two nations. Above all she took from Babylon a metric system, the necessary agent of commerce, and from Memphis the idea and form of alphabetical writing, which so many peoples have copied and modified, and which has been the indispensable instrument of intellectual progress.

## VII

### THE HEBREWS

**Ancient Traditions.** — At the head of their race, the Hebrews place Abraham, who came from Chaldæa, perhaps two thousand years before Christ, and settled in the land of Canaan; Isaac, son of the patriarch; and Jacob, the father of twelve sons, whose posterity formed the twelve tribes of Israel. The touching story is well known of Joseph, one of the twelve, whom his brethren sold to Egyptian merchants. By dint of wisdom and tact the Hebrew slave attained the highest honors, became the minister of a Pharaoh, and called to him his family, whom he established in the land of Goshen between the Nile and the Red Sea.

In this fertile district the Hebrews multiplied without mixing with the Egyptians, who eventually looked upon this foreign race with distrust, and treated them like the captives brought back by the Pharaohs from their distant conquests. They tried to compel them to abandon pastoral life and to shut themselves up in cities. They forced them to build the cities of Rameses, Pithon, and On; they made them work on the canals and on the constructions of every sort with which Egypt was being covered. The Israelite traditions assert that, in order to diminish their numbers, which increased in spite of every hardship, the Pharaohs commanded that all male infants should be killed at birth. An Israelitish woman of the tribe of Levi, after having hidden her child for three months, exposed it on the Nile in a basket of bulrushes at the spot where the daughter of Pharaoh was in the habit of bathing. The princess heard the cries of the infant and took pity on it. He was called Moses, or the "drawn out," because he had been drawn from the waters. He was reared by his adopted mother in the royal palace, and instructed in all the learning of the Egyptian priests. However, his own mother had revealed to him his origin, and one day he killed an Egyptian whom he saw beating a Hebrew. Forced to flight by this murder,

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he escaped to Jethro, in the extreme south of Arabia Petræa, where he found again the ancient belief of his fathers, pure and simple manners, and the patriarchal life of Abraham and Jacob. He returned to Egypt, resolved to deliver his people "from the house of bondage," and led the Hebrews back to the desert with their herds.

**Religious and Civil Legislation.** — They wandered long in the solitudes of Arabia, where the majesty of the one God everywhere is revealed. Mount Sinai was consecrated by the promulgation of the civil and religious law, and Moses tried to chain his people to the precious dogma of the oneness of God by numerous ordinances which imparted to the Hebrew laws an incomparable superiority over every system of legislation. Instead of the distinction of castes, which moreover cannot be enforced in the desert, the Hebrews had the equality of citizens before God, before the law, and, in a certain measure, before fortune. In the sabbatical year, and at the jubilee which occurred, the one at the end of every seven years, the other at the end of forty-nine years, the slave was emancipated, debt was outlawed, and alienated property was restored to its former owner. The leaders of the Jews sprang from the people. If their priesthood became hereditary, inasmuch as always restricted to the tribe of Levi, the priests possessed only the inheritance of poverty. In the ancient world society reposed on slavery, but the Jews had servants rather than slaves. Elsewhere the legislator disregarded the poor and repelled the stranger. Here the law distinguished in favor of the poor. It prohibited usury, enjoined alms, prescribed charity, even toward animals, and was kindly to the stranger. Thus everything which the ancient world degraded and rejected, the Mosaic law exalted. In this society, the stranger was no longer an enemy, the slave was still a man, and woman took her seat worthily beside the head of the family, enjoying the same respect.

**Moral Grandeur of Hebrew Legislation.** — In the Decalogue, or summary of the entire moral code, human and divine, in ten commandments, we read: "Thou shalt have none other gods before me." "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long." "Thou shalt not steal." "Thou shalt not kill." "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house . . . nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

In the law we find these beautiful and touching precepts: "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." "Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all under me, I will surely hear their cry." "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." "Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat." "When ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field . . . neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyards; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger." "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man." "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."

**Conquest of Palestine. The Judges. The Kings** (1097 B.C.). — Moses wished his people to return to the land which Abraham had chosen wherein to pitch his tent. Joshua, his successor, crossed the Jordan, destroyed Jericho, and divided the land of Canaan among the twelve tribes of Israel.

At his death the political bond broke which held the tribes together, and the government of the elders was too feeble to complete the conquest of the country or to repulse the attacks of neighboring kings. Hence ensued periods of servitude, from which the Hebrews were rescued by strong and brave men, who after the victory remained their judges, thus erecting in the midst of this patriarchal republic a sort of temporary monarchy. These heroes of Israel were Othniel; Ehud, who fought with both hands; Shamgar; the prophetess Deborah; Gideon, who scattered a whole army with three hundred men; Jephthah, who immolated his daughter in order to fulfil a rash vow; Samson, celebrated for his prodigious strength; the high priest Eli, under whom the Philistines captured the Ark of the Covenant, wherein was kept the book of the law; and, lastly, Samuel, who, despite his wise and just administration, was forced by the Hebrews to give them a king.

He chose Saul, a valiant man of the tribe of Benjamin, who seemed simple-minded and docile. He poured the holy oil of consecration on the head of the new prince, and deposited in the Ark a book wherein he had written down the rights and duties of the kingly office (1097 B.C.). At first Saul justified the prophet's choice by his moderation and victories. But rendered proud by success, he abandoned his rustic habits, surrounded himself by a body-guard of three thousand men, and shook off the yoke of the high priest. Samuel secretly anointed David, a Hebrew shepherd, and introduced him into the palace, that some day he might install him in the place of the unruly prince. The young shield-bearer of the king attracted the attention of all Israel by slaying the Philistine Goliath. Saul, consumed by jealousy, made several attempts to slay him with his javelin. When he himself fell in 1058 in a battle against the Philistines, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and a few years later the other ten tribes, recognized David as king of Israel.

For the time being no danger threatened from Egypt and Assyria. The little Hebrew state was able to develop and extend without encountering too formidable adversaries. Palestine, which had so often been the road of the conquerors, became a conqueror in her turn. The capture of Sion or Jerusalem, the destruction of the Philistines and the Moabites, numerous successes over all other neighboring peoples, territorial extension of the kingdom as far as the Euphrates on the north and as far as the Red Sea on the south, set forth in David the victorious prince. His regulations for worship, for the public administration, for justice, for the establishment of a numerous army, one-tenth of which was always under arms, and, lastly, the materials which he collected for the building of the temple, and the treaties of commerce concluded with Tyre, bear witness to his solicitude during peace. But a crime, the murder of Uriah, and the revolt of his son Absalom, saddened his last years. The Church still sings his sublime psalms.

Solomon, a peaceful prince, fond of splendor and civilization, governed from the recesses of his palace like the other kings of the East. At his accession (1019) he consolidated his power by bloody acts, reduced the high priesthood to dependence upon the king, so as to emancipate the sovereign from all equal opposing authority, and built with magnifi-

cence the temple at Jerusalem. He proved his wisdom by a famous decision, founded Palmyra in the heart of the desert, created a navy, and made alliances with Tyre and Egypt. His fame spread abroad, and the Queen of Sheba came to visit the great king of the East. But notwithstanding outward splendor, the provinces were being impoverished, and Solomon himself destroyed the foundation of his power by introducing idolatry into his palace. The Idumæans and Syrians revolted. His subjects rose in rebellion because of the growing burden of taxation, and he died in the midst of public misery (978).

**The Schism and the Captivity.** — His son, Rehoboam, refused to lessen the exactions of the royal treasury, and ten tribes seceded. Benjamin and Judah alone remained faithful to the house of David. From that time on there existed two nations, two kingdoms, Israel and Judah: Israel more populous, more extensive; Judah richer and more respected. Every year all Jews were bound to bring their offerings to the temple at Jerusalem. To prevent his new subjects from going to settle in the kingdom of Judah, which possessed the national sanctuary, Jeroboam erected two altars, one at Bethel and one at Dan. Hither his people came to sacrifice. This violation of the religious law prepared Israel for the introduction of idolatry, the establishment of which was also favored by the constant relations of its kings with the Syrians. Judah showed more respect to the Mosaic law. But there also idolatry made its way, and for its expulsion prophets were needed, fired by the double inspiration of religion and patriotism. Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Micah, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, by turns threatened and roused the Jews from despair by the promise of a glorious future.

The separation of the Hebrew people into two kingdoms ruined its power. After the schism it possessed only Palestine. Surrounded by enemies, the Hebrews engaged also in bloody civil wars, and after deplorable anarchy succumbed under the attacks of the Babylonians. The kingdom of Israel fell in 721, when King Hoshea, captured in Samaria, was carried by Sargon to Nineveh. Judah fell in 586, when Zedekiah, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, was dragged to Babylon, loaded with chains, and had his eyes put out after he had seen all his sons and the leaders of his people slain before his face.

**The Jews under the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans.**

— The captivity, which dates from the first capture of Jerusalem (606 B.C.) lasted for seventy years, until the edict of Cyrus, who in 536 permitted the Hebrews to rebuild their Temple. Zerubbabel was accompanied by forty-two thousand Jews in his return to the ruins of the holy city. The work of construction, stopped under Cambyses through the jealousy of the Samaritans, was continued with ardor under Darius, who is, perhaps, the Ahasuerus of Scripture. In 516 the Temple was finished. Under Artaxerxes Longimanus, Esdras conducted to Jerusalem another great company of Jews, and brought the people back to the faithful observance of the Mosaic commands. About the same time Nehemiah again raised the walls of the city of David. Thus the nation had recovered its law, its Temple, its capital, and all the energy of its religious patriotism. Unfortunately, many persons, whom Esdras and Nehemiah expelled for lawlessness, took refuge with the Samaritans, and built upon Mount Gerizim a temple to rival that at Jerusalem. Judæa was generally quiet under the Persians. After the siege of Tyre Alexander came to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice in the Temple, and exempted the country from taxation during the sabbatical year. After his death the Jews remained for nearly a century subject to the kings of Egypt. Ptolemy II. Philadelphus even placed their sacred books in the famous library of Alexandria, having caused them to be translated by learned men, whose work has remained famous as the Septuagint Version. Ptolemy Philopator persecuted them; so they passed gladly, though with no greater security, under the rule of the kings of Syria. Seleucus IV. sent his minister, Heliodorus, to strip the Temple of its riches, and Antigonus IV. placed upon the very altar the statue of Jupiter Olympius.

This attempt to install Greek polytheism in the sanctuary of the only God brought about a formidable insurrection. After being delivered by the heroic family of the Maccabees, the Jews endured the most cruel vicissitudes during two centuries, sometimes free under their own kings, sometimes subject to the Romans, often disturbed by the quarrels of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the two rival political and religious sects. In the time of Augustus they formed, under the cruel Herod, a flourishing state, whose existence Rome respected for several years. Then it was that Jesus was born, and four years before the death of Tiberius began

to preach his holy doctrine. The Jews, who had become Roman subjects, revolted during the last days of Nero. Thirteen hundred thousand men perished in that supreme struggle for fatherland and religion. Jerusalem was reduced to ruins, the Temple was destroyed, and the dispersion began (70 A.D.).

The Jews, a stiff-necked people, as their prophets declared, did nothing for art, science, or industry, but their moral laws were the most elevated and their religious doctrine the purest the world has seen. At the cost of cruel sufferings they preserved the priceless doctrine of divine unity. Their ancient law, transformed by Jesus, has become the law of charity and fraternal love which should govern mankind.

## VIII

### THE MEDES AND PERSIANS

**Mazdeism.** — We have seen that Bactriana and Sogdiana were the cradle of numerous white tribes which, under the name of Aryans, emigrated to the southeast toward the Indus, and under that of Iranians went toward Media and Persia. Perhaps a religious schism caused the separation of this great race. At all events, the Medes and Persians carried to their new country a doctrine which differed profoundly from that afterwards prevalent upon the banks of the Ganges. They recognized as their legislator Zoroaster, who seems to have lived fifteen centuries before Christ, and whose teachings are contained in the Avesta, or sacred book of the Persians.

This doctrine, which is called Mazdeism, or universal knowledge, is the purest and mildest with which polytheistic antiquity was acquainted. Zervane Akerene, the first principle, eternal, infinite, immutable, immobile, created Ormazd, the lord of knowledge or wisdom, the source of light and of life like his emblem the sun, the author of all good, all justice, and Ahriman, his enemy, the principle of physical and moral evil. Each of them commands a hierarchy of celestial and infernal spirits who labor to extend the empire of their chief: the former by disseminating light, life, purity, happiness; the latter by multiplying malevolent animals and pernicious influences. But a day will come when Ahriman, finally vanquished, will recognize his defeat, and reascend to Ormazd to enjoy with him a life of blessedness, together with all the wicked who have been enticed by him into evil and whom suffering shall have purified. Thus the goodness of Ormazd is eternal and boundless; the wickedness of Ahriman is limited to the time of ordeals, which prepare for and justify redemption. The compassion of God, therefore, exceeds his justice, and the hell of the Persians was only a purgatory.

Man, created with a free and immortal soul, is the prize

for which the two warring principles contend. As the devas of Ahriman ceaselessly urge him to evil, Zoroaster has given him the law of Ormazd to preserve him for the good. This law is humane and mild. It recognizes the rights of life while proclaiming those of heaven. It demands faith, but also works, as labor, alms, and moral and physical purity. It rejects barren asceticism and permits interest in earthly things, so that man, satisfying the legitimate demands of his nature without excess, has the greater merit in resisting natural temptations. "If a man eat," says the revealed book, "he will listen better to the sacred word; if he do not eat, he will have no strength for pure works." Work is a holy thing: "Plough and sow. He who soweth with purity fulfilleth the whole law. He who giveth good grain to the earth is as great as if he had offered ten thousand sacrifices." The believer must pay the same care to the earth which nourishes him and to the animals which serve him. Common affection results from community of labor. Finally, marriage is a sacred bond, and numerous children are a blessing.

Worship required prayers and an offering, consisting of animal's flesh, of the sap of certain plants, and of sacred cakes, which after the sacrifice are consumed by the priest and attendants. The sacred fire, the vase of elevation, the vestments of the celebrant, all the utensils of sacrifice, are provided for by the priests, who are the interpreters of the religious law, which they expound to the faithful. Prayer is frequent. There is a prayer for every act in life. Thereby the living are saved and the punishment of the dead diminished and their deliverance secured. Prayer must be made to Ormazd and to the celestial spirits, the izeds, who wage incessant war with the devas of Ahriman. One must "pray to the sun, the brilliant and vigorous courser which never dies," the sun which purifies the earth and the waters, and bestows abundance. "If it did not rise, the devas would destroy everything upon the earth, and there would be no celestial izeds." One must pray by day and also by night, for at night Ahriman keeps watch, and he is all-powerful. "Rise then at midnight, wash thy hands, fetch wood and feed the fire which must always shine as symbol of the presence of Ormazd at each hearth." Prayer is sometimes a confession, but made to God and not to man. "Before thee, O Father! I confess the sins which

I have committed in thought, in word, and in action. God have pity on my body and on my soul, in this world and in the next."

Unfortunately, man too often ignores his creed to obey his passions. The followers of this pure doctrine have inflicted on the world as many evils as have done adherents of other religions. Nevertheless, they never seem to have become as brutal and depraved as the peoples who sought their gods in physical ideas of fecundity and generation, or in the phenomena of active and passive nature.

We know nothing of the children of this race who remained on the banks of the Oxus in Sogdiana and Bactriana. Thanks to the narratives of the Greeks and the cuneiform inscriptions, we are better acquainted with the Medes. Through the Persians the connection was formed between Asia and Europe which since their wars with the Greeks has not been broken.

**The Medes.** — Nevertheless, our details as to Media are very late. They begin only in the eighth century before our era, when Arbaces, who governed that country for the Assyrian kings, revolted successfully against Sardanapalus (789). From the long anarchy following their emancipation, the Medes were rescued by Dejoces. He proclaimed himself king (710), built Ecbatana, and reigned fifty-three years in profound peace. His son, Phraortes (657), rendered the Persians tributary, but was slain by a king of Nineveh. Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, avenged him by attacking that city, which was rescued by an invasion of the Scythians. These barbarians ravaged Western Asia for twenty-eight years. The Median king rid himself of their chiefs by causing their throats to be cut at a banquet, overthrew Nineveh in 606, and subdued Asia Minor as far as the Halys. An eclipse of the sun, predicted by Thales, prevented a battle which he was on the point of engaging in with the Lydians (602).

Under Astyages, his successor (595), this great dominion of the Medes crumbled away. This prince had given his daughter Mandana to a Persian chieftain, Cambyses, and from this marriage Cyrus was born. A dream caused Astyages, says Herodotus, to fear that his grandson would some day dethrone him, so he ordered Harpagus to put him to death. A herdsman saved the child and brought him up in secret. Later on, his grandson was acknowledged

by Astyages. Angry with Harpagus, Astyages put Harpagus' own son to death, and had a portion of the body served to the father at a banquet. The courtier controlled himself, but waited for revenge.

**The Persians under Cyrus. Conquest of Western Asia.** — The Persians, poor and warlike mountaineers, wished for independence. Cyrus, on reaching manhood, offered to be their chief, and led them against the Medes, whom Astyages had placed under the orders of Harpagus. The treachery of that general assured the defeat of his troops. In a second battle Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and the dominion of Asia passed from the Medes to the Persians (559). The conqueror, profiting by the ardor of his followers, overran the countries in the vicinity of the Caucasus, and attacked the Lydians, who ruled between the Halys and the Ægean Sea. Their king, Crœsus, after defeat in the plains of Thymbria, shut himself in Sardis, where he was taken alive. Babylon fell eight years later (538). The Greek colonies in Asia Minor, together with Phœnicia and Palestine, were added to the new empire. The Scythians were devastating its northern provinces. Cyrus attacked them on the banks of the Araxus, gained one victory, but perished in a second battle (529). Nevertheless, the enemy were not strong enough to invade Persia in their turn, and Cambyses was able to continue in another direction the conquests of his father.

**The Persians under Cambyses and Darius.** — Cambyses undertook to subdue Africa, beginning with Egypt, the last great monarchy which Cyrus had left standing. It fell in a single battle (527). The conqueror then wished to attack Carthage, but for such an expedition a fleet was necessary, which the Phœnicians refused to furnish. An army, sent against the oasis of Ammon, perished in the desert; another, led against the Ethiopians, suffered from famine, and returned in disgrace. Cambyses revenged himself for these reverses by cruelties of which the priests of Egypt and his own family were the victims. He put both his brother and sister to death. Recalled to Asia by a revolution, he accidentally injured himself while mounting his horse, and died of the wound (522).

The rebellion which had broken out was a reaction of the Medes against the Persians. A magian, Smerdis, passed himself off as the brother of Cambyses, whom he resembled,

and was the principal conspirator. Seven Persian noblemen replied to this attempt by another conspiracy, stabbed the magian, and proclaimed as king one of their own number, Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The usurpation of the magian had shaken the whole empire. A cuneiform inscription recently deciphered proves that Darius was obliged to put down successive rebellions in all the eastern provinces. Of all these insurrections we know in some detail only that of Babylon, which Herodotus has narrated. It is rendered famous by the self-sacrifice of Zopyrus. He mutilated himself to induce the Babylonians to admit him to their city as a victim who sought only revenge, but who afterward betrayed them (517).

To assure the collection of the taxes and the support of his regular troops, Darius divided into twenty satrapies the immense country comprised between the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the deserts of Africa, Arabia, and India. To occupy the warlike spirit of the Persians he resumed the expedition begun by Cyrus against the Scythians, but attacked them in Europe rather than in Asia. He crossed the Bosphorus, passed over the Danube on a bridge of boats which the Asiatic or Thracian Greeks had constructed and guarded, and pushed on far in vain pursuit of the Scythians. As the time fixed for his returning to the Danube had elapsed, the Athenian, Miltiades, proposed to destroy the bridge, and thus leave the Persian army to perish. Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, opposed this plan, representing to the chiefs, all of whom were tyrants of Greek cities, that they would be overthrown if they no longer had the support of the foreigner. Thus Darius was saved. On his return the king left 80,000 men to complete the conquest of Thrace and to undertake the conquest of Macedon. He despatched two other expeditions to the extremities of the empire (509). The first subdued Barca in Cyrenaïca, and the second overran other lands bathed on the west by the Indus.

The Persian Empire was then at the apogee of its greatness. From the Indus to the Mediterranean, from the Danube and Araxes to the Indian Ocean, all owned the sway of the great king, and he was about to throw a million men upon Greece. But the Greco-Persian wars will show what feebleness existed under this outward show of strength.

**Government.** — The government was despotic, tempered, perhaps, in the case of the Medes, by the authority of the magi, but without other check in the Persian Empire than the exaggerated power of the satraps, whose number Darius had imprudently reduced to twenty. Moreover, the central power did not assume the responsibility of administration. Provided the provinces paid their taxes in money or kind and furnished the contingents exacted, they preserved their independence. The great Asiatic courts have always loved effeminacy and luxury. The Persians became corrupt, like their predecessors, in spite of the superiority of their religion, which taught that life should be a continual struggle against evil. They erected few monuments. But the ancients vaunted the magnificence of Ecbatana, the seven-walled city, and modern travellers have been able to admire the imposing ruins of Persepolis, which the Arabs call Tchil-Minar, or the Forty Columns.

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LABEATES
Fl.
Dius
RENESTAE
CANDAVIA
DASSARETIS
Epidamnum
Genusus
Fl.
Aous
Fl.
Apollonia
ATINTANES
Aous
Fl.
Chimera
OTHRONOS
Dodona
Buthrotum
Passaron
Corcyra
CORCYRA
MESSAPIA
Aracthus
Fl.
L. Sybota
PAXOS
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Ambracius
Sinus
Anactorium
Leucadia
Solion
LEUCADIA
Strato
ACARNANIA
Mt. Scardus
MACEDONIA
Fl.
Deuriopos
Erigon
Fl.
Lyncestis
Edessa
Pella
ORESTIS
ELYMIOTIS
Haliacmon
Fl.
Pydna
Cambunian Mts.
Mt. Olympus
Thermaicus
Sinus
Potidaea
PALLENE
Mende
Singiticus
Sinus
Toronaicus
Sinus
CHALCIDICE
Methone
Olynthus
Acanthus
Strymonicus Sinus
Stagira
Therma
Anthemonte
MYGDONIA
Amphipolis
Eion
Abdera
Thasos
THASOS
Neapolis
EDONIS
Mt. Rhodope
Mt. Pangaeus
Philippopolis
Hebrus
Fl.
ODRYSAE
THRACE
Melas Sinus
CHERSONESUS
Hellespont
Imbros
Mt. Athos
Myrina
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
AEGAEUM MARE
Tricca
Pheneus
Mt. Pelion
Pherae
Thessaliotis
PHTHIOTIS
Pelagicus
Sinus
SCYATHOS
SCOPELOS
PENDEMA
HALONNESOS
Artemision Pr.
LESBOS
Mytilene
SCYROS
Mt. Othrys
Sperchius Fl.
Phalara
Anticirrha
Thermopylae
DORIS
Mt. Oeta
PHOCIS
Opus
Delphi
Chalcis
CHIOS
ÆTOLIA
Astacus
Mt. Tymphrestus
Malliacus
Sinus
EUBOEA
IONIUM MARE

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# HISTORY OF THE GREEKS

## I

### PRIMITIVE TIMES

**Ancient Peoples: the Pelasgi and Hellenes.** — Greece is a very small country. It occupies the extremity of one of the three peninsulas which terminate Europe on the south. Its territory, inclusive of the islands, does not equal that of Portugal or of the State of Maine; but its shores are so indented that its coast line exceeds that of the whole Spanish peninsula. On the north it is attached to the prolonged mass of the eastern Alps, which form one of the walls of the Danube valley. On the south at three points it projects into the Mediterranean. The sea separates it on the west from Italy and on the east from Asia.

As far as one can pierce the obscurity of those remote ages, apparently the first inhabitants of Greece were the Pelasgi and the Iaones, or Ionians, members of the great Aryan race.

The Pelasgi covered with their tribes Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and planted in those countries the first seeds of civilization. In their monuments they have left imperishable proofs of their activity and power, but they themselves have disappeared, and no trustworthy tradition concerning them exists. At Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Argos the remains of structures, called cyclopean and attributed to them, are still seen.

By the unaided efforts of her aborigines Greece was emerging from a savage condition, when, according to traditions now abandoned, but rendered lifelike by legend and poetry, colonies arrived from the more civilized countries of Asia and Africa, who brought with them knowledge of the useful arts and a purer religion. Thus the Egyptian

Cecrops, disembarking in Attica, is said to have collected the inhabitants into twelve small towns, of which Athens became later on the capital, and to have taught them to cultivate the olive, to extract its oil, and to till the ground. To draw closer the bonds of this new society, he is said to have instituted the laws of marriage and the tribunal of the Areopagus, whose just decisions prevented injurious quarrels.

What Cecrops did in Attica, Cadmus is reported to have done in Bœotia, whither he brought the Phœnician alphabet, and where he built the Cadmeum around which Thebes sprang up. At Argos Danaus introduced some of the Egyptian arts. The Phrygian Pelops settled in Elis, whence his progeny spread over almost the whole peninsula, which, as the Peloponnesus, preserves his name. Though only legends, these traditions hand down the memory of the ancient relations between Greece and the opposite coasts.

For Greece the most important event of this far-distant age was the invasion of the Hellenes. From the north of Greece, their first halting-place, they scattered all over the country, and effaced the Pelasgi by absorbing them.

**Heroic Times. The Trojan War.** — The Hellenes were divided into four tribes: the Ionians and Dorians, who at first remained in obscurity, and the Æolians and Achæans, who were prominent during the heroic period. History had not yet begun. Tradition was content with legends, which describe heroes travelling over Greece to deliver her from the scourge of brigands, oppressors, and ferocious beasts. They passed their lives in combating every form of evil, and received national gratitude and the title and honors of demi-gods, but were slaves to their own passions and abused their strength. Such men were Hercules and Theseus. Also popular songs celebrated the adventurous voyage of the Argonauts to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece; the exploits of the Seven Chiefs, who besieged Thebes, defiled by the crimes of Œdipus and the quarrels of the Epigoni, his sons; the wise Minos, and many other heroes of those fabulous days, whose tragic adventures poetry and art have consecrated.

The Trojan War, which for the first time brought Greece into immediate conflict with Asia, is, if considered in its general features, a historic fact. Troy was the capital of a powerful kingdom in the northwest of Asia Minor and

the last relic of the Pelasgic power. The hostility of race was increased by a deadly injury. Paris, one of the sons of King Priam, was smitten by the beauty of Helen, wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, who had shown him hospitality. He carried her off, and thus enraged all Greece, which took the part of the outraged husband. An immense fleet, led by his brother, Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, landed a numerous army on the shores of the Troad. No decisive engagement took place for ten years. Troy, defended by Hector, the son of Priam, seemed likely to maintain a prolonged resistance, even after her chieftain had fallen under the blows of Achilles. The Greeks, then called the Achæans, employed stratagem. Pretending to withdraw, they left behind as an offering to the gods a mammoth wooden horse, which the Trojans carried inside their walls. The bravest of the Greeks were hidden in its flanks. Thus Troy fell. Hecuba, wife of Priam, and her daughters were carried into slavery. Priam was slain at the foot of the altar. Those of the Achæan princes who had not already fallen, like Patroclus, Ajax, and Achilles, set out for their own country. Some of them perished on the way. Some, like Ulysses, were long held back by contrary winds. Still others, like Agamemnon, found their throne and marriage-bed occupied by usurpers, whose victims they became. Many others, like Diomedes and Idomeneus, were forced to seek a new home in distant regions. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* relate with incomparable charm these old legends in which the popular imagination delighted.

**The Dorian Invasion** (1104 B.C.). **Greek Colonies and Institutions.** — The eighty years which followed the capture of Troy were filled with domestic quarrels, which overthrew the ancient royal families and caused the power to pass to new hands. The Dorians, led by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, invaded the Peloponnesus, surprised defenceless Laconia, drove the Æolians from Messenia and the Achæans from Argos, took possession of Corinth and Megara, and later on marched against Athens, whither the fugitives had retreated. An oracle promised victory to that party whose king should perish first. Codrus, king of Athens, entered the hostile camp in disguise and caused himself to be slain. Thereupon the Dorians immediately withdrew. On account of the troubled times many inhabitants emigrated. On the coast of Asia Minor at Smyrna, Phocæa,

Ephesus, and Miletus, of Africa at Cyrene, of Sicily at Messina and Syracuse, and of Italy at Tarentum, Naples, and Sybaris, something like a new Greece was formed, which for a long time was richer and more beautiful than the mother country. In the Asiatic colonies, at the point of contact with Eastern society, was first established that civilization of which Athens afterward became the resplendent centre.

Despite its dispersion on so many shores and its division into so many states, the great Hellenic family preserved its national unity. This was brought about by community of language and religion, by the renown of certain oracles, and of Delphi in particular, whither people flocked from all parts of the Greek world, and by general institutions such as the Amphyctionic Councils and the Public Games. At the most celebrated of the Amphyctionic Councils, convened at Thermopylæ and Delphi, the deputies of a dozen peoples discussed common interests, and punished attacks upon the national religion or honor. The Olympian Games, where victory was passionately disputed, occurred every four years. They furnished the basis for chronology because, beginning with the year 776 B.C., the name of Corœbus, who won the prize of the stadium, was inscribed on the public register of the Elians, and it became customary to take the date of his victory as the starting-point in marking events.

## II

### CUSTOMS AND RELIGION OF THE GREEKS

**Spirit of Liberty in Customs and Institutions.** — In that mountainous land, where nature renders life a struggle, and which the free waters surround, has always breathed the spirit of independence, even in its most ancient traditions. The kings were only military chieftains. When rendering justice, they were aided by the old men. Their revenues were voluntary gifts and a larger share of the booty and of the sacrifices. There is no trace of that servile adoration which Eastern monarchs received. There was no separate clergy and no holy book like the Bible, the Vedas, or the Avesta. Consecrated doctrines were lacking, and imagination was unrestrained. Every head of a family was the priest of his own home.

The aristocracy did not form a caste. The nobles were the strongest, the most agile, the bravest. Because they possessed those qualities, they were considered sons of the gods. Between them and the people there existed no impassable barrier, and no one lived idly on the renown of his ancestors. Each man made his own place, at first by force and later on by intelligence. What a distance from the East, with its absolute rule of deities or of kings and priests, their representatives! Here man commands! All must be movement, passion, boundless desires, audacious efforts. Prometheus has broken his chains and stolen fire from heaven in the form of life and thought!

Below the nobles, who constituted the king's council and held the line of the war-chariots in battle, was the body of freemen who, in the middle of the public square, formed the assembly around the circle of polished stones where the leaders sat with the prince. Though they took as yet no part in the deliberations, they heard all important questions discussed, and by their approving or hostile murmurs influenced the decision. Thus from most distant times Greece had the custom of public assemblies. The necessity

of convincing before commanding stimulated the mind of the people. The condition of the slave was mild. He was the family servant. When the aged herdsman Eumæus recognized his master's son, he kissed him on the brow and eyes, and the dying Alcestis offered her hand to her women as she bade them her last farewell.

The family was better constituted than among any oriental nation, the Jews alone excepted. Polygamy was prohibited. If Greek women were still bought, more than one already possessed the severe dignity of the Roman matron. They exercised care over domestic affairs. The daughters of kings drew water at the fountain like the fair Nausicaa, and Andromache fed the horses of Hector.

The Greek had no liking for tedious repasts or coarse pleasures or drunkenness. Immediately after a frugal meal he wished for games, exercise, dances, bards to chant the glory of the heroes. A stranger at his door was received without indiscreet curiosity, "for the guest is the messenger of Zeus." His wrath was terrible. On the field of battle he did not spare the fallen enemy. Still he might be appeased by gifts and entreaties, "those halting but tireless daughters of great Zeus, who follow after wrong to heal the wounds it has made, and who know how to touch the hearts of the valiant." Each warrior, feeling the need of friends, had a brother-in-arms, and self-sacrifice was the first law of those indissoluble friendships. Ten years after his return to Lacedæmon Menelaus still shut himself up in his palace to mourn for the friends whom he had lost under the walls of Troy.

Later on two unpleasant traits were naturally developed in Greek character: venality, because the Greeks were poor and the East had gold in profusion; duplicity, because they were surrounded by barbarians and must resist force by cunning.

We must furthermore remark that, though the amiable and charming qualities we have mentioned caused among this people many instances of individual greatness through courage, poetry, art, and thought, yet they did not result in the durable greatness of the nation. Political sagacity, which knows how to conciliate conflicting interests and found great states, was not included among the gifts which this privileged race received or acquired.

**Religion.** — Their religion was, at first, only the natural-

ism brought by them from Asia which had been their cradle. At the side of the legends of the heroes and gods, we find the adoration of forests, mountains, winds, and rivers. Agamemnon invokes the latter as great divinities, and to one of them Achilles consecrated his hair. This nature worship outlived paganism. In modern Greece people may still be met who believe in spirits of the waters. Nature assumes imaginary and changing forms. When looked at through mental darkness, these speedily become, in the eyes of faith, realities which anthropomorphism seizes upon and converts into personal gods. Idealized physical forces seem to be spiritual beings, and these spiritual beings acquire a body. "God made man in his own image," says Genesis. The Greeks made their gods in the image of man. The conception is the same at bottom, and yet the difference is great, for the point of departure is, on the one hand, the infinite perfections of the Supreme Being, and on the other, the finiteness of humanity. Hence the scandals of Olympus, together with its grandeurs, and the unsavory history of those gods, who were subject to all human passions, wrath, hatred, violence, and even human woes. "Servitude," exclaims a poet, "why, Demeter endured it! The smith of Lemnos, and Poseidon, and Apollo of the silver bow, and Ares the terrible endured it also!" In the combats before Troy many are wounded. "Their blood flows," says Homer, "but a blood that resembles dew, a sort of divine vapor."

When the theodicy of later times had defined with precision the functions of the immortals, those who counted the greatest number of worshippers were the twelve great gods of Olympus. Their chief, the enfeebled representative of the ancient idea of a Supreme Cause, was Zeus, who still shook the universe with his frown. But there were many other divinities, since Greek polytheism, by raising to divine rank the phenomena of nature, the passions of men, good things and evil, was led to multiply the gods incessantly.

These gods, not always respectable, were, nevertheless, considered the vigilant guardians of justice. The Furies, inexorable ministers of their vengeance, attached themselves to the guilty, whether living or dead. Their hair interwoven with serpents, one hand armed with a scourge of vipers and the other brandishing a torch, they filled the soul with terror and the heart with torture. This deifica-

tion of remorse was all the more necessary as a moral sanction because this religion was as uncertain of the future life as was ancient Judaism. No doubt punishment awaited the criminal in the infernal regions, and the just were rewarded, but how empty the rewards! In the Elysian Fields, amid groves of fruit and flowers in a perpetual summer the souls of the blessed continued to enjoy the pleasures which they had loved on earth. Minos still sat in judgment as in his island of Crete; Nestor recounted his exploits; Tiresias uttered oracles, and Orion hunted the wild beasts which he had formerly slain on the mountains, all regretting their life the while. "Console me not for my death," said the shade of Achilles. "I would rather till the soil for some poor husbandman than reign here." Moreover this immortality is promised only to heroes. As for the masses, they can count only on the good and the ill of this present life which the gods deal out to them. There is a kinship between the members of the city as of the family. The sons will be punished or rewarded even unto the third generation for the faults and virtues of their fathers; peoples likewise for those of their kings, and kings for their peoples. Such is the blessing and the warning of Abraham; a precious belief in default of a more energetic spring of action, and one which Hesiod sets forth in magnificent verses.

The gods could be appeased by offerings and prayers. At the door of the temple stood the priest, sprinkling lustral water upon the hands and heads of the worshippers. The sacrifice, always celebrated in the open air, was a sacred banquet, a sort of religious communion between the god, the priests, and the devotees. In the centre of the temple rose the statue of the god, surrounded by the statues of deities or heroes whom he condescended to admit within his sanctuary. On the walls offerings and votive gifts were suspended in gratitude for some marvellous cure or unexpected deliverance. Relics of the heroes were preserved. At Olympia the shoulder of Pelops by contact healed certain maladies. At Tegæa the bones of Orestes rendered that city victorious as long as it possessed them. The statues of the gods exerted special influences; one cured colds, another the gout. The image of Hercules at Erythræ restored sight to a blind man. Often the images exuded perspiration, moved their arms and eyes, and rattled their

weapons. At Andros, annually on the festival of Bacchus, water was changed into wine. The temples possessed property which did not belong to the priests, and, like churches in the Middle Ages, many enjoyed the right of asylum. Private persons or cities could be excluded from the sacrifices. Whole nations, placed under the ban of excommunication, were exterminated, like the Albigenses in France.

All peoples have tried to wrest from the future its secrets. All have had sorcerers or magicians or augurs, like the Greeks who interpreted celestial signs, dreamers who beheld the invisible, or rhapsodists, like the Pythia of Delphi, who felt the god move within and gave forth his oracles. By a strange misconception the philosophers accepted this superstition. "God," said Plato, "has bestowed divination upon man to supply his lack of intelligence," and the generals and politicians were obliged to reckon with it. However, let us note Hector's indignant protest against these pretended voices from on high, which may deceive. "The best of omens," said he, "is to defend one's country."

If the Hellenic gods did not greatly influence the moral development of their worshippers, they did much for art and poetry, and they did not fetter philosophic thought. "You will die," was the apostrophe to them of Prometheus through the mouth of Æschylus in a century of faith, "and some day these nations will hear a voice crying, 'The gods are dead!'"

## III

### LYCURGUS AND SOLON

**Sparta before Lycurgus.** — We know almost nothing concerning the history of Sparta during the two centuries which preceded Lycurgus. Only we see that the Spartans, few in number in the midst of a people who had not emigrated at the time of conquest, were obliged to remain constantly under arms, like an army encamped in a hostile country. The Dorians concentrated around Sparta, and alone constituted the state, since they alone could be present at the assemblies where the laws were enacted, and alone held public office. They had two classes of subjects: in the open town the Laconians, who possessed civil rights; in the country the Helots, or serfs attached to the soil, condemned to plough and harvest for their masters. The Spartans composed the ruling race, and were all equal to one another.

However, this equality gradually became disturbed. Powerful families arose, while others lost their lands. Hence there was disorder within the city and weakness outside. One man attempted to stop this premature decline by restoring the ancient customs. This man was Lycurgus.

**Lycurgus: His Political Ideas.** — The widow of his brother, King Polydectes, offered him her hand and the Spartan throne if he would put his nephew Charilaus to death. He refused, but the nobles, irritated by his wise administration during the minority of the young prince, forced him into exile. He travelled for a long time, studying the laws of other nations, and returned to Lacedæmon with Homer's poems after an absence of eighteen years. With her religious authority the Pythia of Delphi supported the reforms which he proposed, and which the Spartans, weary of their dissensions, welcomed with favor. His laws maintained the relation already established between the dominant Spartans and the subject Laconians. They regulated the rights of the two kings, Sparta being a dual monarchy; of the

senate, composed of twenty-eight members of at least sixty years of age; of the general assembly, which could adopt or reject propositions presented by the senate and kings; and lastly of the Ephory, a body of magistrates appointed annually, perhaps instituted by Lycurgus, but whose great power dates from a later period. By hereditary right the two kings were the high priests of the nation, commanded the army, and were to enforce the decrees formulated by the senate and freely accepted by the popular assembly.

**Civil Laws.** — His civil laws aimed at the establishment of equality among the citizens. To effect this, he divided the land into 39,000 plots, — 30,000 for the Laconians and 9,000 for the Spartans. This division was attended with great difficulties, and led to a riot, in which Lycurgus was wounded; nevertheless, it succeeded. The 9,000 lots of the Spartans comprised the greater part of Laconia, and naturally included the most fertile lands, whose value the Helots were to increase. Forbidding the alienation to strangers of any of these lots, Lycurgus erected them into a sort of permanent military fiefs. War constantly diminished the number of the Spartans, so that they numbered only a thousand in the time of Aristotle. Consequently great wealth accumulated in the hands of a few families. The Laconians, on the contrary, could ally themselves with foreigners, so their number increased; but their possessions relatively decreased, and the time came when there was only a small number of rich people and below them a multitude of poor. Hence arose revolutions which disturbed the last days of Sparta.

To maintain equality, Lycurgus prohibited luxury and the use of gold or silver money, and instituted public repasts, where the strictest frugality always reigned. At the same time, he forbade to the Spartans commerce, arts, or letters, and prescribed for all the citizens the same exercises, setting forth as the single aim of their whole life to provide and train robust defenders for the country. The same principle guided the education of the children, who belonged far more to the state than to their parents. The child born deformed was put to death. The rest, by means of violent exercises, which were imposed also on the girls, acquired strength and suppleness, and all were inspired with sentiments of respect for old age and the law, and of contempt for pain and death.

**The Messenian Wars.** — Delivered from dissensions by this rigorous legislation, Sparta completed the conquest of Laconia, and began that of the Peloponnesus. She first turned her arms against the Messenians, a Doric tribe settled west of the Taygetus mountains. There were two wars; the one lasted twenty years (743–723), the other seventeen (685–668). The hero of the first was the fierce Aristodemus, who immolated his daughter in obedience to an oracle, and killed himself, that he might not witness the humiliation of his people after the capture of Ithome, which he had defended for ten years. In the second, Aristomenes performed marvels. Not only did he vanquish the Spartans, but he made his way by night into their city and hung up a trophy in one of their temples. In vain did the poet Tyrtæus stimulate the courage of the Lacedæmonians. Aristomenes, after being made prisoner, and cast alive into the deep pit called Ceadas, escaped, and recommenced his daring career. When betrayed by his ally, the king of the Arcadians, and defeated in a great battle, he retired to Mount Ira and there held out for eleven years. At last he was forced to yield, but preferred exile to servitude. Many Messenians emigrated and founded Messina in Sicily. Those who remained in Messenia shared the fate of the Helots.

This conquest was followed by wars against the cities of Tegea and Argos, but neither was completely subdued. The Spartans, in the sixth century before our era, were considered the leading people of Greece, and were in fact the most formidable.

**Athens until the Time of Solon. The Archonship.** — After the death of Codrus, Athens abolished the monarchy and appointed archons. Their office until 752 was for life, then for ten years, after 683 for only one year, and finally was shared by nine magistrates. This divided authority could not check the excesses of the aristocracy or the projects of the ambitious. The stern code of Draco, which punished every offence with death, was rejected, and troubles continued.

**Solon.** — In 594 the task of reforming the laws and the constitution was intrusted to Solon, then famous for his poetry. He began by making the payment of debt easier, and by releasing all debtors, but he refused to allow the partition of land which the poor demanded. His aim was

to abolish an oppressive aristocracy, without, however, establishing what would be called to-day a radical democracy. He divided the people into four classes, according to property. To belong to the first class, one must possess an income of 500 medimni, about eighty-five dollars; for the second class, 400; for the third, 300. Those who had a smaller income were the fourth class, or Thetes. Only members of the first three classes were eligible to public office, but all might attend the public assemblies and sit in the tribunals. The nine archons, the supreme magistrates of the state, could not discharge military duties. The senate consisted of 400 members, chosen by lot from the first three classes, and subjected to severe tests. Every proposition, made to the public assembly, must be first discussed by it. The people confirmed the laws, nominated to office, deliberated on state affairs, and filled the courts in order to try great lawsuits. The Areopagus, composed of former archons, was the supreme tribunal for capital causes. It superintended morals and magistrates, and could even annul the decisions of the people. Thus this constitution was a clever mixture of aristocracy and democracy, where the management of public affairs was reserved to the enlightened citizens. In his civil laws Solon encouraged labor, and never, like Lycurgus, sacrificed the man to the citizen, or the moral code to politics.

**The Pisistratidæ. Clisthenes. Themistocles.** — After promulgating his laws, the Athenian legislator departed to consult the wisdom of the ancient Eastern nations. When he returned in 565, he found that Athens had given itself a master. The parties, which he had thought to stifle, had reappeared. From these fresh struggles had sprung the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, without abolishing the constitution, managed, as the favorite of the people and the leader of the democracy, to exercise in the city an influence which annulled that of the magistrates. His mild tyranny, however, was friendly to letters and arts. In 560, by pretending that an attempt had been made upon his life, he succeeded in having guards appointed for his protection. Twice exiled, he was twice recalled, and retained power until his death. He had honored, if not legitimized, his usurpation by a skilful and prosperous administration.

His two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, succeeded (528), and governed together; but when Hipparchus fell, in 514,

under the dagger of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Hippias became a cruel tyrant. The powerful family of the Alcmeonidæ, who had fled from Athens, thought the occasion favorable to overthrow the last of the Pisistratidæ. They bribed the Pythia of Delphi, who induced the Spartans to support them. Aided by a Dorian army, they did in fact return to Athens, and compel Hippias to flee to the Persians (510). The city, thus delivered, fell at once into intestine quarrels. Clisthenes and Isagoras, leaders of the people and of the aristocrats, banished each other in turn. The former finally carried the day, in spite of the succor furnished his rival by the Spartans. To reward the people who had supported him, he made the constitution more democratic, and established ostracism, a custom which consisted in exiling, as dangerous to the city, any citizen whose name was inscribed on at least 6000 voting shells. Athens, the mistress of Eubœa, the Thracian Chersonese, and the island of Lemnos, which Miltiades had conquered, was already a maritime power. To increase her strength, Themistocles built 200 vessels with the income of the silver mines of Larium. This fleet was destined to save Athens and Greece.

## IV

### THE PERSIAN WARS

**Revolt of the Asiatic Greeks from the Persians** (500). — Darius had undertaken his expedition against the Scythians, and had conquered Thrace, without the Greeks paying any heed to this formidable aggressor, who must inevitably be tempted to lay his hand upon their country also. The Asiatic Greeks, who were subject to Persia, struck a blow for liberty. Miletus, a colony of Athens, was the centre of the movement. It asked of the mother city the aid which Sparta had refused to give. Athens furnished vessels and a body of troops, which contributed to the capture and burning of Sardis. A defeat, sustained in their return from this expedition, disgusted the Athenians with the war, the burden of which then fell upon the Ionians, who were crushed in a naval battle. After Miletus was taken, and all the Greek cities of Asia were again subdued, a Persian army commanded by Mardonius crossed to Europe to chastise the allies of the rebels. The Persian fleet was destroyed by a tempest near Mount Athos, and the Thracians inflicted heavy losses upon the land forces, so Mardonius returned to Asia.

**First Persian War. Marathon and Miltiades** (490). — A second expedition, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes, guided by the tyrant Hippias, set out by sea through the Cyclades, which it subdued, and disembarked 100,000 Persians at Marathon. There 10,000 Athenians and 1000 Platæans, under the command of Miltiades, by their heroic courage saved not only their country, but the liberty and the civilization of the world. Hippias fell upon the field of battle. The Persian fleet, after a vain attempt to surprise Athens, sailed away in shame to Asia. Miltiades, the hero of that grand day, was commissioned to subdue the Cyclades, but he failed before Paros. Being accused of treason, he was condemned to a fine, which he could not pay, and died in prison of his wounds. Then Themistocles became the most influential man at Athens. He realized that the Per-

sians would renew their attempt. Taking advantage of an insurrection in Egypt, which forced Darius to postpone his revenge, he devoted all the resources of Athens to increasing the fleet.

**Second Persian War. Salamis** (480). — Xerxes succeeded Darius. After he had reduced Egypt once more to submission, he agitated his immense empire to make a resistless invasion of Greece with a million men and more than 1200 ships. On arriving from Susa at Abydos he threw a bridge across the Dardanelles. To punish Athos, as he said, he had a canal dug, which relieved his fleet of the necessity of sailing round that dangerous promontory. Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly were deluged with troops, and submitted. He encountered resistance only at the Pass of Thermopylæ. King Leonidas, who held it with 300 Spartans and a few Thespians, thwarted all his efforts, but a traitor showed the Persians a path by which they could outflank the heroic band. They still refused to retreat, and in the very camp of Xerxes sought a glorious death. After Thermopylæ had been forced, the Greek fleet could no longer remain off Artemisium, at the north of Eubœa, where it had anchored at first. It withdrew to Salamis, leaving Attica and central Greece defenceless. Xerxes entered Athens, which he burned. He believed the war was finished, but all Athens was on board her ships. Themistocles employed a stratagem to keep the Greeks together at a favorable point, and excited Xerxes to end all by a naval battle. From the throne erected for him on the shore the great king beheld the defeat and destruction of his fleet at the battle of Salamis. Six months after crossing the Hellespont as a conqueror, he repassed it as a fugitive.

**Platæa** (479). — He had, however, left Mardonius in Greece with 300,000 men. A hundred thousand Greeks collected at Platæa under the orders of Pausanias, king of Sparta. Of the barbarian host only a detachment escaped, which had retreated before the battle. On the same day the Greek fleet won a complete victory at Mycale on the Asiatic coast. Thus the European continent was purged from the barbarians, and the sea was free. Athens launched out upon it.

**Continuance of the War by Athens.** — To Athens belongs the chief honor in resisting the Persian invasion. Alone she had conquered at Marathon with Miltiades. At Salamis

her Themistocles had again assured the victory by forcing the allies to conquer in spite of themselves. The glory of Mycale belonged almost wholly to her, and she had shared that of Platæa. Sparta could cite only the immortal but futile self-sacrifice of Leonidas. The treachery of King Pausanias, whom the ephors had sent to Thrace to expel the Persian garrisons, and who treated secretly with Xerxes, completely disgusted Lacedæmon with this war. Athens, thus left alone at the head of the allies, boldly accepted the rôle of antagonist to the great king. She herself assumed the offensive. Soon, asking vessels and money from her allies instead of soldiers, she continued the struggle in the name of Greece, but on her own account and for her own advantage. She subdued Amphipolis and a part of Thrace, whither she sent 10,000 colonists, and undertook to free the Asiatic Greeks. Cimon in one day gained two victories, one by land and one by sea, near the banks of the Eurymedon (466). Thereby he secured for Athens the empire of the seas, and, taking possession of the Thracian Chersonese, he wrested from the Persians the key to Europe.

**Last Victories of the Greeks. Cimon.** — Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne in 465, and beheld the shame of his empire still further increased. Another rebellion in Egypt threatened the Persian monarchy with dismemberment. The Athenians hastened to aid the rebels, who held out for seven years. The banishment of Cimon, who was ostracized, and the rivalry of Sparta and Athens, which led to the first war between the two republics and their allies, gave a little respite to the Persians. But Cimon was recalled, and reconciled Athens and Sparta. Immediately he began hostilities against the common enemy. One victory near Cyprus, and another on the coast of Asia, gloriously terminated both his military career and the Persian wars. The great king, threatened even in his own dominions, signed a humiliating treaty, which restored liberty to the Asiatic Greeks (448). His fleet was prohibited from entering the Ægean Sea, and his armies from approaching within three days' march of its coasts. Cimon died in his triumph.

## V

### THE AGE OF PERICLES

**The Athenian People.** — During this struggle Athens had been admirably served by the great men who had succeeded each other as her generals or statesmen: Miltiades, the hero of Marathon; Themistocles, who so often mingled craft with courage; Aristides, more upright, more just, benefiting Athens by his virtues equally with his valor; and thus inspiring the allies with sufficient confidence to trust to him their vessels and treasures, a man who, after having administered the most opulent treasury in Europe, died without leaving enough property to defray his funeral expenses, and bequeathed to the state the duty of paying them and of dowering his daughter; Cimon, son of Miltiades, greater than his father, a hero whose single passion was to unite the Greek cities in fraternal bonds, and pursue the Persians to the death, and avenge the burning of Athens and of her temples. With these illustrious leaders we must associate the Athenian people, a populace often fickle, thankless, and violent, but which redeemed its faults and crimes by its enthusiasm for everything beautiful and grand, by the masterpieces which it inspired, and by the artists and poets whom it gave mankind, and who will forever plead its cause with posterity.

**Pericles.** — Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, the conqueror of Mycale, deserves special mention in this roll of honor. From a fancied facial resemblance to Pisistratus, he long held himself aloof from politics. Though by birth an aristocrat, he attached himself to the popular party. The powerful influence which he acquired by the dignity of his life and his military services he employed to restrain the evil and to develop the good impulses of the people. This little city controlled too vast an empire. To assure its continuance, he sent out numerous colonies, which did not, like those of preceding centuries, become cities independent of the mother country, but rather fortresses and garrisons

Laciadae
Via sacra
Via Eleusinia
Sepulcra
Ceramicus exterior
Porta
Via Colonea
Via Thalamia
Via Lycabettea
Via Cephisiensis
Porta Achamica
Fons
Lycabettus Mons
Dipylum
Sepulcra
Porta sacra
Ceramicus interior
Porta
Via Marathonia
Cyno-sarges
Collytus?
Porta
Colonus?
Dromos
Cloaca
Stoa Hadriani
Diomea
Porta Diomea
Piraea
Herculeum (Thesaeum)
Stoa Basilei
Gigantum
Stoa Attali
Agora
Villa Romana
Via Hamaxitos
Porta
Forum
Horologium
Porta Diocharis
Lyceum
Ceriadae
Nympharum Collis
Mouseium
Minerva Archegetis
Tripodes
Diogenium
Prytaneum
Novae Athenae
Barathrum
Pta. Melitensis
Areopagus
Pnyx
Eleusinium?
Acropolis
Porta
Odeum Herodis
Stoa
Pta. Hadriani
Pta. Equestris?
Carcer Socratis
Eumenis
Theatrum Dionysi
Olympieum
Coele Pnyx
Scambonidae
Via septentrionalis
Murus
Piraea
Via
Monumentum Philopappi
Cydathenaeum
Limnae
Porta Itonia
Porta Sunica
Callirhoe
Ardettus
Stadium
Ilissus R.
Mons
Templum
Pythium?
Odeum vetustissimum
Artemis Agrotera
Musarum Mons
Murus medius
Ilissus R.
Via Phalerica
Sicelia
Via Sacra
ATHENS
Walls of Pisistratus
Walls of Themistocles
Scale 1 : 25000
METERS
100 0 100 200 300 400 500 600

whereby the country in which they were established was held in submission to Athens.

**Great Intellects at Athens.** — Pericles desired that Athens should be not only rich and powerful, but also glorious. He invited thither those superior men who then honored the Hellenic race. From all directions mankind flocked to the city of Minerva as an intellectual capital. The festivals were thronged, where the loftiest pleasures of the mind were associated with the most imposing spectacles of religious pomp, of perfect art, and of nature in her most charming aspect. These festivals were not, like those of the Roman populace, sanguinary games of the amphitheatre with spectacles of death, blood, and corpses, but consisted of pious hymns, patriotic songs, and dramatic representations of events in the history of the gods or of the heroes.

Thus this period, often called the Age of Pericles, beheld at Athens one of the most brilliant bursts of civilization which has ever illumined the world. What a century that was, when, in a single city, there met each other Sophocles and Euripides, two of the greatest tragic poets of all ages; Lysias, the powerful orator; Herodotus, the inimitable narrator; Meton, the astronomer, and Hippocrates, the father of medicine; Aristophanes, foremost of the comic poets of antiquity; Phidias, the most illustrious of its artists; Apollodorus, Zeuxis Polygnotus, and Parrhasius, its most celebrated painters; and in conclusion, two immortal philosophers, Anaxagoras and Socrates. If we remember that this city had just lost Æschylus, and that it was soon to possess Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, we shall not be surprised that it was called "the preceptress of Greece," and that it became the teacher of the world.

**The Parthenon.** — We still read the works of those poets, historians, and philosophers, but of the achievements of the artists only fragments remain. Nevertheless when, seated on the tribune from which Demosthenes spoke, one contemplates the Acropolis, and beholds the exquisite grace, the incomparable beauty, and the imposing grandeur which those ruins of what once were the Parthenon, the Erectheum, and the Propylæa still preserve, he is overwhelmed with admiration. However vivid be in his mind the memory of vast Egyptian monuments, he says to himself that the art eternal is here.

## VI

### RIVALRY OF SPARTA, ATHENS, AND THEBES

**Irritation of the Allies against Athens.** — After the Persian wars were finished, Athens continued to exact tribute money from her confederates on the plea that the Greeks must be ready to repel a fresh invasion. The money thus collected she spent upon herself. The allies grew tired of always paying for those monuments and festivals, which gave such brilliancy to only one city. When their complaints were harshly repressed, they addressed mute supplications to Sparta. Jealous of the glory of Athens, Sparta labored to form a continental league which she could oppose to that of the maritime cities and islands which were subject to the Athenians. From 457 to 431 there were several hostile encounters, but the general war did not break out until the Thebans, who were allies of Sparta, attacked Platæa, which was an ally of Athens.

**The Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Nicias** (431–424). — The struggle at first consisted only of pillaging expeditions on both sides. The Spartans devastated Attica every spring, while every summer the Athenian fleet ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnesus. Unfortunately, in the third year, a pestilence mowed down the people packed together in Athens, and carried off Pericles. Demagogues, unable to control the masses, took the place of the dead statesman. Cleon, the new popular favorite, gave free rein to the passions of the crowd. After the revolt of Mitylene in 427, the Athenian mob condemned a whole people to death, and a thousand Mitylenean prisoners were slain. From 429 to 426 the successes were balanced. The Bœotians destroyed Platæa, but Potidæa was captured by the Athenians. In 424 Brasidas took Amphipolis, thereby apparently giving the advantage to Lacedæmon, but Demosthenes seized Pylos, and thence called the helots to liberty, while 400 Spartans, who had allowed themselves to be shut up in Sphacteria while attempting to reconquer Pylos, were them-

selves overpowered and made prisoners. The Lacedæmonian allies, the Bœotians and Megarians, were beaten. The Athenians in turn met a check at Delium, and Cleon was slain at Potidæa. The Spartan, Brasidas, also fell in the same action. The partisans of peace then regained the upper hand (421), and Nicias caused the treaty to be signed which bears his name.

**The Sicilian Expedition. Alcibiades** (425–413). — This peace upset the calculations of the ambitious and brilliant Alcibiades, the nephew of Pericles. As he desired war that he might win distinction, he proposed and caused to be voted the disastrous expedition to Sicily, which might perhaps have succeeded, had he not been accused of sacrilege and recalled. The traitor then fled to Sparta, and from there directed fatal blows against his own country. The siege of Syracuse, weakly conducted by Nicias, ended in the destruction of the Athenian fleet and army (413). The leaders were put to death by the Syracusans, and the soldiers sold as slaves.

This disaster dealt the power of Athens a blow from which she did not recover. By the advice of Alcibiades, the Spartans fortified Decelea at the entrance to Attica, which they held as though besieged, and allied themselves with the Persians. Athens heroically braved the storm, displayed unexpected resources, and held all her allies to their duty. Fortunately for her, Alcibiades was compelled to flee from Sparta. He withdrew into Asia, and won the good-will of Tissaphernes, by showing him the advantage to the great king in supporting a war so useful to the Persian Empire. By the promise of subsidies from Persia, Alcibiades seduced an Athenian army then at Samos, and brought about a revolution at Athens. The democracy was curbed by the establishment of a superior council, with 400 members, which replaced the senate, and by an assembly of 5000 chosen citizens, which replaced the assembly of the people (411). But the army of Alcibiades, while appointing Alcibiades as its general, repudiated the new government, which fell at the end of four months. The Assembly of the Five Thousand was retained, however, and the reconciliation of the army and people was sealed by the recall of Alcibiades. Two naval battles won in the Hellespont (411), a great victory on land and sea near Cyzicus (410), and lastly the capture of Byzantium (408), consolidated the

dominion of Athens over Thrace and Ionia, and Alcibiades made a triumphal return to his country (407). But the same year several disasters which he was unable to prevent aroused suspicion; he was again stripped of his power and forced into exile. He finally perished at the hands of the Persians.

**The Battle of Ægos Potamos, Capture of Athens** (404).— The younger Cyrus, who was already plotting the overthrow of his brother, King Artaxerxes II, then held command in Asia Minor. For the accomplishment of his projects he counted upon the assistance of the Spartans, whom he regarded as the best soldiers in Greece or in the world. So he gave them unreserved support. By the crushing victory of Ægos Potamos, Lysander wrested from Athens the empire of the sea (405). Athens was unable to resist further, and was captured the following year. Her walls were razed, her fleet reduced to twelve galleys, and the government intrusted to an oligarchy of thirty tyrants, who sanctioned abominable atrocities, and even put to death one of their colleagues, Theramenes, for having suggested moderation. After a few months a returned exile, Thrasyboulos, defeated the army of the tyrants and reëstablished the former constitution (403).

Four years later Socrates was condemned to drink hemlock. He was one of the most illustrious victims of superstition and intolerance.

**Power of Sparta. Expedition of the Ten Thousand. Agesilaus.** — The supremacy in the Greek world had passed from Athens to Lacedæmon, who used it badly. She did little for art or learning, and her chiefs displayed nothing but brutal rapacity and greed.

The younger Cyrus was pursuing his plans. With thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries, he made his way as far as the neighborhood of Babylon, and won the battle of Cunaxa, but he died in the moment of triumph (401). The Greeks, surrounded on all sides, managed, under the leadership of the Lacedæmonian Clearchus, and afterwards of the Athenian Xenophon, to make their way across four hundred leagues of country, over the pathless mountains of upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Pontus, to the shores of the Black Sea. This famous retreat, known as that of the Ten Thousand, revealed the weakness of the great empire. Therefore as early as the year 396 Agesilaus, king of Sparta, pro-

posed its conquest. Conqueror of the satraps of Asia Minor, ally of the Egyptians, who had again revolted, and master of the forces of many barbarian kings, he was about to undertake the Persian expedition, sixty years before Alexander, when the Persians found means to incite a war against Sparta in the very heart of Greece itself. At their instigation, Corinth, Thebes, and Argos formed a league, which Athens and Thessaly joined. Agesilaus, thus recalled from Asia, won the battle of Coronea, which strengthened the dominion of Sparta on land; but the Athenian Conon, in command of a Phœnician fleet, deprived her of the empire of the sea, and with Persian gold rebuilt the ramparts of Athens.

**Treaty of Antalcidas.** — The Spartans, disturbed by the strength of their rivals, sent Antalcidas to treat with the great king. The Asiatic Greeks became his subjects, Athens retained Lemnos, Imbros, and Seyros, but the independence of the other Greek cities was recognized (387). In Cimon's treaty it had been Athens who imposed her conditions upon Persia. The change had come, not because Persia was more powerful, but Greece less virtuous. Everything was for sale, and as the great king had much gold, he bought everything, orators, soldiers, fleets, cities. The outcome of a war no longer depended upon the patriotism of the citizens and the talent of the leaders, but upon an obolus more or less in the wages of the mercenaries which induced them to pass from one camp to the other.

**Struggle between Sparta and Thebes. Epaminondas** (381–362). — The alliance against Sparta had placed Greece at the feet of Persia. Yet Sparta seemed strong, and believed herself able to act as she pleased. One day she destroyed Mantinea without cause and overthrew Olynthus. Finally one of her generals, Phibidias, violating all justice, surprised the Cadmeum, the citadel of Thebes, which was then the ally of Lacedæmon. The Spartans retained what treachery had given them (382). The Theban Pelopidas at the head of many exiles delivered his country, and reunited in a common alliance all the cities of Bœotia. At Leuctra Epaminondas crushed the army the Spartans had sent against them (371), and ventured to carry the war into the Peloponnesus. He fought his way to the very walls of Sparta, which however he was unable to enter. To hold it in check he built on its flanks Megalopolis and Messene,

which became fortresses and camps of refuge for the Arcadian and Messenian foes of Sparta (369). Against Thebes Sparta excited Athens, Persia, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Then Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus a second time, made an alliance with the Persian court, and created a navy of one hundred vessels which supported Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium in revolt against Athens. Unhappily for Thebes, Epaminondas a third time invaded the Peloponnesus, and perished in the arms of victory at Mantineia (362). The power of his country fell with him.

# VII

## PHILIP OF MACEDON, AND DEMOSTHENES

**Philip.** — Macedon, a vast region to the north of Thessaly and of the Ægean Sea, very early had kings who, surrounded by barbarous peoples and dominated by a powerful aristocracy, had hitherto played only an insignificant part. Before Philip, the father of Alexander, Macedon was even in a desperate situation. She paid tribute to the Illyrians, and the haughty intervention of Thebes and Athens in her affairs only increased the chaos. Philip, who had been sent to Thebes as a hostage, was brought up in the house of Epaminondas, and saw how the genius of one man could elevate a nation. Therefore on attaining power (359) he was able in two years, by means of the phalanx which he had organized in accordance with the ideas of Epaminondas, to rid the kingdom of the barbarians and himself of two competitors.

**Capture of Amphipolis. Occupation of Thessaly.** — Macedon once set free, he wished to enlarge and make it the ruler of Greece. The Greek colonies, established on her coasts, cut her off from the sea and prevented her having a navy; so he captured them one after another. First he purchased the neutrality of the powerful republic of Olynthus by giving it Potidæa, which he had seized. Then he took Amphipolis, which Athens deceived by his promises was unable to succor. Next he completed the conquest of the country between the Nestos and the Strymon, where he found building-timber for his navy, and the gold mines of Mount Pangæus, that furnished him a revenue of a thousand talents. Afterwards he penetrated into Thrace, which he partially subdued, and attacked Byzantium, which was delivered by Athens. Checked in that quarter, he turned to another. He interfered in the affairs of Thessaly, where he overthrew the tyrants of Pheræ, and appointed himself the champion of religion against the Phocians, who had just been condemned by the Amphictyonic Council for having

tilled a sacred field. He crushed them in a great battle (352). The grateful Thessalians opened three of their towns to the avenger of the gods. He put a garrison inside and thereby held the entire province. He wished to go further and seize Thermopylæ. But the Athenians by their vigilance at first frustrated this project, as they had frustrated one attempt upon Byzantium and another upon Europe.

**Demosthenes.** — The Athenians alone seemed active in the interests of Greece. They were led by a great citizen, Demosthenes, who constantly employed his vigorous eloquence in unveiling the ambitious designs of the king. But his philippics could not overcome craft supported by force. Olynthus, which Demosthenes tried to save, fell, and with it the barrier that embarrassed Macedonia the most (348). Athens, now menaced in Eubœa and even in Attica, whither Macedonian troops had come to remove the trophies of Marathon and Salamis, signed a peace which Demosthenes himself advised and which he negotiated with the king.

**Second Sacred War** (346). **Battle of Chæronea** (338).— While Athens confiding in this treaty gave herself up to festivals, Philip passed through Thermopylæ, overwhelmed the Phocians and made them give him the vote which they had in the Amphictyonic Council (346). This was a decisive step, for, once a member of the Hellenic body, the king could make the Amphictyonic Council speak in accordance with his interests and use it as his own instrument of oppression. Nevertheless, since he knew how to wait, he halted almost immediately in order to avoid any dangerous outbreak of despair, and turned his arms toward the Danube, which he made the boundary of his kingdom, and toward Thrace, where Phocion still prevented him from seizing the Greek colonies established on the Hellespont. While he was so far from Thermopylæ, his agents worked for him in Greece. Æschines caused the management of a new sacred war against the Locrians to be intrusted to him. For the second time religion was going to ruin this far from religious people. Philip, on arriving in central Greece, seized Elatea.

Demosthenes immediately broke silence. He reunited Athens and Thebes for a supreme effort, but Greek liberty was overthrown at Chæronea (338). The victor did himself honor by his moderation, and in order to justify the supreme

authority which he had just grasped, he had himself appointed by the Amphictyonic Council general-in-chief of the Greeks against the Persians. He was about to repeat the expedition of Agesilaus, though with far larger forces.

Macedon was now a powerful state extending from Thermopylæ to the Danube, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Its government had nothing to fear from internal troubles or pretenders to the throne. The aristocracy, the cause of previous disorders, had been won over by the glory of the monarch, by honors and offices, or were restrained by the hostages which they had been compelled to give that the royal guard might be composed entirely of young nobles. But death arrested Philip at the age of forty-seven in the midst of his plans. He was assassinated by a noble Pausanias, probably instigated by the Persians (336).

## VIII

### ALEXANDER

(336–323)

**Submission of Greece to Alexander** (336–334). — Great disturbances broke out at the news that Philip had left as his heir Alexander, a young man of twenty. However, Alexander rapidly subdued Thrace and Illyricum, vanquished the barbarians on both banks of the Danube, and, learning that the Macedonian garrison had been massacred at Thebes, arrived in Bœotia thirteen days after leaving the Danube. "Demosthenes called me a child," he said, "when I was in Illyricum, and a youth when I arrived in Thessaly. Under the walls of Athens I will show him that I am a man." He took Thebes, slew six thousand of its inhabitants, and sold thirty thousand into slavery. The terrified Greeks at Corinth conferred upon him the title, already bestowed upon his father, of general-in-chief for the Persian War.

**Expedition against Persia** (334). **Conquest of the Asiatic Coast and Egypt.** — He crossed the Hellespont with 30,000 foot and 4500 horse, defeated at Granicus 110,000 Persians, then marched along the coast so as to shut Greece from the agents of Darius, and thus deprive them of the means of exciting disorders there. Darius tried to arrest him at Issus in Cilicia. Alexander vanquished him (333). Disdaining to pursue he continued the plan which he had marked out in the occupation of the maritime cities. Without anxiety he devoted seven months to the siege of Tyre, and spent another year in Egypt, where he sacrificed to the native gods so as to win over the inhabitants. He founded Alexandria, and induced the priests of Ammon to bestow upon him the title of Son of the Gods, which the ancient Pharaohs had borne (332).

**Conquest of Persia. Death of Darius. Murder of Clitus** (334–327). — After conquering the maritime provinces of the empire, Alexander traversed Palestine and Syria,

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crossed the Euphrates, where the Persians did not oppose his passage, and the Tigris, which they defended no better, and at last attacked and completely defeated Darius in the plain of Arbela (331). Sure that no army of the Persian king could resist his Macedonians, he allowed that prince to again flee toward his eastern provinces. He descended to Babylon, where he sacrificed to Bel, whose temple overthrown by Xerxes he restored, and hurried to occupy the other capitals of Darius: Susa, which contained immense riches; Pasargadæ, the sanctuary of the empire; and Persepolis, which he burned, thereby announcing to the whole East that a new conqueror had seated himself upon the throne of Cyrus. With headlong speed he subdued, or caused his generals to subdue, the neighboring mountaineers. He entered Ecbactana a week after the king had left it, continued the pursuit and was on the point of again attacking him, when three satraps, whose prisoner the unfortunate prince had become, cut the throat of Darius and left only a corpse for the conqueror. Bessus, one of the assassins, tried to make Bactriana a centre of resistance. Alexander gave him no time. He rapidly traversed Aria and Bactriana as far as the Oxus. Bessus, who had retreated beyond that river, was delivered into his hands, and a council of Medes and Persians surrendered him to the brother of Darius, who caused him to undergo a thousand tortures.

Alexander wintered in those regions. On the shores of the Iaxartes he founded a new Alexandria, which he peopled with Greek mercenaries, invalid soldiers, and barbarians. The capture of the Sogdian Rock, the marriage of Alexander with Roxana, the daughter of a Persian nobleman, and the foundation of many cities completed the subjugation of Sogdiana, where the conqueror left great but also terrible memories. He tortured Philotas and his father, Parmenio, because of a conspiracy which they had not revealed, murdered Clitus during an orgy, and put to death the philosopher Callisthenes for a plot to which he was a stranger.

**Alexander beyond the Indus. His Return to Babylon, and Death** (327–323). — The Persian Empire no longer existed. It was now the Macedonian Empire. Alexander did not find it large enough, and wished to add India thereto. Upon the banks of the Cophen he met an Indian king, Taxiles, who entreated his aid against Porus, another Indian monarch. His soldiers felled a whole forest to construct a fleet upon

the Indus, and Porus was conquered and captured. "How do you wish to be treated?" Alexander asked his prisoner. "Like a king," replied Porus. The captive was allowed to retain his states, which were also enlarged, and was assigned the duty of maintaining the country in submission. Alexander wished to penetrate into the valley of the Ganges, but his army refused to go farther and he was obliged to halt. After marking the extreme limit of his triumphant course by twelve altars around which he celebrated games, he returned to the Indus, which he descended to the ocean, subjugating the people along the banks, founding cities, dockyards, and ports, and carefully exploring the mouths of the river. He returned to Babylon through the deserts of Gedrosia and Carmania, through which no army had ever marched. Meanwhile his admiral, Nearchus, coasted with the fleet along the shore and returned by the Persian Gulf that he might indicate to commerce the road to India.

Notwithstanding the many recruits which Macedon and Greece had sent him, Alexander could not have founded so many cities and maintained his subjects in obedience, if he had not pursued a wise policy toward the conquered. He sacrificed to their gods, respected their customs, left the civil government in the hands of the natives, and endeavored to unite victors and vanquished by marriages, of which he himself set the example by wedding Barsina, or Statira, the daughter of Darius. The military forces alone remained in the hands of his Macedonians. He counted that the beneficent influence of commerce would create between East and West, between Persia and Greece, common interests and weld those many diverse peoples into one formidable empire. Death overtook him at Babylon (323) and put an end to his mighty plans. No one after him had sufficient strength or authority to take them up. When about to draw his last breath, he had given his ring to Perdiccas. His other lieutenants asked him to whom he left his crown. "To the most worthy, but I fear I shall have a bloody funeral." He was only thirty-two years of age and had reigned twelve.

**The Age of Alexander.** — Great men again in the age of Philip and Alexander added to the glorious patrimony which their ancestors had bequeathed. Praxiteles, the most graceful of Greek sculptors, and the painter Pamphilus, the master of Apelles, followed Phidias, Polycletus, and Zeuxis.

Nevertheless art diminished. Taste became less pure and style less severe. Too much was yielded to form. Art spoke to the eye rather than to the mind. Eloquence and philosophy, however, showed no decline. The tribune of Athens resounded with the impassioned and virile accents of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Hegesippus. Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, contributed the movement and splendor of his periods, and Phocion his virtue, the most powerful weapon of oratory.

After the death of Socrates his disciples dispersed. Plato, the most illustrious of them all, had returned to Athens and taught in the gardens of Academus. The Greeks, charmed by the matchless grace of his speech, reported that his father was Apollo and that the bees of Hymettus had deposited their honey upon his lips in the cradle. Aristotle, his pupil and rival, the teacher of Alexander, has fastened upon himself the eternal attention of mankind by other merits. His vast and mighty genius desired to understand all, the laws of the human mind as well as the laws of nature. Philosophy still pursues the double path which those preëminent intellects marked out, idealistic with the one, rational and positive with the other. Xenophon, a gentle spirit and amiable narrator, ranks far below them.

# IX

## CONVERSION OF GREECE AND OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS INTO ROMAN PROVINCES

(323-146)

**Dismemberment of Alexander's Empire.** — Three months after Alexander's death, his wife Roxana gave birth to Alexander Aigos. The conqueror left a natural son named Hercules; a half-brother, the imbecile Arrhideus, and two sisters, Cleopatra and Thessalonica. His imperious mother, Olympias, was still alive. After long debates Arrhideus and Alexander Aigos were both proclaimed. Antipater was placed over the European forces, Craterus was made a sort of guardian to Arrhideus, and Perdiccas became a general prime minister. Continual convulsions during twenty-four years resulted from this divided authority, and cost the lives of all the members of the royal family and of a majority of the generals. The empire was rent asunder along the lines of its ancient nationalities. Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Macedon were reconstructed after the decisive battle of Ipsus, where Antigonus made a last effort to restore unity (301).

**Kingdoms of Syria** (201–64) **and Egypt** (301–30).— Seleucus Nicator, one of the victors of Ipsus, founded the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, to whom he gave for capitals Seleucia and Antioch and for empire all the countries comprised between the Indus and the Ægean Sea. His son could not prevent the Gauls from settling in Galatia. Antiochus II, despite his surname of the God, saw two kingdoms rise in his eastern provinces, that of the Bactrians, which did not last, and that of the Parthians, which renewed the Persian monarchy. Antiochus III the Great (224–187) ventured to attack the Romans, who vanquished him at Thermopylæ (191) and Magnesia (190), wrested from him Asia on this side of the Tarsus, and reduced Syria itself to a Roman province (64).

Egypt saw better days under the first of the Lagidæ, all

of whom bore the name of Ptolemy. It was then a powerful state, the centre of the world's commerce, the asylum of letters and science, with a magnificent library at Alexandria. But the clever kings were speedily succeeded by debauched, cruel, incapable sovereigns, and after them by foreign intervention.

Thus Ptolemy Soter (301) added to his kingdom Cyrenaïca, Cyprus, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia. Philadelphus (285) developed the navy and maintained two successful wars, one against his brother Magas, governor of Cyrene, and the other against the king of Syria, who was unable to conquer Egypt. Euergetes (247) penetrated in Asia as far as Bactriana and in Africa to the interior of Ethiopia, while his lieutenants subjugated the coasts of Arabia Felix to secure the trade-route to India. Philopator (222) began the decline, which Epiphanes (205) hastened by placing himself under the tutelage of the Romans, who thenceforth constantly intermeddled in Egyptian affairs till the days of Cæsar and Cleopatra. The latter was a dangerous siren, to whom Antony sacrificed his honor, his fortune, and his life. Octavius resisted her, and the queen, threatened with adorning a Roman triumph, died from the poison of an asp. Egypt became a Roman province (30), as the kingdom of Pergamos in Asia Minor had done (129) by virtue of the testament of its last king.

**Kingdom of Macedon** (301–146). **Cynocephalæ and Pydna.** — Macedon did not exist so long, but fell with greater honor, for her last two kings dared withstand Rome, who had become through her triumph over Carthage the greatest military power in the world. The descendants of Antigonus, who was vanquished at Ipsus, had secured for themselves the throne of Macedon, and like Philip and Alexander tried to obtain the supreme power over Greece. During the second Punic War, the Romans by the conquest of Illyricum gained a footing on the Greek peninsula. Philip of Macedon tried to drive them into the sea, and made with Hannibal (215) a treaty which was to assure him the possession of Greece; but a defeat on the banks of the Aoüs forced him to beat a rapid retreat to his kingdom. The Roman senate, taking advantage of the enmities which his ambition had aroused, announced itself the protector of the nations threatened by him. He had the impudence to provoke Rome, now rid of Hannibal. The reply was prompt and

terrible. The legions crushed at Cynocephalæ the phalanx, which had conquered Greece and Asia (197). His son Perseus was no more fortunate at Pydna (168). In 146 Macedon was effaced from the list of nations and the kingdom of Alexander was henceforth nothing but a Roman province.

**Death of Demosthenes** (322). **The Achæan League** (251–146). — While the successors of Alexander were disputing the fragments of his purple robe in Asia, Greece made an effort to recover her liberty. Demosthenes, who had remained the soul of the national party, and Athens, who hoped to be able to break once more the dominion of the stranger, stirred up the Lanian war. It began well but ended in disaster. Demosthenes was banished and took poison (522). On the base of the statue which, later on, his fellow-countrymen erected to his memory, these words were inscribed: "If thy power had equalled thy eloquence, Greece would not to-day be captive." Phocion perished five years later by the order of the Macedonians. However, the Greek cities profiting by the disorders in Macedon regained their liberty; but the foreign rule when it withdrew left behind, like an impure deposit, tyrants in every town. Supported by mercenaries, these men terrorized over the citizens and extorted from their cowardice the gold which served to rivet their bonds. One man, Aratus, undertook to overthrow these detestable rulers. First he reconstituted the ancient federation of the twelve Achæan cities. Then he delivered Sicyon (251), Corinth, Megara, Trezene, Argos, Mantineia, Epidaurus, and Megalopolis from their tyrants, and made alliance with the Ætolian league in order to raise a barrier against the ambition of Macedon. To extend his patriotic work to central Greece, he aided in the deliverance of Athens and Orchomenus. A few efforts more and the Achæan league would have embraced the whole of Hellas.

Unfortunately, Sparta revived with a spasm of reform. Cleomenes made all property common, reëstablished the public meals and reconstituted with foreigners a new Spartan people which immediately contended with the Achæans, and disputed their preponderance in the Peloponnesus. Aratus was constrained to implore assistance from the Macedonians, who defeated Cleomenes at Sellasia (221). This defeat crushed new Sparta, but placed the Achæans in dependence upon Macedon, who made everything bend before

her. The Romans becoming disquieted at this reviving strength prepared to intervene so as to destroy it. The violent deeds of Philip and the murder of Aratus gave them numerous allies, and the Ætolians helped win the battle of Cynocephalæ. Victorious Rome took nothing for herself, but divided everything in order to weaken all. She destroyed the leagues in Thessaly and central Greece by declaring that every city should be free. The Greeks applauded, not without perceiving that this liberty would lead them to servitude. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, the worthy successor of Aratus, at the head of the Achæan league tried to delay the moment of inevitable ruin. Lacedæmon, which had fallen into the hands of the tyrants, was a hotbed of intrigue. Philopœmen slew with his own hand in battle the tyrant Machanidas, and forced his successor Nabis to raise the siege of Messene. Entering Sparta as a victor, he united it to the Achæan league. It was not the policy of Rome that the whole Peloponnesus should form a single state. Her envoys urged Messene to revolt. Philopœmen in an expedition against her fell from his horse, was captured and condemned to drink hemlock (183).

During the war against Perseus, the Achæans secretly but fervently desired his success, and for this Rome called them to account after the victory of Pydna. A thousand of their best citizens were deported to Italy (168). Released seventeen years afterwards, they brought back to their country an imprudent hatred of Rome. When the senate announced that Corinth, Sparta, and Argos must cease to form part of the league, the Achæans flew to arms and fought the last battle for liberty (146) at Leucopetra, near Corinth. Corinth was burned by Mummius, Greece reduced to a province, and this people, who had held so great a place in the world, were lost in the ocean of the Roman power.

## X

### SUMMARY OF GREEK HISTORY

**Services Rendered by the Greeks to General Civilization.** — Epicharmes, the creator of Greek comedy, said twenty-four centuries ago: "All blessings are bought from the gods by labor." What the poet said, Greece proved. By dint of an activity, of which no other people had until then ever furnished an example, did the Greeks succeed in taking so high a rank among the nations. They covered the coasts of the Mediterannean with flourishing cities. They raised a poor and petty country to mastery of the world by arms and commerce, but, above all, by civilization.

Among the sciences by establishing the methods or processes they also created mathematics, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, which Egypt and Chaldæa had only outlined. They laid the foundations of botany and medicine.

In the sciences indeed we have advanced much farther than they by following the path of patient investigation and pure reasoning which Hippocrates, Archimedes, and Aristotle opened up, but in letters, arts, and philosophy the Greeks have remained the eternal masters. The Romans and the moderns have been only their pupils.

They carried to perfection the epic poem with Homer; the elegy with Simonides; the ode with Pindar; tragedy with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, who succeeded in making it grandly religious, patriotic and moral; comedy with Aristophanes and Menander; history with Herodotus and Thucydides; forensic and legal eloquence with Demosthenes, Æschines, Isocrates, and Lysias.

In the arts the world still follows their impulse and imitates their models. While varying their three orders, we copy their architecture. Their mutilated statues are the pride of our museums. Our decorative arts draw inspiration from the graceful designs of their vases or from the ornaments of their temples and tombs. The moderns have

created only one new art, music, and developed one ancient art, painting.

In philosophy, as they had no holy books and consequently no body of fixed doctrines, no sacerdotal class jealously guarding for itself both dogma and learning, no social aristocracy limiting the field of thought, they allowed the utmost freedom to the mind. Thus they created moral and political philosophy in entire independence. They made it the domain of all and assigned as its only aim the quest of truth. Thereby they threw open to the human intellect an immense horizon. That which feeling only vaguely attained, reason proceeded to grasp, and with unequalled power. What have twenty centuries added to the philosophical discoveries of the Hellenes?

In short, such was the fruitfulness of their prolific nature, that on the very ruins of Greek society sprang forth that elevated moral doctrine of stoicism which, combined with and modified by the Christian spirit, is still capable of developing great characters.

The East, earlier than the Hellenes, gave birth to sages, but the people below them were only herds, docile to the voice of the master. In Greece, humanity became conscious of itself. There man assumed full possession of the faculties planted in him by the Creator, and of the sentiment of his own personal dignity. Slavery, preserved in the cities by the politicians and justified in books by the philosophers, was a relic of that past from which the emancipation of the freest nations is always slow.

**Defects of the Political and Religious Spirit among the Greeks.** — Still, this picture has its shadows. Admirable political theorists, with Aristotle at their head, they were able to organize nothing but cities. The idea of a great state was unwelcome to them. Never, except partially and for a brief space during the Persian wars, or too late at the time of the Achæan league, did they consent to join their forces and destinies in fraternal union. Thus they lost their independence on that day when the half-barbaric, half-Hellenic, wholly military Macedonian monarchy was formed at their gates. To Rome their subjugation was still more easy.

The Greek religion, so favorable to art and poetry, was less so to virtue. By representing the gods, personifications of natural forces, as enslaved by the most shameful

passions, committing theft, incest, and adultery, breathing hatred and revenge, it obscured the idea of uprightness, and rendered evil legitimate by the example of those who should have been the incarnation of good. Then when human reason contradicted the divine legends, Greek polytheism at last found itself in that fatal condition wherein religion and the moral code are opposed to each other. The latter attacked the former and won the battle. The gods fell from Olympus. Grass grew in the courtyards of the temples. This would have been a gain, if the dethroned deities had been replaced by such a virile system of instruction as would enlighten and purify human reason. That virile instruction was found here and there on the lips of the poets and philosophers, but the masses did not listen. Delivered to the grovelling superstitions in which among the weak the great beliefs end, Greek religion was without defence when assailed by the Asiatic corruption introduced by the conquests of Alexander. Gold depraved alike men and institutions. The mercenaries of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolemies, men without a country inasmuch as without liberty, lost together with their manly virtues the generous self-devotion which had made them so great at Marathon and Thermopylæ, and the self-respect and reverence for the true and the beautiful which had formed so many good citizens and created so many masterpieces. Greece from time to time did still produce some superior men, but only as a long-time fertile but exhausted soil yields at intervals a scanty fruit.

# HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

## I

### ROME. THE ANCIENT ROMAN CONSTITUTION

(753-366)

**The Royal Period** (753–510). — The fertile plains of Latium and Etruria meet under the Sabine mountains on the banks of the Tiber, the largest stream of the Italian peninsula. At some distance from its junction with the Anio, this river flows between nine hills, two of which, Janiculus and Vaticanus, dominate the right bank, while the other seven distinguish the left. It was there that Rome arose.

Legend, which explains every beginning and delights in the marvellous, recognizes seven kings of Rome: Romulus, the son of Mars, nursed by a she-wolf, the founder upon the Palatine of the present city; Numa, the religious king, whom the nymph Egeria inspired; Tullus Hostilius, who overthrew Alba Longa after the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; Ancus Martius, the founder of Ostia; Tarquinius Priscus, who perhaps owed his crown to an Etruscan conquest of Rome; Servius Tullius, the legislator; and lastly Tarquinius Superbus, the abominable tyrant whom the Romans expelled.

History, more sedate, has many doubts concerning this royal period of which the only glimpse is afforded by charming tales. Nevertheless it credits the foundation upon the Palatine of Roma Quadrata, a city whose walls have recently been discovered. This city exercised its robust youth against its Latin, Sabine and Etruscan neighbors, and grew so rapidly that Servius was obliged to erect those extensive walls which sufficed during the whole period

of the republic. It had customs, institutions and a political organization such as would require much time to develop. We must admit that under her last king Rome was already the capital of Latium, the strongest power in Italy. Her inhabitants constituted two peoples, as it were the patricians and the plebeians. The patricians consisted of families, each of which formed a clan with its own gods, its common property and its chief. The latter was at once high priest of the domestic altar, judge without appeal over his wife and children, patron whom his clients obeyed, absolute master of his slaves, and in the forum and at the curia a member of the sovereign people who elected the prince, enacted the laws and decided questions of peace and war. The plebeians were a confused mass of conquered captives, transported to the city, of foreigners settled there, and perhaps of natives dispossessed by the original conquest. They had nothing in common with the patricians, neither gods nor marriage nor political rights. Nevertheless to Servius is attributed the division: of the city into four quarters or urban tribes; of the territory into twenty-six cantons or rural tribes; of the people, patricians and plebeians, into five classes according to wealth, and into 193 hundreds or centuries. The first class alone had ninety-eight centuries. After the kings were expelled, as each century represented one vote, it had ninety-eight votes, while all the other classes combined had only ninety-five.

**The Republic. Consuls. Tribunes** (510–493). — The patricians overthrew Tarquin and replaced the king by two consuls, chosen annually by them from among themselves. This was therefore an aristocratic revolution. Brutus, one of the consuls, discovered that his sons were implicated in a conspiracy to recall the king. He ordered that they should be put to death and stoically witnessed their execution. Tarquin sought revenge by rousing all the neighboring peoples against Rome. The bloody victory of Lake Regillus saved the city, but her strength was undermined by debts incurred by the losses and expenses of the recent wars. The Roman law favored the creditors, who abused their rights, and the poor in resentment would not allow themselves to be enrolled. Then the senate created the dictatorship, an absolute magistracy from which there was no appeal. Its power, more arbitrary than that of the kings had ever been, was to last six months. The people were terrified and yielded, but

the violence of the creditors increased. At last the poor abandoned the city and retired to Mons Sacer. They came back only after tribunes had been promised them, who should be annually elected from the plebeians and by their veto could reverse the decisions of the consuls and senate. At first the tribunes employed their power as a shield wherewith to defend the people. Later on they used it to attack the nobles and make themselves masters of the republic.

**The Decemvirate and the Twelve Tables.** — The years which elapsed between the establishment of the tribuneship and that of the decemvirate were filled by petty wars and internal troubles. The tribune Terentillus Arsa in 461 demanded that a code, written and known to the citizens, should be drawn up. For a long time the patricians resisted. At last the proposition was passed, and decemvirs were elected with unlimited powers to draw up the new laws. One of them, Appius Claudius, tried to usurp the authority. He fell in consequence of an outrage, which forced a father to kill his daughter to save her from dishonor (449).

In the legislation of the Twelve Tables, published by the decemvirs (448), attacks upon property were cruelly punished. The thief might be killed with impunity at night and even during the day if he defended himself. "Whoever sets fire to a lot of grain shall be bound, beaten with rods and burned." "The insolvent debtor shall be sold or cut in pieces." For offences regarded as less grave, we find two systems of penalties in use among all barbarous peoples, the talion or corporal reprisals, and settlement by agreement. "Whoever breaks a limb shall pay three hundred Roman pounds to the injured person. If he does not settle with him, let him be subjected to the lex talionis."

However some provisions favored the plebeians. The rate of interest was diminished and guaranties for individual liberty were provided. "Let the false witness and the corrupt judge be hurled from the rock," said the law. "The people shall always have the right of appeal from the sentence of the magistrates. The people alone in their assemblies by centuries shall have the power to pronounce sentence of death." Thus criminal jurisdiction was bestowed upon the people. Thus the power passed to the comitia centuriata, where according to their property patricians and plebeians were mingled without distinction.

The general character of the law was another advantage for the plebeians. "No more personal laws." The civil legislation of the Twelve Tables recognized only Roman citizens. Its provisions were not made for one order or one class. Its formula was always "If any one," inasmuch as patrician and plebeian, senator and priest and laborer, were equal in its eyes. Thus, by ignoring differences formerly so profound, was proclaimed the definite union of the two peoples. It was a new people, all the citizens in a body, which now held sovereign authority and was the source of all power and all right. "Whatever the people shall ordain shall constitute the final law." Thus the people had attained through the Twelve Tables several material benefits, which may be summed up as civil equality. Not yet eligible to many offices, their political equality was still in the future.

**The Plebeians attain Admission to All Offices** (448–286). — The revolution of 510, instituted by the patricians, had benefited only the aristocracy. That of 448, instituted by the people, benefited only the people. The new consuls, Horatius and Valerius, forbade under pain of death that any magistracy without appeal should ever be created, gave the force of law to the plebiscites or votes passed in the assembly of the tribes, and repeated the anathema pronounced against any one who should attack the inviolability of the tribuneship. Nevertheless the prohibition of intermarriage and the occupation of all offices by the patricians still maintained an insulting distinction between the two orders. In 445 the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition regarding marriage, and his colleagues demanded that plebeians should be eligible to the consulship. This was equivalent to demanding political equality. The patricians were indignant, but the people withdrew to the Janiculine Hill. The senate, thinking that custom would be stronger than law, accepted the proposition concerning intermarriage. Instead of granting the consulship to the plebeians, they diminished its functions. Two new magistrates, called censors, were appointed in 444, at first for five years and later for eighteen months. These officers were to take the census, administer the public domains and finances, regulate the classes, draw up the list of the senate and of the equestrian order, and have control of the city police. The other consular duties — military and

judicial administration, presidency of the assemblies and of the senate, and protection of the city and laws — were divided and intrusted to three, four, and sometimes six generals under the name of military tribunes.

The constitution of 444 made plebeians eligible to the military tribuneship, yet until the year 400 no plebeian attained it. Meanwhile Rome was carrying on a five years' siege of Veii, which the patrician Camillus finally captured. The Gallic invasion interrupted the political strife, that burst forth more fiercely after the danger was past. The tribunes, Licinius Stolo and Sextius, in 376, renewed the demand for division of the consulship, and proposed an agrarian law limiting to 500 acres the amount of land which a citizen could own. The crisis of the struggle had arrived. The same two tribunes were reëlected for ten successive years. In vain did the senate persuade their colleagues to interpose their veto. Twice did they have recourse to the dictatorship. The dictator, Camillus, abdicated when threatened with a fine of 500 pounds. Against the tribunes the patricians invoked the sanctity of religion, for not a single plebeian was a priest. At last the patricians agreed that "instead of two custodians of the Sibylline books, ten shall be appointed, five of whom shall be plebeians." The year 366 beheld for the first time a plebeian consul. Then the patricians created the prætorship, an office exercising the judicial functions of the consuls. To this the plebeians became eligible in 337. The dictatorship was opened to them in 355, the censorship in 350, the proconsulship in 326, and the augurship in 302. Two additional laws assured political equality and founded that union at home and that strength abroad which enabled Rome to triumph over every obstacle. The one imposed the plebiscite equally on the two orders, and declared that both consuls might be plebeians. The other summarized and confirmed all the rights the plebeians had acquired.

## II

### THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

(343–265)

**Capture of Rome by the Gauls** (390). — The capture of Veii, a great Etruscan city, made Rome preponderant in central Italy. The Gauls, established for two centuries in the valley of the Po, threatened to destroy the growing state at its centre. They besieged Clusium, which had refused them lands, and marched upon Rome. They defeated her armies on the banks of the Allia, and made their way to the foot of the Capitol, where the senate and the young men had shut themselves up. They maintained a close siege, until an invasion of the Veneti called them back to their own country, whereupon they consented to accept a ransom. As Camillus, on being appointed dictator, had destroyed some of their detachments, Roman vanity represented these petty successes as a complete victory.

It took Rome nearly half a century to recover. Meanwhile Camillus, Manlius Torquatus, and Valerius Corvus defeated several rebellious Latin tribes and their Gallic allies, and captured some of the Etruscan cities. They subjugated southern Etruria and most of Latium, and approached the Samnite borders. Then burst out the Samnite war, or the war of Italian independence. All the nations of the peninsula entered the lists in turn, always committing the fatal mistake of not attacking together. This war lasted seventy-eight years, desolated all central Italy, and placed the entire peninsula under the heel of Rome.

**The Samnite Wars.** — The wealthy city of Capua, being threatened by the Samnites, submitted to the Romans, who defeated her adversaries, but the hostile attitude of the Latins prevented them from following up their successes. The Latins demanded full political equality with the Romans. On the senate's refusal a difficult war began. In deference to discipline, Manlius Torquatus condemned

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to death his own son who had fought without orders, and Decius sacrificed himself to save the legions. Varying conditions, imposed on the Latin cities after the victory, assured their obedience.

In 327 the Samnites, to expel the Romans from Campania, incited the city of Palæpolis to revolt. Defeated by Papirius Cursor and Fabius Maximus, who commanded the Romans, the Samnites took their revenge at the Caudine Forks, where they surrounded the whole army, forced it to pass under the yoke, and to sign a humiliating treaty of peace. The senate repudiated the treaty and surrendered the consuls to the Samnites who were unwilling to receive them. Finally Publilius Philo penetrated victoriously into Samnium, while Papirius subdued Apulia on the farther side of the Samnite mountains. The senate endeavored to confine its formidable foes in the Apennines by a line of fortresses or military colonies.

The northern peoples of the peninsula now came to the aid of the Samnites. Fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans fell upon the Roman colony of Sutrium but were defeated by Fabius near Perusia. He systematically devastated Samnium till its exhausted tribes begged for an end of a war which had already lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and the externals of independence, but agreed to recognize "the majesty of the Roman people." Circumstances were soon to show what the senate meant by this term.

The Samnites with the Sabines, Etruscans, Umbrians and Gauls rose in general revolt. At Rome the tribunals were closed. All able-bodied citizens were enrolled, and an army was raised, at least 90,000 strong. The massacre of a whole legion near Camerinum opened to the Senones the passage of the Apennines. Should they effect their junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans, the consular army was doomed. Fabius by a diversion recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and then hastened to encounter the Gauls in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible. Seven thousand Romans had already perished on the left wing which was commanded by Decius, when the consul sacrificed himself, imitating the example of his father. The barbarians retreated in disorder and returned to their country. The destruction of a Samnite legion and the defeat of Pontius Herennius, the victor of the

Caudine Forks, finally wrung from this obstinate nation the confession of its defeat. A treaty, whose clauses are unknown, ranged them among the allies of Rome. To hold them in check Venusia was occupied by a powerful colony.

The centre of Italy thus submitted to the Roman supremacy or the Roman alliance. In the north the Etruscans were still hostile and the Gauls had forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. In the south Samnite bands wandered among the mountains of Calabria. The Lucanians were uneasy, and the Greeks with apprehension beheld the approach of the Roman rule. Tarentum especially manifested dissatisfaction. Still the union of so many peoples was impossible. The only real moment of serious danger was when the Etruscans once destroyed a Roman army. The senate replied by the utter extermination of the Senones. The Boii, another Gallic tribe, when endeavoring to avenge their brethren, were themselves crushed together with the Etruscans near Lake Vadimo (283). Northern like Central Italy then acknowledged the Roman sway.

**Pyrrhus.** — Tarentum alone held out in arms but realized her weakness too late. She summoned to her assistance Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. On arriving in that wealthy and luxurious city, Pyrrhus closed the baths and theatres and compelled the citizens to arm themselves. At the first battle near Heraclea the elephants, with which the Romans were unacquainted, threw their ranks into disorder. They left 15,000 men on the field, but Pyrrhus had lost 13,000. "Another such victory," he exclaimed, "and I shall return to Epirus without an army." He sent his minister Cineas to Rome to propose peace. "Let Pyrrhus first leave Italy," replied the aged Appius, "and then we will see about treating with him." Cineas was ordered to quit Rome that very day. "The senate," he said on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings."

Pyrrhus tried to surprise the city, but all its citizens were soldiers. He could only gaze at the walls from a distance. A second battle near Asculum, where a third Decius sacrificed himself, proved that he was only wearing out his forces in vain against this determined people. He crossed to Sicily to fight the Carthaginians who were besieging Syracuse. Though he raised the siege and drove the Africans back to Lilybæum, he soon wearied of this expedition and returned to Italy. A defeat at Beneventum drove the

royal adventurer back to Greece. Undertaking to conquer Macedon, he was proclaimed its king but perished miserably at the siege of Argos. Tarentum, thus abandoned, opened its gates (272). Græcia Magna, like northern and central Italy, was subdued.

**The Gauls.** — The Cisalpine Gauls still inspired a legitimate fear. Receiving the news that they had called for an army of their transalpine compatriots, the senate declared "emergency" and put on foot 700,000 soldiers, 500,000 of whom were furnished by the Italians. The victory of Telamon averted all danger and Marcellus slew their king with his own hand. Roman colonies, sent to the banks of the Po, overawed Cisalpine Gaul. The barbarians then implored the help of Hannibal but, satisfied to be delivered by his victories, did not themselves rise en masse to help him crush Rome. After the battle of Zama the senate again took measures against them. All the Boii emigrated, going in search of other habitations on the banks of the Danube, and thus delivered their rich country and the barriers of the Alps to the Romans.

## III

### THE PUNIC WARS

(264–146)

**First Punic War** (264–241). **Conquest of Sicily.** — Carthage, a colony of Tyre, had extended her sway from Numidia to the frontiers of Cyrenaïca, organized an immense caravan traffic in the interior of Africa and seized the control of the western Mediterranean. While Rome was contending with the Etruscans and the Italian Greeks, the Carthaginians had applauded her successes and had signed friendly treaties. The absolute victory of Rome filled them with consternation. With alarm they beheld a single power ruling over the beautiful country which was bathed by the Tuscan, the Adriatic and the Ionian seas.

Sicily speedily became the cause of war between the two republics. Neither could abandon to a rival that splendid island which lies in the centre of the Mediterranean, touches Italy and looks out upon Africa. Carthage had been there long. Rome was invited thither by Mamertine mercenaries who had mastered Messina, which Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians were besieging. The Romans delivered the city, defeated Hiero and imposed upon him a treaty to which he remained faithful for fifty years. Finally they expelled the Carthaginians from the interior of the island. The latter retained their seaports inasmuch as they were masters at sea. One fleet, constructed by the Romans and armed with powerful grappling irons, defeated the Carthaginian vessels in the first encounter. Another naval battle gained by Regulus at Ecnomos decided Rome to make a descent upon Africa. In a few months Carthage found herself reduced to her walls. The Lacedæmonian Xanthippus changed the aspect of affairs. After weakening Regulus by successive skirmishes, he defeated him in one great battle and destroyed his army. The war was again transferred to Sicily and

languished there for years. The victory of Metellus at Panormus revived the hopes of the Romans. Regulus was sent by Carthage to demand peace, which he exhorted the senate to refuse, and on his return is said to have been put to death with torture. But a great general had just arrived in Sicily, Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal. Fortifying himself at Eryx, he held the Romans in check for six years. Under these conditions the war might have dragged on many years longer, had not patriotism given to the senate a new fleet, that rendered the Romans supreme at sea. Hamilcar could not be provisioned. Carthage was compelled to end a ruinous war. She abandoned Sicily, restored all her prisoners without ransom and in the course of ten years paid 3200 Eubœan talents.

**War of the Mercenaries against Carthage** (241–238). — The soldiers of Carthage were not citizens but mercenaries. These mercenaries rebelled and for three years Carthaginian Africa was desolated by the Libyan war. Hamilcar delivered his country from this scourge, but fell under suspicion and was exiled to Spain, whose conquest he undertook. In a few years the whole country as far as the Ebro was subdued by him and his son-in-law Hasdrubal. Rome in alarm stopped their progress by a treaty which stipulated the liberty of Saguntum, a Græco-Latin city, south of the Ebro.

**Second Punic War** (218–201). — Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, wishing at any cost to renew the war against the Romans, attacked and destroyed this town without waiting for orders from Carthage. With a carefully equipped army he crossed the Pyrenees, the Rhone and the Alps. This audacious expedition consumed half of his forces but brought him into the midst of his allies, the Cisalpine Gauls. The consul Scipio was first beaten near the Ticinus in a cavalry engagement. A more serious affair on the banks of the Trebia drove the Romans from Cisalpine Gaul. In the following year they lost in Etruria, near Lake Thrasymenus, another sanguinary battle, and Hannibal was able to reach the centre and south of Italy. Thanks to the wise delay of the dictator Fabius several months passed without any fresh disaster. The awful battle of Cannæ, in 216, cost the legions 50,000 men. Capua with a part of southern Italy believed that the Romans were lost and renounced their allegiance. Rome was a marvel

of constancy. She abandoned offensive warfare, fortified the strongholds, and tried by a line of intrenched places to hem in the general who thus far had been so fortunate in battle. Before this circle was complete Hannibal quitted Campania.

Since Carthage sent him no assistance, he sought to rouse Sardinia, Sicily and Macedon. He summoned from Spain his brother Hasdrubal with a new army of Spaniards over the route which he himself had traced. But Sardinia was checked, rebellious Syracuse was taken by Marcellus despite the machines of Archimedes, and Philip of Macedon, vanquished on the banks of the Aoüs and threatened through the wiles of Rome by many Greek peoples, could not bring his phalanxes to assist Hannibal.

While her enemy made these fruitless efforts, Rome armed twenty legions, pressed Hannibal harder every day in Apulia and Lucania and waged a fierce war against Capua, to make a terrible example of that city which had been the first to give the signal of defection. To save it Hannibal forced his way to the very walls of Rome, but as vainly as Pyrrhus. Capua fell and its entire population was sold into slavery. Only one hope was left to Hannibal. His brother Hasdrubal was bringing him 60,000 men. Met on the banks of the Metaurus by the two consuls, Hasdrubal perished there with his whole army. Nevertheless Hannibal held out five years longer in the recesses of Brutium, until Scipio forced him from Italy by besieging Carthage.

The two Scipios, Cneus and Cornelius, had been fighting for years in Spain. After brilliant successes they were overcome by superior forces and perished. Marcius, a young knight, saved the few survivors and confidence was already returning, when Publius Scipio, barely twenty-four years of age, the son of Cornelius, arrived to take command. At the very beginning he distinguished himself by a daring stroke in the surprise of Carthagena, the arsenal of the Carthaginians in the peninsula. Aided by the Spaniards, whom his gentleness had won over, he defeated Hasdrubal, but allowed him to escape. Then he crossed to Africa where he persuaded the Numidian king, Syphax, to sign an alliance with Rome.

Being rewarded for his successes by the consulship, he resolved to attack Carthage itself. Despite the opposition of Fabius, whom such rashness appalled, he landed his

army in Africa. Though the Numidians on whom he counted failed him he routed all the armies sent against him and left Carthage, which he threatened with a siege, no other alternative than the recall of Hannibal. That unequalled general was himself defeated at his last battle at Zama. To his honor Scipio did not demand the extradition of Hannibal but imposed the following conditions: Carthage might retain her laws and her African possessions, but must give up the prisoners and deserters, must surrender all her ships except ten, also all her elephants, and was to tame no more elephants in future; she must make no war, even in Africa, without the consent of Rome, and must raise no foreign mercenary troops; she must pay 10,000 talents in fifty years, must indemnify Massinissa and recognize him as an ally. To Scipio were delivered 4000 prisoners, a large number of fugitives whom he crucified or beheaded, and 500 ships which he burned on the open sea. Carthage was disarmed. That she might never recover, Scipio placed at her side a relentless enemy in Massinissa whom he recognized as king of Numidia.

Returning to Rome Scipio received a magnificent triumph. He gained the name of Africanus and was offered the consulship and dictatorship for life. Thus Rome forgot her laws to honor her fortunate general. She offered Scipio what she was afterwards to allow Cæsar to take. Zama was not only the end of the second Punic War but also the beginning of universal conquest.

**Third Punic War** (149–146). **Destruction of Carthage.** — After Zama the existence of Carthage was only one long death agony. In 193 Massinissa robbed her of the rich territory of Emporia, a few years afterward of other large tracts of land, and finally of the whole province of Tysca with sixty-three cities. The Carthaginians complained to Rome, and the Romans promised justice; but Massinissa retained the disputed territory. Cato was sent as arbitrator. He was astonished and indignant at finding Carthage wealthy, populous and prosperous. Returning with hatred in his heart, he henceforth closed his speeches with the invariable words, "Furthermore, I think Carthage must be destroyed" (*Delenda est Carthago*).

One day Carthage resisted an attack of Massinissa. The senate denounced this violation of the treaty. The two consuls immediately disembarked in Africa with 80,000

men. They demanded the surrender of all the weapons and machines of war. Then, after receiving everything, they ordered the Carthaginians to abandon their city and settle ten miles inland. Grief and indignation inflamed the tumultuous people. Day and night they spent in making arms. Hasdrubal collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. The Roman operations being unsuccessful, the consulate was given to Scipio Æmilianus, the second Africanus, though he had asked only the ædileship. He restored discipline to the army and increased the courage of the soldiers.

Carthage was built upon an isthmus. Cutting off this isthmus by a trench and wall he prevented sorties. To starve out the 700,000 inhabitants he closed the port by an immense dike. The Carthaginians cut a new passage through the rock toward the open sea. A fleet, built from the wreck of their houses, came near surprising the Roman galleys but was repulsed by Scipio. When the ravages of famine had weakened the defence, he forced a part of the walls and took the city. The citadel, Byrsa, still held out. Situated at the centre, it could be reached only through long, narrow streets, where the Carthaginians intrenched in their houses offered desperate resistance. It took six days and six nights for the army to reach the foot of the citadel. The garrison of 50,000 men surrendered on condition of saving their lives. At their head was Hasdrubal. His wife, after taunting her husband from the top of the wall for his cowardice, cut the throats of her two children and threw herself into the flames. Scipio abandoned the smoking ruins to pillage. Commissioners sent by the senate reduced the Carthaginian territory to a Roman province called Africa (146).

## IV

### FOREIGN CONQUESTS OF ROME

(229-129)

**Partial Conquest of Illyricum** (229) **and of Istria** (221). — Between the first and second Punic wars, Rome had obtained a foothold upon the Greek continent. The Adriatic was then infested by Illyrian pirates, and Teuta, the widow of their last king, had butchered two insolent Roman envoys. The senate despatched 200 ships and 20,000 legionaries under the two consuls, who forced Teuta to pay tribute and to cede a large part of Illyricum. On occupying Istria the Romans became masters of one of the gates of Italy and also planted themselves at the north of Macedon which they threatened from Illyricum.

**The Conquerors of Asia Minor, Macedon and Greece.** — The wars against Antiochus, Philip, Perseus and the Achæans have been already mentioned. Here we will merely make brief reference to the generals in command.

Scipio Asiaticus, the conqueror of Antiochus at Magnesia, was the brother of Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him as his lieutenant. On their return to Rome, the tribunes accused the two brothers of accepting bribes to grant peace to the king of Syria. Scipio Africanus indignantly refused to answer, and quitted Rome. Scipio Asiaticus, degraded by Cato from the equestrian order, was condemned to pay the sum he was accused of receiving. His poverty proved his innocence.

Titus Quintus Flaminius was the conqueror of Philip at Cynocephalæ and the founder of the Roman policy in Greece. He remained there a long time after his command expired, so as to organize a Roman party in all the cities and to expel the enemies of the senate. Thus he thwarted the patriotic plans of Philopœmen and brought about the rebellion of Messene which cost that great citizen his life. He also demanded from Prusias, king of Bithynia,

the head of Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his states. The hero poisoned himself rather than fall into the hands of Rome.

Paulus Æmilius, who overthrew Perseus at Pydna, had won renown in the Lusitanian and Ligurian wars. His triumph, adorned with the spoils of Macedon, was the richest thus far seen. But of his two sons, who were to ride with him in his chariot, one had just died and the other expired three days later. Paulus Æmilius in his manly grief rejoiced that he was the one chosen to expiate the public prosperity. "My triumph," said he, "placed between the two funerals of my children, will satisfy the cruel sport of Fate. At the age of sixty years I find my hearth solitary, but the prosperity of the state consoles me."

Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth and of the Achæan league, was famous for his roughness. From the pillage of that opulent city he kept nothing for himself, but he made the persons who were to transport to Rome the masterpieces of Grecian art promise to replace whatever was lost or injured on the way.

**Conquest of Spain** (197–133). **Viriathus. Numantia.** — In Spain the war was longer and more difficult. The Spaniards, through hatred of Carthage, had supported the Romans during the second Punic War, but Rome did not grant them liberty. They revolted and Rome had to begin a reconquest of the whole country. Sixty-four years were required for the task. They slew 9000 men in the army of the Roman Galba. He pretended to treat, offered them fertile lands and then massacred 30,000 of them. Such perfidy bore its natural fruit. A herdsman, Viriathus, escaped from the massacre and carried on a guerilla war in which the Romans lost their best soldiers. During five years he defeated all the generals sent against him. One day he surrounded the Consul Fabius in a narrow pass and forced him to sign a treaty, that declared "There shall be peace between the Roman people and Viriathus." Cepio, the brother of Fabius, avenged him by fraud. He hired two officers of Viriathus to assassinate their chief. Thereupon his followers surrendered and were removed by Cepio to the shores of the Mediterranean where they built Valencia.

The Spanish war in the north toward Numantia was tedious and obstinate. Consul after consul was baffled or

defeated until the general arrived who had conquered Carthage. Gradually Scipio forced the Numantines back into their city, and surrounded it by four lines of intrenchments. Hard pressed by horrible famine, the inhabitants demanded battle but Scipio refused. Then they slew each other. Only fifty Numantines followed his triumphal chariot in Rome. Even then the northern mountaineers were not subdued. Spain was completely pacified only under Augustus. In 124 Metellus took possession of the Balearic Islands after nearly exterminating their inhabitants, and in 133 Attalus ceded his kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans.

Thus thirty years before Christ, the city which we have seen rise upon the Palatine Hill ruled from the Spanish coast on the Western Ocean to the centre of Asia Minor. She possessed the three peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy and Greece. Between Italy and Greece, through the subjection of the Illyrians, she had secured herself a road around the Adriatic, and Marseilles lent her its vessels and its pilots from the Var to the Ebro. Thus her conquest of the ancient world was far advanced. Her success was due to three forces which in politics generate other forces also. These were an astute senate, where the traditions of government were long preserved, a sagacious people, amenable to the laws which they had made for themselves, and that organized discipline in the legions which formed the most perfect military engine the world had yet known.

## V

### FIRST CIVIL WARS. THE GRACCHI. MARIUS. SULLA

(133-79)

**Results of Roman Conquests on Roman Manners and Constitution.** — Yet the conquest of so many wealthy provinces had upon the manners and likewise upon the constitution of the Romans disastrous effects, which were already felt, and which on development were to destroy both the republic and liberty. Ancient simplicity was gradually abandoned. The descendants of Fabricius, Curius Dentatus and Regulus displayed a ruinous luxury. To replace the sums squandered in debauch or in empty display, they robbed their allies and the public treasury. The censors, guardians of the public manners, had already been forced to expel certain high-born personages from the senate. If the great became greedy, the people became venal. The middle class had disappeared, decimated by continuous wars, ruined by the decay of agriculture and by the competition of the slaves and free laborers.

In place of that robust, proud, energetic population which had founded liberty and conquered Italy, there began to be seen in Rome only an idle, hungry crowd of beggars, continually recruited by the emancipation of slaves, inheriting neither the ideas nor the blood of the ancient plebeians. "There are not two thousand property-holders," said one of the tribunes. Such then was the situation. Two or three hundred families possessed millions, and below, very far below, were 300,000 beggars. Nothing between these two extremes of an arrogant aristocracy and a feeble and servile mob. The Gracchi undertook two things: to restore respect for the laws among those nobles who no longer respected anything; and to reawaken the sentiments of citizenship among men who were still called the sovereign people, but whom Scipio Æmilianus knowing their origin dubbed counterfeit sons of Italy.

**The Gracchi** (133–121). — Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133, began with the people. To regain their former virtues, they must resume their former habits. He wished to convert the poor into landowners, and to regenerate them by means of work. The republic owned immense territory, which had been encroached upon by the nobles. His project was to reclaim these appropriated lands and distribute them among the poor in small, inalienable lots. The reaffirmed Licinian law forbade any person to possess more than 500 jugera of public lands. However, he promised an indemnity for any outlay which occupants had made upon the property restored by them. The nobles resisted stubbornly. Tiberius, to break the veto of one of his colleagues, Octavius, caused him to be deposed. By thus trampling under foot the inviolable tribuneship, he provided a dangerous example, of which advantage was taken against himself. The nobles armed their slaves, attacked his partisans and slew him on the steps of the Capitol (133).

In 123 Caius Gracchus was elected tribune, and openly resumed his brother's plans. He caused the agrarian law to be confirmed, established distributions of corn to the people, founded colonies for the poor citizens and dealt a fatal blow to the authority of the senate by taking from it the administration of justice and giving it to the knights. During two years he was all-powerful in the city. But the senate to ruin his credit caused, for every measure he proposed, some more popular measure to be brought forward by one of their creatures, and Caius was unable to obtain reëlection for a third term. This check was a signal for which the Consul Opimius had been waiting. Caius suffered the fate of his brother, and 3000 of his partisans perished with him (121). The tribunes were dumb with terror during the next twelve years, and only recovered their voice at the scandals of the Numidian war, which brought into prominence Marius, the avenger of the Gracchi.

**Marius. Conquest of Numidia** (118–104). — He was a rough, illiterate citizen of Arpinum, an intrepid soldier and good general. Scipio had noticed him at the siege of Numantia. The support of Metellus, who had always protected his family, gave him the tribuneship in 119. At once he introduced a decree against intrigue. All the nobility denounced this audacity on the part of an unknown young man; but in the senate Marius threatened the consul with

prison and summoned his viator to arrest Metellus. The populace applauded. A few days later, the tribune forbade a gratuitous distribution of grain. This assumption of the right to read a lesson to both parties turned every one against him. His zeal diminished with difficulty of promotion. He served obscurely as a prætor in Rome and a proprætor in Spain. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a great marriage. He wedded the patrician Julia, great-aunt of Cæsar; and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune in consideration of his military talents, took him to Numidia.

Micipsa, son of Massinissa and king of Numidia, had at his death (118) divided his states between his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha. The latter rid himself of one rival by assassination. Unable to surprise the other, he attacked him with open force in spite of Roman protection, and put him to death with torture, when famine had compelled his victim to open the gates of Cirtha, his last refuge (112). The senate had in vain sent two embassies to save him. Such audacity called for chastisement, but the first general sent against Jugurtha accepted bribes (111). A tribune summoned the king to Rome. Jugurtha had the hardihood to appear, but when one tribune ordered him to answer, another, whom he had bought, prohibited his replying.

A competitor for the Numidian throne was in the city. He had him killed (110). The senate ordered him to leave Rome at once. "City for sale!" he cried, as he passed through the gates; "thou only lackest a purchaser!" A consul followed him to Africa. The legions, cut off by the Numidians, repeated the disgrace endured before Numantia and passed under the yoke.

This war, which they had played with at first, soon became alarming, for the Cimbrians were threatening Italy with one more terrible. The honest but severe Metellus was sent to Numidia. He restored discipline and pursued his tireless enemy without truce or relaxation. He defeated him near Muthul (109), and took from him Vacca, his capital, Sicca, Cirtha and all the coast cities. When about to destroy the usurper, his lieutenant was appointed consul (107), and robbed him of the honor of finishing this war. The new general came near killing Jugurtha in battle with his own hand and made him fall back upon Mauritania. Jugurtha fled as a suppliant to his father-in-law Bocchus,

who delivered him to the Romans. The captive monarch in chains (106) traversed his whole kingdom, followed Marius to Rome, and after the triumph was thrown into the Tullianum, a prison excavated in the Capitoline mount. "By the gods," he exclaimed with a laugh, "how cold your baths are." He died there six days after from hunger (104). Part of Numidia was added to the province of Africa.

**Invasion of the Cimbri and the Teutones** (113–102). — This success arrived at a fortunate time to reassure Rome, then threatened by a great peril. Three hundred thousand Cimbri and Teutones, retreating before an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube, defeated a consul (113), and for three years had been devastating Noricum, Pannonia and Illyricum. When there was nothing left to take, the horde fought its way into Gaul and crushed five Roman armies (110–105). Italy was uncovered but, instead of crossing the Alps, the barbarians turned toward Spain, and Rome had time to recall Marius from Africa. In order to harden his soldiers, he subjected them to the severest labors. When a part of the horde reappeared, he refused for a long time to fight, that his army might become accustomed to seeing the barbarians close at hand. The action took place near Aix, and the Romans made a horrible carnage among the Teutones (102).

Meanwhile the Cimbri, who had flanked the Alps, entered the peninsula through the valley of the Adige. Marius returned in all haste to the banks of the Po to the succor of his colleague Caculus. The barbarians were awaiting the arrival of the Teutones before fighting. They even asked Marius for lands for themselves and their brethren. "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren," the consul replied; "they have the land which we have given them, and which they will keep forever." The Cimbri allowed him to choose the day and place of battle. At Vercellæ, as at Aix, there was an immense massacre. Nevertheless more than 60,000 were made prisoners, but twice as many were massacred. The barbarian women, rather than be taken captive, slew their children and then killed themselves (101).

**Renewal of Civil Troubles. Saturninus** (106–98). — Marius had been continued four successive years in the consulship in reward of his services. His ambition was not satisfied. On reëntering Rome, he intrigued for the fasces of the

magistracy. The nobles thought that the peasant of Arpinum had been honored enough. They put up Metellus Numidicus, his personal enemy, against him and reduced him to buying votes. Marius could not pardon this insult, and had them attacked by Saturninus, a low demagogue. Saturninus aspired to the tribunate. A partisan of the nobles was elected but the demagogue slew him and seized his place. For the benefit of Marius' veterans he immediately proposed an agrarian law, opposition to which caused the exile of Metellus.

Soon afterwards Metellus was recalled. That he might not witness his triumphant return, Marius betook himself to Asia in the secret hope of bringing about a rupture between Mithridates and the republic (98). He needed a war to restore his credit in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. "They look upon me," he said, "as a sword which rusts in peace."

**Sulla. The Italian Revolt** (91–88). — The wars with Jugurtha and the Cimbri had made the fortune of the plebeian Marius. Three other wars made the fortune of the patrician Sulla, who has left a sanguinary name. Descendant of the illustrious Cornelian house, he was Marius' first quæstor in the Numidian war. Ambitious, brave, eloquent, zealous and energetic, Sulla soon became dear to the soldiers and their officers. Marius himself loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors, and confided to him the dangerous mission of treating with Bocchus. It was into Sulla's hands that Jugurtha was betrayed. Marius associated him with his triumph, and employed him again in the war with the Cimbri. A misunderstanding having arisen, Sulla joined the army of Catulus. Later on, he commanded in Asia. The Social War brought his talents into prominence.

It was a period of general ferment. In the city, the people were rising against the nobles; in Sicily, the slaves were rebelling against their masters. Her allies were turning against Rome, whom they brought to the brink of the abyss. The Italians, after long sharing all the dangers of the Romans, wished to enjoy equal privileges and claimed the right of citizenship. Scipio Æmilianus, Tiberius Gracchus, Saturninus and finally the tribune Drusus encouraged them to hope for this title of citizen, which would have relieved them from the exactions and violence of the Roman

magistrates. But the knights assassinated Drusus, and the allies, wearied by their long patience, resolved to obtain justice by force of arms.

Eight peoples of central and southern Italy exchanged hostages and arranged a general rising. They were together to form but one republic, organized after the pattern of Rome, with a senate of 500 members, two consuls and twelve prætors. Their capital was to be the stronghold Corfinium, which they called by the significant name of Italica. The Latins, the Etruscans, the Umbrians and the Gauls remained faithful to their allegiance. The signal was given from Asculum, where the consul Servilius was massacred together with all the Romans who were in the town; even the women were not spared (90). At first the allies had the advantage. Campania was invaded, one consul routed, another killed. Marius, who held a command, accomplished nothing worthy of his reputation. He contented himself with acting on the defensive, and soon he even withdrew, alleging his infirmities. His former relations with the Italians did not permit him to play a more active part. Sulla, who was hampered by nothing, was on the contrary energetic and deserved all the honor of this brief and terrible war. The prudence of the senate aided the skill of the generals. The Julian and Plautia-Papirian laws, which accorded the right of citizenship to the allies who had remained loyal, led to desertions, and at the end of the second year only the Samnites and Lucanians remained under arms. From the new citizens eight tribes were formed.

In this way Sulla had gained the consulship and the command of the war against Mithridates which Marius solicited in vain. This was the beginning of their rivalry and of the civil wars which led to military rule.

**Proscriptions in Rome. Sulpicius and Cinna** (88–84). — In order to annul the last-mentioned decree Marius made an agreement with the tribune Sulpicius, and a riot forced the new consul to leave Rome (88); but he came back at the head of his troops. Marius in turn fled before a sentence which put a price on his life. Dragged from the marshes of Minturnæ, where he had taken refuge, and covered with mire, he was thrown into the city prison. A Cimbrian, sent to kill him, was terrified by his glance and words and dared not strike. The inhabitants, who cherished no anger against the friend of the Italians, employed as a pretext the reli-

gious dread which he had inspired and furnished him the means to cross over into Africa.

However in Rome Sulla had diminished by several laws the power of the tribunes of the people. Hardly had he departed for Asia, when the consul Cinna demanded that their dangerous power be restored. On being driven out of Rome he began a war against the senate. Marius hastened to return and join him. With an army of fugitive slaves and Italians they routed the troops of the senate, forced the gates of the city and put to death the friends of Sulla. For five days and five nights they slew without cessation, even on the altars of the gods. From Rome the proscription spread over Italy. They murdered in the cities and on the highways. It was forbidden under pain of death to bury the dead, who lay where they had fallen until devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

On January 1, 86, Marius and Cinna seized the consulship without election; but debauch hastened the end of the former. Twelve days afterward he expired. He had set a price on Sulla's head. Valerius Flaccus undertook to get it, but was himself killed by one of his lieutenants. Cinna, thus left alone, continued himself in the consulship during the two following years, and fell under the blows of his soldiers.

**Victory of Sulla. His Proscriptions and Dictatorship** (84–79). — At that moment Sulla was returning from Asia to avenge his friends and himself. His 40,000 veterans were so devoted to his person that they offered him their savings to fill his military chest. Unopposed he made his way into Campania (83), defeated one army, corrupted another and vanquished the son of Marius in the great battle of Sacriportus (82). This success opened the road to Rome. He arrived there too late to prevent fresh murders. The most illustrious senators had been massacred in the curia itself. Sulla rapidly passed through Rome on his way to fight the other consul, Carbo, in Etruria. One desperate battle which lasted all day had no result; but desertions decided Carbo to flee to Africa. Sertorius, another leader of the popular party, had already set out for Spain; only the young Marius, who was shut up in Præneste, remained in Italy. The Italians tried by a bold stroke to save him. A Samnite chief, Pontus Telesinus, who had not laid down his arms since the Social War, tried to surprise Rome and

destroy it. Sulla had time to arrive. The battle near the Colline Gate lasted one whole day and night. The left wing commanded by Sulla was routed; but Crassus with the right wing dispersed the enemy. The field of battle was strewn with 50,000 corpses, half of which were Roman.

The next day Sulla harangued the senate in the temple of Bellona. Suddenly cries of despair were heard and the senators became uneasy. "It is nothing," said he, "except the punishment of a few seditious persons," and he continued his discourse. Meanwhile 8000 Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were being slain. When he returned from Præneste, which had surrendered and all of whose population had been massacred, the butchery began in Rome. Every day a list of the outlawed was drawn up. From the first of December, 82, to the first of June, 81, during six long months, men could murder with impunity. There were assassinations afterward also, for Sulla's intimates sold the right to place a name on the fatal list. "One man's splendid villa, or the marble baths of another, or the magnificent gardens of a third caused him to perish." The property of the proscribed was confiscated, and sold at auction. The estate of Roscius was valued at six million sesterces, and Chrysogonus got it for two thousand. What was the number of the victims? Appian mentions ninety senators, fifteen former consuls and 2600 knights. Valerius Maximus speaks of 4700 proscribed. "But who could reckon," says another, "all those who were sacrificed to private grudge?" The proscription did not stop with the victims. The sons and grandsons of the proscribed were declared forever ineligible to a public office. In Italy entire peoples were outlawed. The richest cities, Spoietum, Interamna, Præneste, Terni, Florence, were, so to speak, sold at auction. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.

After having slain men by the sword, Sulla tried to destroy the popular party by laws. To issue these laws he had himself proclaimed dictator, and took all the measures which he thought calculated to assure the power in Rome to the aristocracy. To the senate he restored the right of decision and of preliminary discussion, or in other words the legislative veto. He deprived the tribunes of the right to present a rogation to the people. Their veto was restricted to civil affairs, and the tribune could hold no other office.

Thus the people and the nobles moved backward four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the time when they withdrew to Mons Sacer, the latter to the brilliancy and power of the early days of the republic.

When Sulla had accomplished his purposes, he abdicated. This abdication (76) seemed a defiance of his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own fortunes. He lived a year longer in the retirement of his villa at Cumæ. The epitaph he had written for himself was veracious: "No one has ever done more good to his friends, or more evil to his enemies."

**The Popular Party ruined by the Defeat of Sertorius** (72). — The popular party was crushed at Rome. Sertorius tried to revive it in Spain. Driven out at first by one of Sulla's lieutenants before he had had time to organize anything, and then recalled by the Lusitanians, he gained over the Spaniards who thought that they were fighting for their independence. Successfully he resisted for ten years the best generals of the senate (82–72). He wore out Metellus, his first adversary, by a war of skirmishes and surprises, and defeated Pompey in many encounters. Unfortunately the clever leader was badly seconded. Whenever he was absent his lieutenants were worsted. He was assassinated in his tent by Perpenna, one of his officers, who, unable to carry on the war which his victim had conducted, fell into the hands of Pompey. The conqueror boasted that he had captured 800 cities and ended the Civil Wars. The latter had in fact been averted but only for twenty years.

# VI

## FROM SULLA TO CÆSAR. POMPEY AND CICERO

### (79-60)

**War against Mithridates under Sulla** (90–84). — The shock which the empire had undergone from the popular turmoils in the times of the Gracchi and Marius, from the revolt of the slaves in Sicily, and the Social War in Italy, had affected the provinces. The provincials, horribly oppressed by the governors, wished to escape from that Roman domination in which the Italians merely had demanded a share. The Western provincials had joined Sertorius. Those in the East followed Mithridates.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, had subdued many Scythian nations beyond the Caucasus, also the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Phrygia and Bithynia. The senate, alarmed at this great power which was forming in the neighborhood of its provinces, ordered the prætor of Asia to restore the Bithynian and Cappadocian kings to their thrones (90). Mithridates silently made immense preparations. When he learned that Italy was on fire, through the insurrection of the Samnite peoples, he deluged Asia with his armies. Such hatred had the greed of the Roman publicans everywhere excited, that 80,000 Italians were assassinated in Asiatic cities at the order of Mithridates. Having subdued Asia, the king of Pontus invaded Greece and captured Athens (88). At any cost this conqueror who dared approach Italy must be stopped. Fortunately the Social War was nearing its end. In the spring of 87 Sulla arrived in Greece with five legions, and began the siege of Athens which lasted ten months. The city was bathed in blood. The Pontic army encountered Sulla near Chæronea. His soldiers were appalled at the hosts of the enemy. Like Marius he exhausted them with work until they themselves demanded battle. Of the 120,000 Asiatics only 10,000 escaped.

Sulla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory, when he

learned that the consul Valerius Flaccus was crossing the Adriatic with an army to rob him of the honor of terminating this war, and to execute the decree of proscription issued against him at Rome. At the same time Dorylaos, a general of Mithridates, arrived from Asia with 80,000 men. Thus placed between two perils Sulla chose the more glorious. He marched against Dorylaos whom he met in Bœotia near Orchomenus. This time the engagement was fierce; Sulla was wounded but the Asiatic hordes were again dispersed. Thebes and three other cities of Bœotia met the fate of Athens.

While he was winning this second victory, Flaccus had preceded him into Asia. Mithridates, threatened by two armies, secretly sued for peace from Sulla, intimating that he could obtain very mild terms from Fimbria, who had killed Flaccus and was making war on his own account. Mithridates vainly hoped to profit by the rivalry of the two chiefs. Finally the king humbly asked for an interview. It took place at Dardanus in the Troad. Mithridates made full submission, restored his conquests, delivered up the captives and deserters with 2000 talents and seventy galleys. Fimbria was then in Lydia. Sulla marched upon him, won over his army and reduced him to suicide (84). With the soldiers trained in this war he returned to Italy to overthrow the party of Marius.

**War against Mithridates under Lucullus and Pompey** (74–63). — When six years later the king of Pontus heard of the dictator's death (78), he secretly incited the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to invade Cappadocia, and he himself prepared to enter the arena. All the barbaric tribes from the Caucasus to the Balkans furnished auxiliaries. Roman exiles drilled his troops and Sertorius sent him officers from Spain (74).

Lucullus, proconsul of Cilicia, having received orders to oppose him, was marching on Pontus, when he learned that his colleague Cotta had been twice defeated and blocked in Macedon (74). Hastening to his help, he drove Mithridates into Cyzicus, where that prince would have been captured had not a subordinate officer been negligent. Then he penetrated into Pontus and took the stronghold of Amisus (72). In the following year he surrounded the enemy again. The king escaped by scattering his treasures along the road so as to delay pursuit. He found refuge with Tigranes, who

was then the most powerful monarch of the East, being master of Armenia and Syria, conqueror of the Parthians, and bearing the title of King of kings. Mithridates in his former prosperity had refused to recognize his supremacy. Therefore he was coldly received, but when Lucullus demanded that he should be surrendered, Tigranes in anger dismissed the envoy of the Roman general. The latter immediately began hostilities against his new enemy. He crossed the Tigris and with 11,000 foot and a few horse marched to encounter 250,000 Armenians. He dispersed the immense army of Tigranes and captured his capital, Tigranocerta.

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, where he invited the king of the Parthians to join him. As that prince hesitated, he resolved to attack him, for he held in profound contempt those mobs which their princes mistook for armies. But his officers and soldiers, content with the immense booty they had already captured, refused, like those of Alexander, to follow him further. In 67 Pompey came to replace him. Mithridates had collected another army, which was destroyed at the first encounter, and Tigranes, threatened by a treacherous and rebellious son who fled to the Romans, was forced to humble himself. Reassured in this direction, Pompey pursued Mithridates to the Caucasus and conquered the Albanians and the Iberians. As the king still fled before him, he abandoned this fruitless pursuit. In the spring of 64, after having organized the Roman administration in Pontus, he descended into Syria, reduced that country and Phœnicia to provinces and captured Jerusalem, where he reëstablished Hyrcanus who promised an annual tribute.

During these operations, Mithridates, who was reputed dead, reappeared with an army on the Bosphorus and forced his son Machares to kill himself. Then, despite his sixty years, this indomitable enemy wished to penetrate Thrace, attach the barbarians to his cause and descend upon Italy at the head of their innumerable hordes. His soldiers, alarmed at the magnitude of his plans, revolted at the instigation of his son Pharnaces. In order to escape being delivered alive to the Romans, he had himself killed by a Gaul (63). Pompey had only to finish in Asia "the splendid work of the Roman empire," distributing principalities and kingdoms to the friends of the senate.

**Revival of the Popular Party at Rome. The Gladiators** (71). — After the death of Sulla and during the recent war against Mithridates, events of considerable importance had been taking place in Italy. The consul Lepidus had aroused a tempest by merely uttering the words: "Re-establishment of the authority of the tribuneship." The whole party, which Sulla thought he had drowned in blood, had at once raised its head. The governor of Cisalpine Gaul joined Lepidus. The senate and the patricians trembled when Pompey, still at the head of the army which he had himself raised against the followers of Marius, offered to fight the new chiefs of the people. He vanquished one at the Milvian Bridge close to the gates of Rome and the other in Cisalpine Gaul. We have seen his success in pacifying Spain.

Seventy-eight gladiators escaped from Capua, where they were being trained in great numbers, and seized upon a natural stronghold under the guidance of a Thracian slave Spartacus. There they repulsed troops sent against them. This success attracted to their ranks many herdsmen of the neighborhood. A second general was beaten. Spartacus wished to lead his army toward the Alps, cross those mountains and restore each slave to his native country. His men, greedy for booty and vengeance, refused to follow and dispersed all over Italy for pillage. Then two consuls were defeated. Crassus finally succeeded in shutting up the gladiators in the extreme end of Brutium, whither their chief had conducted them with the intention of leading them across into Sicily. Before the investment was complete Spartacus took advantage of a snowy night to escape. Dissension arose among his men and several detached corps were destroyed. Spartacus alone seemed invincible. The confidence which his successes inspired among the gladiators ended in his ruin. They forced him to fight a decisive battle, in which he succumbed after having displayed heroic courage (71). Shortly afterward Pompey arrived from Spain. He met several bands of these unfortunate men and cut them in pieces. From this paltry victory he attributed to himself the honor of having terminated this war.

**Pompey turns toward the People. War with the Pirates** (67). — The nobles began to think that the vainglorious general had held commands enough and received him coldly. The people on the contrary to win him to their side greeted

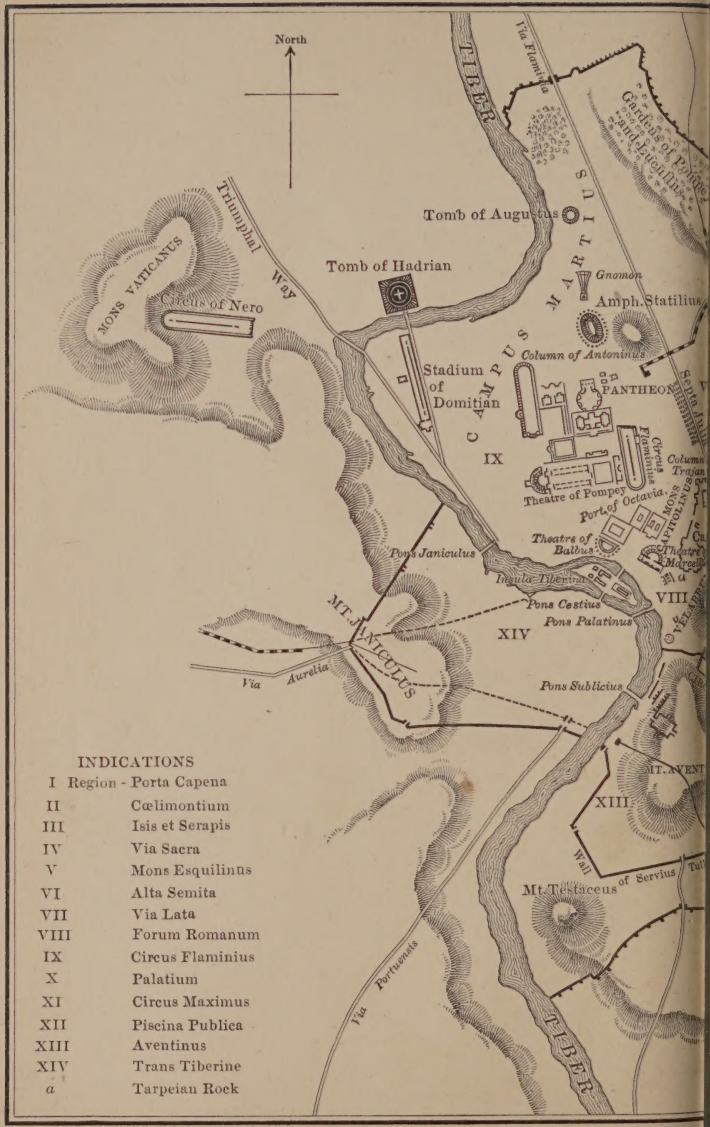
him with applause, so Pompey inclined toward the popular party. He proposed a law which restored to the tribunate its ancient prerogatives. This was the overthrow of Sulla's constitution. The grateful populace committed to him the charge of an easy but brilliant expedition against the pirates who infested the seas (67), and the command of the war against Mithridates whom Lucullus had already reduced. While accomplishing these enterprises, a memorable conspiracy was on the point of overturning the republic itself.

**Cicero. Conspiracy of Catiline** (63). — Cicero, like Marius, came from Arpinum. His fluent and flowery speech early revealed in him the ready orator. After a few successes at the bar he had the wisdom to continue his studies in Greece. He began his public career as a quæstor, and in the name of the Sicilians arraigned Verres, their former governor, the most shameless and greedy plunderer that Rome had ever seen. This trial, which had immense celebrity, raised to the highest pitch the renown of the prosecutor, whose speeches against Verres we still admire at the present day. Cicero being a new man needed support. He sought that of Pompey and helped to confer extraordinary powers upon him. Eventually recognizing the goal whither that ambitious general was tending, he labored to form a party of honest men who assumed the mission of defending the republic. His consulship appears to have been the realization of this plan.

The government was then menaced by a vast conspiracy. Catiline during the proscriptions had signalized himself among the most bloodthirsty. He had killed his brother-in-law, and murdered his wife and son to secure another woman in marriage. While proprætor in Africa he had committed terrible extortions. On his return he solicited the consulship, but a deputation from his province brought accusations against him, and the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. He had long been in league with the criminal classes at Rome. His plot to kill the consuls twice failed, and the enterprise was postponed to the year 63. Cicero was then consul, and realized how imminent was the danger. Catiline had collected forces in several places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria and Samnium were arming in his cause. The fleet at Ostia was apparently won over: Sittius in Africa promised to stir up that province and perhaps Spain also to rebellion. In Rome

itself, Catiline believed he could count upon the consul Antonius. One of the conspirators was a tribune elect, another a prætor. In a full senate Catiline had dared to say, "The Roman people is a robust body without a head: I will be that head." It soon became known that troops were mustering in Picenum and Apulia, and that Manlius, one of Sulla's former officers, was threatening Fæsulæ with an army. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, but Catiline remained in Rome. Cicero drove him out by a vehement oration, in which he disclosed the conspirator's plans. Having thus expelled the leader, who joined Manlius and thereby proclaimed himself a public enemy, he seized his accomplices, caused their condemnation by the senate and had them executed at once. This energy disheartened the rest of the conspirators. Antonius himself marched against Catiline, who was slain near Pistoia, after having fought valiantly.

On quitting office, when Cicero wished to harangue the people, a factious tribune ordered that he should confine himself to the customary oath of having done nothing contrary to the laws. "I swear," exclaimed Cicero, "I swear that I have saved the republic!" To this eloquent outburst Cato and the senators responded by saluting him with the title, "Father of his country," which the whole people confirmed by their applause.




INDICATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| I | Region - Porta Capena |
| II | Cœlimontium |
| III | Isis et Serapis |
| IV | Via Sacra |
| V | Mons Esquilinus |
| VI | Alta Semita |
| VII | Via Lata |
| VIII | Forum Romanum |
| IX | Circus Flaminius |
| X | Palatium |
| XI | Circus Maximus |
| XII | Piscina Publica |
| XIII | Aventinus |
| XIV | Trans Tiberine |
| *a* | Tarpeian Rock |

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# VII

## CÆSAR

### (60-44)

**Cæsar, Leader of the Popular Party. His Consulship** (60). — Cæsar, of the illustrious Julian family which claimed descent from Venus through Iulus, the son of Anchises, had braved Sulla when only seventeen years old. Nominated curule ædile in 65, he had won the people by magnificent games, and in spite of the senate had restored to the Capitol the trophies of his great-uncle Marius. The grateful people had nominated him sovereign pontiff. In 62 he already was in debt 850 talents. The wealthy Crassus, who owned a whole quarter in Rome, had to become his bondsman. Otherwise his debtors would not allow him to depart and take possession of his province of Farther Spain.

When he returned in 60, he found Pompey and Crassus at variance with the senate; the first because it did not ratify his acts in Asia, the second because it left him no influence in the state. Cæsar brought them together, and induced them to form a secret union which has been designated as the triumvirate. All three swore to unite their resources and influence, and in every matter to act only in accordance with their common interest. Cæsar reaped the first and the surest profits from the alliance. His two colleagues agreed to support him for the consulship. In office he secured popularity by proposing and carrying an agrarian law in spite of the senate and of his colleague Bibulus. He won over the equestrian order by diminishing by a third the rents which the knights paid the state. He caused the acts of Pompey in Asia to be confirmed, and obtained for himself the government of Cisalpine Gaul and of Illyricum with three legions for a term of five years. In vain did Cato cry with prophetic voice: "You are arming tyranny and setting it in a fortress above your heads!" The trembling senate added as an earnest of reconciliation a fourth

legion and a third province, Transalpine Gaul, where war was imminent (59). Before his departure Cæsar took great care to have Clodius, one of his creatures, appointed tribune. Thus he could hold both the senate and Pompey in check during his absence. Clodius soon delivered him from two obnoxious persons, Cato and Cicero, accusing the great orator of illegally putting to death Catiline's accomplices. Clodius secured against him a sentence of exile to a distance of 400 miles from Rome. Cato was ordered to reduce Cyprus to a province.

**The Gallic War. Victories over the Helvetii, Ariovistus, and the Belgæ** (58–57). — Since 125 the Romans had held Narbonensis, a province in Gaul, and were on friendly terms with the Ædui, a tribe in central Gaul. Their neighbors, the Sequani, were attacked by Ariovistus, a German chief. He had crossed the Rhine with 120,000 Suevi, overthrown the Sequani and Ædui, and harshly oppressed eastern Gaul. This was the beginning of the Germanic invasion. Another fact directed Cæsar's attention to this quarter. The Helvetii, constantly attacked by the Suevi, wished to abandon their mountains and seek on the shores of the ocean a milder climate and an easier existence. Cæsar resolved to oppose these changes as unfavorable to Roman supremacy. The Helvetii having crossed the Jura in spite of his prohibition, he exterminated many of them on the banks of the Saône, and forced the rest to return to their mountains. Then in a sanguinary encounter he drove Ariovistus back beyond the Rhine (58). Gaul was delivered. As the legions established their camps at the very frontiers of Belgium, the Belgic tribes grew alarmed at seeing the Romans so near them. They formed a vast league, which was broken by the treachery of the Remi, and the tribes, attacked separately, were forced to submit.

**Submission of Armoricum and Aquitaine. Expeditions to Britain and beyond the Rhine** (56–53). — The third campaign subdued Armoricum and the Aquitani. In the fourth and fifth, two expeditions beyond the Rhine deprived the barbarians of all desire of crossing that river or of aiding the Gauls in their resistance. Two descents upon Britain cut off Gaul from that island, the centre of the druidic religion. The whole of Gaul was apparently resigned to the yoke.

**General Insurrection. Vercingetorix.** — Nevertheless a

general insurrection was preparing from the Garonne to the Seine. A young chieftain of the Arverni, Vercingetorix, directed the movement (52). The legions were dispersed but Cæsar acted with great celerity and skill. With his lieutenant, Labienus, who had won a battle near Paris, Cæsar attacked 200,000 Gauls, who were trying to cut him off from the Alps. He gained a decisive victory, crowded his enemy into Alesia, and surrounded it with formidable earthworks. Vercingetorix was forced to surrender.

**Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians.** — While Cæsar was conquering Gaul by his activity and genius, one of the triumvirs, Crassus, undertook an expedition against the Parthians. After pillaging the temples of Syria and Jerusalem, he crossed the Euphrates with seven legions, plunged into the immense plains of Mesopotamia and soon encountered the innumerable cavalry of the Parthians. When these horsemen hurled themselves upon the legions, the Roman arms and courage proved of no avail against the tactics of the enemy. When they advanced, the Parthians fled; when they halted, the squadrons hovered around the stationary host and slew them with arrows from a distance. Disheartened, the legions retreated to Carrhæ, leaving 4000 wounded. The very next day the Roman army was overtaken by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced Crassus to accept an interview with the surena, or Parthian general-in-chief. The interview was an ambuscade. Crassus and his escort were killed. Only a few feeble remnants recrossed the Euphrates (53).

**Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey** (49–48). — Between the two surviving triumvirs peace could not long endure. While Crassus was fighting in Syria and Cæsar in Gaul, Pompey had remained in Rome. Daily insulted by Clodius, he soon recalled Cicero, the personal enemy of that demagogue, and then stirred up the tribune Milo, who opposed Clodius with a band of gladiators and finally killed him. The senate won Pompey to its side by causing his election as sole consul with absolute power (52). This was monarchy in disguise; but the senate desired a general and an army to oppose Cæsar, whose glory daily became more menacing. Cato approved these concessions. Though Pompey was a usurper, his usurpation was acquired by legal means; but how was he to defend himself against his

former associate in the triumvirate? Then began attacks upon Cæsar, for the purpose of taking away his command. In vain did the tribune Curio declare that Pompey must abdicate to save liberty, if Cæsar were dispossessed. On January 1, 49, a decree of the senate declared Cæsar a public enemy if by a certain day he did not abandon his troops and his provinces. Two tribunes who opposed were threatened by the followers of Pompey and fled to Cæsar's camp. He no longer hesitated, crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his government, and in sixty days drove from Italy Pompey and the senators who wished to follow him (49). Then he attacked the Pompeian party in Spain and forced it to lay down its arms. On his way back he captured Marseilles and returned to Rome where the people had conferred upon him the title of dictator.

Pompey had retired toward Dyrrachium in Epirus and thence called to him all the forces of the East. In January, 48, Cæsar crossed the Adriatic, and although his army was greatly inferior in numbers tried to surround his adversary. Being repulsed in an attack against positions which were too strong, and in need of food, he marched to Thessaly whither Pompey imprudently followed. The battle of Pharsalia, the defeat and flight of Pompey to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered at the moment of his disembarkation in a supposed friendly land, left Cæsar without a rival.

**War of Alexandria. Cæsar Dictator** (48–44). — With his usual activity, he had followed on the heels of Pompey and had arrived in Egypt a few days after him. The ministers of the young Ptolemy expected a reward for their treachery. He showed only horror. Fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, the sister of the king, he wished her to reign jointly with her brother. Then the ministers stirred up the immense population of Alexandria, and the victor of Pharsalia beheld himself with 7000 legionaries besieged for seven months in the palace of the Lagidæ. Reinforcements came to him from Asia. He assumed the offensive and defeated the royal army. The fleeing king was drowned in the Nile, and Cleopatra remained sole mistress of Egypt (48). Cæsar returned to Rome by way of Asia, where he routed Pharnaces. *Veni, vidi, vici*, he wrote to the senate (47). Another war awaited him. The survivors of Pharsalia, who had taken refuge in Africa, now formed a formidable

army supported by Juba, king of the Numidians. He conquered it at Thapsus and captured Utica, where Cato had just committed suicide rather than survive liberty (46).

The sons of Pompey roused Spain to revolt in the following year. This last was a difficult struggle. At Munda Cæsar was obliged to fight for his life, but his enemies were crushed. All the honors which flattery could invent were bestowed upon the conqueror. He was declared almost a god. All the prerogatives of authority were surrendered to him. However no man ever made a nobler use of his power. There were no proscriptions. All injuries were forgotten. Discipline was sternly maintained in the army. The people, while surfeited with festivals and games, were firmly ruled and Italian agriculture was encouraged as the Gracchi had wished that it should be. No new names were invented for this new authority. The senate, the comitia, the magistracies, existed as in the past. Only Cæsar concentrated in himself all public action by uniting in his own hands all the offices of the republic. As dictator for life and consul for five years, he had the executive power with the right to draw upon the treasury; as imperator, the military power; as tribune, the veto on the legislative power. Chief of the senate, he directed the debates of that assembly; prefect of customs, he decided them according to his pleasure; grand pontiff, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests and watched over his ministers. The finances, the army, religion, the executive power, a part of the judicial power, and indirectly nearly all the legislative power were thus at his discretion.

Cæsar had conceived grand projects. He wished to crush the Daci and Getæ, avenge Crassus, penetrate even to the Indus, and, returning through conquered Scythia and Germany, in the Babylon of the West place on his brow the crown of Alexander. Then, master of the world, he would cut the Corinthian isthmus, drain the Pontine marshes, pierce Lake Fucinus and throw across the Apennines a great road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea. Then he would extend the rights of citizenship in order to cement the unity of the empire; would collect in one code the laws, the decrees of the senate, the plebiscites and the edicts; and would gather in a public library all the products of human thought.

But for many months a conspiracy had been forming.

Cassius was its head. He carried with him Brutus, nephew and son-in-law of Cato, a man of many virtues, but egotistic and a blind partisan of former institutions. On the ides of March (March 15), 44, the conspirators assassinated Cæsar in the senate house.

## VIII

### THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

**Octavius.** — With Cæsar dead the conspirators supposed liberty would return unaided; but Antony, then consul, stirred up the people against them at the dictator's funeral and drove them from the city. Cæsar had left no son, only a nephew, Octavius, whom he had adopted. When this young man, eighteen years of age, came to Rome, Antony, expecting to inherit the power of his former chief, disdained the friendless aspirant; but the name of Cæsar rallied round Octavius all the veterans. As he agreed to discharge the legacy bequeathed by Cæsar to the people and the soldiers, he created for himself by that declaration alone a numerous faction. The senate, where Cicero tried once more to rescue liberty from the furious hands which sought to stifle it, needed an army wherewith to oppose Antony. This army Octavius alone could give. Cicero flattered the youth, whom he hoped to lead, and caused some empty honors to be conferred upon him. He was sent with two consuls to the relief of Decimus Brutus, one of Cæsar's murderers, whom Antony was besieging in Modena. The campaign was short and sanguinary (43). Antony was defeated, but the two consuls perished, and Octavius demanded for himself one of the vacant offices. The senate, which thought it needed him no longer, disdainfully rejected his demand. He immediately led eight legions to the very gates of Rome, made his entry amid the plaudits of the people, who declared him consul, had his election ratified, and distributed to his troops at the expense of the public treasury the promised rewards.

**Second Triumvirate. Proscription. Battle of Philippi.** — He could now treat with Antony without fear of suffering eclipse. He was consul. He had an army. He was master of Rome, and around him all those Cæsarians had rallied whom the violence of his rival had estranged. The negotiations made rapid progress. Antony, Lepidus, the

former general of Cæsar's cavalry, and Octavius met near Bologna on an island of the little river Reno. There they spent three days in forming the plan of the second triumvirate. A new magistracy was created under the title of "triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ." Lepidus, Antony and Octavius conferred upon themselves the consular power for five years, with the right to dispose for the same period of all the offices. Their decrees were to have the force of law, and each reserved to himself two provinces on the outskirts of Italy: Lepidus, Narbonensis and Spain; Antony, the two Gauls; Octavius, Africa, Sicily and Sardinia. To make sure of their soldiers, the triumvirs promised them 5000 drachmæ apiece and the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy.

Before returning to Rome they issued an order to put to death seventeen of the most prominent persons of the state. Cicero was among the number. On their arrival they promulgated the following edict: "Let no one conceal any of those whose names are hereinafter given. Whoever shall assist a proscribed person to escape shall himself be proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. In recompense, the freeman shall receive 25,000 drachmæ, the slave 10,000 together with free liberty and citizenship." Then followed a list of 130 names. A second list of 150 appeared almost immediately afterward, soon followed by others. At the head of the first stood the names of a brother of Lepidus, of an uncle of Antony and of a tutor of Octavius. Each leader had given up a kinsman, thus purchasing the privilege of not being hampered in his vengeance. The ill-omened days of Marius and Sulla began anew and again were seen hideous trophies of bleeding heads. One was presented to Antony: "I do not recognize it," said he; "carry it to my wife." In fact it was that of a wealthy private person who had once refused to sell Fulvia one of his villas. Many escaped on the ships of Sextus Pompey, who had just seized Sicily, or made their way to Africa, Syria and Macedon. Cicero, whom Octavius had abandoned to the rancor of his colleague, was less fortunate. He was killed in his villa at Gaeta. His head and hand were cut off and brought to Antony while he was at table. At the spectacle he manifested a ferocious joy. Fulvia, taking in her hands that bleeding head, with a bodkin pierced the tongue which had pursued her with so many

deserved sarcasms. The pitiable remains were then attached to the rostrum.

On leaving Italy Brutus had gone to Athens. The governor of Macedon resigned his command to him. From the Adriatic to Thrace in a few days everything obeyed the republican general. Cassius for his part had seduced the eastern legions.

To raise money, he made the provinces pay in one instalment the taxes of the next ten years. The republican army, loaded down with the plunder of Asia, reëntered Europe and advanced as far as Philippi in Macedon to meet the triumvirs. Antony posted himself opposite Cassius; Octavius opposed Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, but the republicans had a formidable fleet, which cut off communication by sea. Thus Antony, threatened with famine, was anxious for battle, but Cassius for the contrary reason wished to defer it. Brutus, eager to end the civil war, desired action. Octavius, who was ill, had been removed from his camp when Messala, attacking with impetuosity, penetrated his lines. Brutus thought the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony had dispersed his antagonists, and Cassius regarding his party as ruined had committed suicide.

Twenty days after this action, another took place, in which the troops of Brutus were surrounded and put to rout. Their leader, who escaped with difficulty, halted on an eminence to accomplish what he called his deliverance. He threw himself on his sword, exclaiming: "Virtue, thou art only a word!" Antony showed some mildness toward the captives, but Octavius was pitiless. The republican fleet proceeded to join Sextus Pompey (42).

**Antony in the East. The Perusian War. Treaty of Misenum** (39). — The two conquerors made a new partition of the world between them, regardless of Lepidus, who was supposed to have an understanding with Pompey. The share of the leaders having been arranged, it remained to settle that of the soldiers. Octavius, ill as he was, undertook the apparently difficult task of distributing lands in Italy to the veterans. Antony was to go to Asia and obtain the 200,000 talents required. He traversed Greece and Asia in a continual festival, horribly oppressing the people to provide the means for extravagance. In Asia he demanded the imposts for the next ten years on the spot. For a

savory dish he rewarded his cook with the house of a wealthy citizen of Magnesia. Cleopatra had furnished money and troops to Cassius. Antony demanded an explanation of her conduct. To Tarsus in Cilicia, where he was, she came in person hoping to conquer him as she had conquered Cæsar by her charms.

Antony was an easy prey. When he beheld this elegant and accomplished woman, who spoke six languages, holding her own with him in his orgies, he forgot Rome and Fulvia his wife to follow her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41). While he was wasting precious time in shameful debauchery, Octavius in Italy was attempting the impossible task of satisfactorily dividing the lands. The dispossessed proprietors, who unlike Virgil could not buy back their property with fine verses, hastened to Rome, lamented their misfortunes and excited the people to revolt. The brother of Antony thought this an opportunity to overthrow Octavius and collected seventeen legions, with which he seized Rome, announcing the speedy restoration of the republic. But Agrippa, the best officer of Octavius, drove him from the city and forced him to take refuge in Perusia, where famine compelled his surrender (40). Fulvia fled to Greece with all Antony's friends and Octavius remained sole master of Italy. The news roused the triumvir from his unmanly torpor but his soldiers ordered peace, and the two adversaries made a new partition, which gave Antony the east as far as the Adriatic with the obligation to fight the Parthians, and the west to Octavius with the war against Sextus Pompey. The latter however a few days later signed the treaty of Misenum. He was to retain Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Achæa. Lepidus received Africa (39).

**Wise Administration of Octavius. Expedition of Antony against the Parthians.** — The peace of Misenum was only a truce. Octavius could not consent to leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions at the mercy of Pompey. The struggle broke out in 38. The victory of Naulochus assured the success of Octavius (36). Sextus, who had taken refuge in Asia, was put to death in Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35). Octavius rid himself at the same time of Lepidus, whom he banished to Circeii where he lived some twenty-three years longer. When Octavius returned to Rome the people, who beheld prosperity suddenly revived,

accompanied him to the Capitol and crowned him with flowers. They wished to lavish honors upon him. Already beginning his rôle of self-abnegation and modesty, he suppressed several taxes, and declared his intention of abdicating as soon as Antony terminated the war against the Parthians. Meanwhile his energetic administration reëstablished order in the peninsula. Bandits were hunted down and fugitive slaves restored to their masters or put to death when not reclaimed. In less than a year security reigned at the capital and in the country. Rome was governed.

In 37 Antony came to Tarentum to renew the triumvirate for five years. Excited by the victories of his lieutenants, he decided to assume in person the command of the Parthian War. Scarcely had he touched Asiatic soil when his passion for Cleopatra revived more madly than ever. He had her come to Laodicea, recognized the children she had borne him, and added to her dominions almost the whole coast from the Nile as far as Mount Taurus. Though those countries were for the most part Roman provinces, the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir had more influence than senate or laws.

At last Antony decided to march against the Parthians with 60,000 men, 10,000 horsemen and 30,000 auxiliaries. He marched through Armenia, whose king Artavasdes was his ally, and penetrated as far as Phraata near the Caspian Sea; but he had not brought his siege machines, and was obliged to retreat. After twenty-seven days' march, during which they fought eighteen battles, the Romans reached the Araxes, the frontier of Armenia. Their road from Phraata was marked by the corpses of 24,000 legionaries. Fortune offered Antony a last opportunity to repair his reverses. A quarrel had arisen between the king of the Parthians and the king of the Medes as to division of the spoils. The angry Mede intimated that he was ready to join the Romans. Cleopatra prevented Antony from replying to this appeal, and carried him off in her train to Alexandria.

While Antony was disgracing himself in the East, Octavius was giving to Italy that repose for which she hungered. He conquered the pirates of the Adriatic and the turbulent tribes, the Liburni and Dalmati, at the north. At the siege of Metulum, he himself mounted to the assault

and received three wounds. He penetrated as far as the Sava, and subdued a part of Pannonia. Thus, of the two triumvirs, the one was bestowing Roman countries upon a barbarous queen, and the other was increasing the territory of the empire. However Antony complained and demanded a share in the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus. Octavius replied with bitter criticisms of his conduct in the East, and read to the senate the will of Antony, which bequeathed to Cleopatra and her children the greater part of the provinces which he had in his power. Octavius wished by this means to strengthen the rumor that Antony, should he become the master, would make a gift to Cleopatra of Rome itself. A decree of the senate declared war against the queen of Egypt.

**Actium. Death of Antony and Reduction of Egypt to a Province.** — Antony had collected 100,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 500 great ships of war. Octavius had only 80,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 250 vessels of inferior size. His galleys however were lighter and swifter and were manned by the veteran sailors and soldiers who had defeated Sextus Pompey. The battle was fought off Actium on the coast of Acarnania (31). Cleopatra took to flight in the middle of the action with sixty Egyptian ships, and Antony cowardly followed her. The abandoned fleet surrendered. The army for seven days resisted all solicitation. This time Octavius did not stain his victory by acts of revenge. No suppliant for life was refused. The victor, recalled to Italy to quiet troubles there, could not pursue his rival until the following year. Antony tried to defend Alexandria but was betrayed by Cleopatra and committed suicide. The queen herself, having vainly sought to move the conqueror, had herself stung by an asp. Octavius reduced Egypt to a Roman province (30).

Rome belonged to a master. Two centuries of war, pillage and conquests had destroyed equality in the city of Fabricius, had taught insolence to the nobles, servility to men of low degree, and replaced the citizen army by a mercenary rabble, who cared nothing for the state, its laws or liberty, and recognized only the leader whose hand offered them booty and gold. The establishment of the empire was certainly a military revolution. But, since Rome had not been able to halt at the popular reforms of the Gracchi or the aristocratic reform of Sulla, this revolution had be-

come inevitable. It was impossible that the institutions, adequate for a city of a few thousand inhabitants, should be adequate for a society of 80,000,000 souls; that the city, now become the capital of the world, should continue to be disturbed by sterile and bloody rivalries; that the kings, the allied nations and the provinces should remain the prey of the 200 families which composed the Roman aristocracy.

But in place of the citizens who were despoiled and who merited their fate, could men be formed, capable by their voluntary discipline and political intelligence of winning new rights, higher perhaps than those which they had lost?

If liberty was destined not to return, could any one understand how to organize those multitudes, ignorant henceforth of any will save that of the prince, into a vigorous body capable of a long existence? Since there is to be an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation take the place of the oligarchy which had just been overthrown, and of the populace which regarded the victory of Cæsar and of Octavius as its triumph? The history of Augustus and of his successors will be the answer.

# IX

## AUGUSTUS AND THE JULIAN EMPERORS

### (B.C. 31–A.D. 68)

**Constitution of the Imperial Power** (30–12). — Antony was dead and Egypt attached to the imperial domain. Octavius returned to Asia Minor. There he spent the winter in regulating the affairs of the East, while Mæcenas and Agrippa kept watch for him in Rome. Their task was easy, for the only sounds were the adulatory decrees of the senate. When at last he returned to his capital after his triumph, he distributed to the soldiers 1000 sesterces apiece, to the citizens four hundred, and shut the temple of Janus to announce the new era of peace and order that had begun.

As consul he was legally to retain for six years almost the entire executive power. Yet above all he had need of the army. In order to remain at its head he caused the senate to bestow upon him the title of imperator with the supreme command of all the military forces. The generals were henceforth only his lieutenants, and the soldiers took the oath of loyalty to him.

He preserved the senate and resolved to make of it the pivot of his government. First however with Agrippa as his colleague he was proclaimed censor; this enabled him to expel from the senatorial body unworthy members or opponents of the new order. When the former censors completed the census, the man whose name they had placed at the head of the list, generally one of themselves, was called chief of the senate. This purely honorary post Octavius retained during the remainder of his life. Agrippa had given his colleague this republican title, and thus placed the deliberations of the senate under his direction; for, in accordance with ancient usage, the chief always expressed his opinion first and this first opinion exercised an influence now destined to be decisive.

The senators had placed nearly all the provinces under

his authority by investing him with the proconsulship. Octavius wished that they should at least share this office with him. He left them the tranquil and prosperous regions of the interior, and took for himself those still in turmoil or threatened by the barbarians, and where in consequence the troops were stationed. In the fervor of its gratitude, the senate called him Augustus, a title which had been applied only to the gods. It is by this title he is commonly known. Three years later it bestowed upon him the tribuneship for life or inviolability in office. In the year 19 he was decreed consul for life. He had formerly accepted the command of the provinces and the armies for ten years only. In the year 18 he caused his powers to be renewed, each time protesting against the violence done his preferences in the name of the public interest. Finally he caused himself to be named sovereign pontiff. There was nothing else left worth the taking (12). Thus centring in himself every high office, conferred in accordance with all the forms of law, he was absolute master of Rome and the empire. His reign of forty-four years was employed in tranquil organization of the monarchy. The emasculated senate still existed as the council of state. He even increased its attributes by intrusting to it the decision in all political cases and important suits. The people also retained the form of their assemblies, but the public elections were merely to confirm the choice made by the prince.

**Military and Financial Organization.** — As the real power rested upon the soldiers, he made the army a permanent organization, and stationed it along the frontiers in intrenched camps ready to resist the barbarians. Regulations determined the duration of service, the treatment of veterans and the pay of the three or four hundred thousand men. Fleets at Frejus, Misenum and Ravenna acted as the police of the Mediterranean. Flotillas were stationed on the Danube and Euxine. As he was chief of all the legions and as the generals were only his lieutenants fighting under the auspices of the imperator, none of them, according to Roman ideas, could enjoy a triumph.

The civil was patterned after the military administration. Annually the senate continued to send proconsuls to the interior provinces which the emperor left it. The frontier provinces were governed by imperial legates who retained office as long as the sovereign saw fit. This was a salutary

innovation, because now the officers remained long at their posts, and hence became acquainted with the needs of those under their administration.

As there were apparently two kinds of provinces, there were two financial administrations, the public treasury or ærarium, and the treasury of the prince or the fiscus. The ærarium, which received the tributes of the senatorial provinces, was moreover put by the senate at the sovereign's disposition, so he disposed of all the financial resources of the empire just as he disposed of all its military forces. These resources were insufficient to defray the new expenses. It became necessary to reëstablish customs duties and create new taxes, such as a twentieth on inheritances, a hundredth on commodities and fines for celibacy. All these revenues, joined to the tributes of the provinces, yielded perhaps eighty or a hundred million dollars.

**Administration of Augustus in the Provinces and at Rome.** — If everything belonged to Augustus, his time, his services, and even his fortune belonged to all. During his long journeys through the provinces, he relieved cities in debt and rebuilt those which some calamity had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, Paphos, overthrown by earthquake, arose from their ruins more beautiful than before. One year he even defrayed from his own revenues all the taxes of the province of Asia. The measures of the imperial administration in general accorded with the conduct of the prince, who was an example and a lesson to his officers. In religious matters no violence was allowed save in Gaul, where druidism with its human sacrifices was vigorously assailed. That the taxes might be justly apportioned a general register of valuation was needed. Augustus had this drawn up.

Three geometers travelled throughout the empire and measured distances. This work served also another end. The empire once surveyed and measured, it was easy to make roads. Augustus repaired those of Italy, constructed those of Cisalpine Gaul and covered all Gaul and the Iberian peninsula with highways. Then upon these roads a regular service of posts was organized. The messengers of the prince and the armies could be rapidly transported from one province to another. Commerce and civilization gained thereby. New life circulated in this empire, so admirably planted all around the Mediterranean Sea.

Augustus devoted particular attention to contenting the people of Rome with games and distribution of corn. He adorned the city with numerous monuments, appointed a prefect and city cohorts to preserve public tranquillity, and night watches to prevent or extinguish fires. He could boast of leaving a city of marble where he had found one of brick. In the still barbarous Western provinces, by making new territorial divisions, he effaced their former independent habits, and founded numerous colonies to multiply the Roman element in the midst of these populations.

During the triumvirate Octavius had often exhibited cruelty, but Augustus almost always pardoned. He lived less like a prince than like a plain private person, simply and with dignity with his friends, Mæcenas, Horace, Virgil, Agrippa, who were not always courtiers.

**Foreign Policy. Defeat of Varus** (9 A.D.). — After Actium he thought the wars were finished, and by closing the doors of the temple of Janus he had declared that the new monarchy renounced the spirit of conquest which had animated the republic. In fact, there were no serious wars in the East, where the mere threat of an expedition decided the Parthians to restore the flags of Crassus. But in Europe the empire had not yet found its natural limits. In order to place Italy, Greece and Macedon beyond the danger of invasion, it was necessary to control the course of the Danube. To avoid apprehension on the left bank of the Rhine the German tribes must be expelled from the right bank. This was the object of a series of expeditions, all of which succeeded with one exception. In the year 16, Drusus and Tiberius subdued the tribes in Rhætia, Vindelicia and Noricum on the northern slope of the Alps, thereby extending the Roman frontier to the upper Danube. Seven years later Drusus crossed the lower Rhine and penetrated to the banks of the Elbe. After his death his brother Tiberius took up his winter quarters in the very heart of Germany, and the Roman influence spread by degrees from his camp. Meanwhile the Marcoman Marbod was founding in Bohemia a kingdom defended by 70,000 foot and 4000 horse, all disciplined in the Roman manner. Augustus became alarmed at these neighbors, and was preparing a formidable army to destroy this rising state beyond the Danube, when the Pannoni and Dalmati rebelled in its rear. Tiberius induced Marbod to treat, and thus was able

to fall upon the rebels with fifteen legions. However three campaigns were necessary to overcome their desperate resistance.

Only five days after the definite submission of the Pannoni and Dalmati, Rome learned with consternation that three legions had been drawn into an ambush by Hermann, a young chieftain of the Cherusci, and had been utterly destroyed together with their general Varus. Northern Germany was rising in revolt, and was pushing the Roman domination back upon the Rhine. "Varus, Varus! Give me back my legions," Augustus cried in sorrow. Marbod, jealous of Hermann, made no movement, and Augustus, reassured on the score of the Danube, was able to send Tiberius into Gaul. He fortified the strongholds along the Rhine, reëstablished discipline and for the sake of restoring a little confidence even risked the eagles on the other side of the river. Germanicus took his place in command of the eight legions which garrisoned the left bank of the Rhine. The enemy content with their victory were not yet desirous to attack. The empire was saved, but the glory of a long and pacific reign was tarnished by this disaster. Augustus died five years afterwards (14 A.D.).

Augustus gave his name to a great literary epoch. Posterity pictures him surrounded by Titus Livius, Horace and Virgil, whom the other illustrious writers, Lucretius, Catullus, Cicero, Sallust and Cæsar, had preceded by a few years. We possess nothing of Varius, a tragic poet much lauded at the time, but many elegies are left us of Tibullus, Gallus and Propertius, and almost all the works of Ovid. Trogus Pompeius compiled a universal history which unhappily is lost; Celsus, a sort of encyclopædia, of which only the books relating to medicine remain; and the Greek Strabo composed his geography.

**Tiberius** (14–37). — Augustus had adopted Tiberius, a son of his wife Livia by a former husband. He succeeded without difficulty. To occupy the turbulent legions on the frontier, Tiberius ordered Germanicus, who was both his nephew and his adopted son, to lead the army beyond the Rhine. They marched as far as the forest of Teutoberg, where the three legions of Varus had perished. At first the Germans nowhere made a stand. Growing bolder in the following campaign they ventured to meet the Roman army, and were defeated in the great battle of Idistavisus.

A second battle was a second massacre, and Varus was avenged. Germanicus then returned to Gaul, where he found letters from Tiberius recalling him to Rome to receive the consulship, and to undertake an important mission in Asia.

In Rome Tiberius governed mildly, refusing the honors and temples offered to him. He disdained the base flattery of the senate as one who knew its value. To the provinces he sent able governors, did not increase taxation, and relieved the frequent distress. Twelve Asiatic cities, ruined by an earthquake, were exempted for five years from all dues. Tiberius practised his maxim, "A good shepherd shears his sheep, but does not flay them."

In the East, Germanicus without drawing his sword humbled the Parthians, who allowed him to give the Armenian crown to a faithful vassal of the empire, and to reduce Cappadocia and the Comagene to provinces. On returning from a journey to Egypt he had violent disputes with Piso, governor of Syria. His death, which occurred some time afterward, was attributed to poison, and Piso's indecent joy seemed to designate him as the criminal. Piso to regain the government, which he had resigned rather than obey Germanicus, did not shrink from civil war. Defeated, he committed suicide. Tacitus intimates, without direct assertion, that Tiberius poisoned Germanicus and then caused Piso to disappear.

The first nine years of Tiberius' reign were prosperous. After the death of his son Drusus, everything changed. He had a favorite, Sejanus, who had once saved his life when a vault fell in upon him, and whom he made prefect of the prætorian guard. Dazzled by success, Sejanus wished to mount higher still. He believed that he might reach the supreme power by overthrowing the sovereign and his children. His first victim was the emperor's own son, Drusus, whom he secretly poisoned. This death was a mortal blow to Tiberius. He felt himself alone and friendless. Naturally suspicious, he now everywhere beheld plots and intrigues. To foil real or imaginary conspirators he employed his power mercilessly. About this time, Tiberius, then sixty-nine years of age, quitted Rome never to return and withdrew to the delicious island of Capreæ, at the entrance of the Gulf of Naples (26). Sejanus had become the intermediary between him and the

empire. Inflaming the suspicions of the old man, he persuaded him to become the executioner of all his relatives whom he represented as impatient heirs coveting their inheritance. Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, was shut up in the island of Pandataria, where four years later she died of starvation. Of her three sons, Nero was put to death or killed himself; Drusus was thrown into prison, where he perished of hunger; the youth of Caius protected him against the fears of Tiberius.

The whole family of Germanicus being practically destroyed, Sejanus, drawing more closely to his goal, dared solicit the hand of Drusus' widow. This was almost equivalent to asking to be made the emperor's heir. His suit was refused. Hence he resolved to strike at the emperor himself and gained accomplices even in the palace. But Tiberius understood him. Craftily depriving him of his guard, he had him suddenly arrested in the open senate. The people tore his body to pieces, and numerous executions followed his death.

"The cruelty of Tiberius," says Suetonius, "knew no bounds when he learned that his son Drusus had died of poison. The place of execution is still shown at Capreæ. It is a rock, whence the condemned at a given signal were hurled into the sea." Close beside it rose the palaces, scenes of infamous orgies, as Tacitus asserts. Tiberius maintained peace along the frontiers, which were seldom disturbed. He died at the age of seventy-eight.

**Caligula** (37–41). — With acclamations Rome hailed the accession of Caligula, son of Germanicus, and the new emperor at first justified all her hopes. Soon however, in consequence of an illness which seemed to have unsettled his reason, he entered upon a war against the gods, whom he blasphemed; against nature, whose laws he wished to violate, as in spanning the sea between Baiæ and Puteoli by a bridge; against the nobility of Rome, whom he decimated; and against the provinces, which he drained by his exactions. In less than two years he had squandered in mad extravagance sixty million dollars, the savings of Tiberius. To replenish his treasury he appropriated the lives and fortunes of the rich. One day in Gaul he lost while playing at dice. He ordered the registers of the province to be brought, and marked for death those citizens who paid the heaviest taxes. "You play for a few miser-

able drachmas," he said afterward to his courtiers, "but I have just won millions at a throw!" For four years the world endured this raving madman, who wished the Roman people had but one head that he might strike it off at a blow. At last he was killed by Chærea, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts.

**Claudius** (41–54). — Chærea was a republican. The occasion seemed favorable for the senate to again grasp the power. It made the attempt, and for three days one could imagine that he was in a republic. This did not suit the soldiers. In a recess of the palace they found Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and carried him to their camp. He was then fifty years of age, a man of learning who wrote the history of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, but sickly and timid. His lack of resolution had the most deplorable results. The real masters of the empire were his wife, Messalina, and his freedmen, Polybius, Narcissus and Pallas. Nevertheless they effected some wise reforms, made a seaport at Ostia, and drained Lake Fucinus. Claudius persecuted the Druids, whose worship he sought to abolish.

Abroad, Mauritania and half of Britain were conquered, the Germans repressed, the Bosphorus held to its allegiance, Thrace, Lydia, and Judæa reduced to provinces, and the divisions among the Parthians encouraged. But nine or ten plots formed against the life of Claudius brought on terrible vengeance. Thirty-five senators and three hundred knights perished. Many were the victims of the hatred of Messalina, who in defiance of the emperor, the laws and public decency contracted a second marriage before death or divorce had dissolved the first, and with the usual ceremonies espoused the senator Silius. The freedmen, alarmed for their own safety, wrested from Claudius an order of death, and replaced Messalina by Agrippina, a niece of the emperor, who acquired for herself hardly less notoriety. The new empress, desirous to secure for her son Nero, then eleven years of age, the heritage which rightfully belonged to the young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, surrounded the emperor with her creatures, appointed Burrus prefect of the prætorian guard, and Seneca tutor to Nero. Then by way of finishing the affair she poisoned Claudius.

**Nero** (54–68). — At his accession Claudius to assure the fidelity of the soldiers had given a donative of nearly eight

hundred dollars to each prætorian and a proportionate sum to each legionary. This unfortunate innovation the army established as a law, and eventually it put the empire at auction to the highest bidder. Thus revolutions became more frequent. It was the interest of the soldiers to have the throne often vacant that they might receive the donative the oftener.

Nero began well. The first five years of his reign deserved praise. "How I wish that I did not know how to write!" he said one day, when a death sentence was presented for his signature. Seneca and Burrus worked in concert to restrain the fiery passions of their pupil, but Agrippina's ambition brought about the explosion. In league with the freedman Pallas, she intended that nothing should be done in the palace without her. Seneca and Burrus, in order to remove a domination which had debased Claudius, had the freedman disgraced. On Agrippina's threat to lead Britannicus to the prætorian camp, Nero poisoned his adopted brother (55). A little later he robbed Otho of his wife Poppæa, and, irritated by the reproaches of his mother, caused a vessel upon which she had embarked to sink on the open sea. As she saved herself by swimming, he sent soldiers to kill her. His wife Octavia and perhaps Burrus also suffered the same fate. The Romans beheld their emperor, the heir of Cæsar, drive chariots in the arena and on the stage recite verses to the accompaniment of the lyre! The burning of Rome in the year 64 cannot be imputed to him. But he made use of it as a pretext to persecute the Christians. Some of them, enveloped in the skins of beasts, were torn by dogs; others, smeared with pitch, were set on fire alive, and like torches lit up the gardens of Nero during a festival which he gave the populace. To pay for his extravagance he dealt exile and confiscation. At last a conspiracy of senators and knights was found out. Seneca, his nephew, the poet Lucan and the virtuous Thrasea were forced to open their own veins. This raving madman had the sickly vanity of inferior artists. To find more worthy appreciation of his talents he made a journey to Greece, where he took part in all the games and collected many crowns, even at Olympia, although he fell in the middle of the stadium; but he paid for these plaudits by proclaiming the liberty of Greece (66).

Nevertheless the empire began to weary of obeying a bad

singer, as he was called by Vindex, proprætor of Gaul, who offered the empire to Galba. Despite the death of Vindex the rebellion was successful and extended to Rome, whence Nero abandoned by all was forced to flee. He took refuge at the farm of one of his freedmen. When he saw himself about to be captured, he thrust a dagger into his throat, exclaiming, "What an artist the world is about to lose!" With him the race of the Cæsars became extinct. Since the time of the great Julius, however, it had been continued only through adoption.

Under Nero, Queen Boadicea in Britain rose against the Romans. Corbulo won victories over the Germans and Parthians. The reward of the skilful general was an order to commit suicide.

# X

## THE FLAVIANS

### (69–96)

**Galba, Otho and Vitellius** (68–69). — The prætorians demanded the rich donative which had been promised them in the name of Galba. "I choose my soldiers," he replied, "but I do not buy them." This haughty speech was not borne out by vigorous acts. Otho, a former friend of Nero, an ambitious man overwhelmed with debts, had no difficulty in stirring up the prætorians to massacre Galba.

But already the legions of the Rhine had at Cologne proclaimed their commander, Vitellius, emperor. They marched upon Italy, and near Cremona won a great battle in consequence of which Otho killed himself.

Vitellius was famous above all for his voracity. He permitted the soldiers to do everything and troubled himself about nothing except his pleasures, never dreaming that the Eastern legions might feel tempted to imitate what the Gallic legions had done for Galba, the prætorians for Otho, and the legions of the Rhine for himself. The profits of a revolution were now so certain that each army desired to secure them. Vespasian was then at the head of powerful forces, charged with subduing the rebellious Jews. His troops proclaimed him emperor. Leaving to his son Titus the task of besieging Jerusalem, he marched to take possession of Egypt and despatched Mucianus to Italy. The latter was forestalled by Antonius Primus, who defeated the troops of Vitellius near Cremona and a few days later captured Rome. Vitellius, after suffering many outrages, was put to death.

**Vespasian** (69–79). — Flavius Vespasianus, the son of a tax collector, was of plain manners and had made his way by merit. He learned in Egypt of the successes of his generals and the death of his rival. But two wars were still going on. Titus conducted that against the Jews which though fierce was not dangerous to the empire. The other, of far more serious nature, sprang from the rebellion of the

Batavian Civilis. This man, a member of the Batavian royal family, had resolved to free his nation. He summoned the Gauls to independence and the Germans to the pillage of the provinces. The Gauls could not agree among themselves. Cerealis, one of Vespasian's generals, vanquished Civilis, who retired to his island, organized there a vigorous resistance and finally obtained an honorable peace for the Batavi. They remained, not the tributaries but the allies of Rome, on condition of furnishing soldiers. While these events were taking place, Titus was repressing the revolt of the Jews. Roused to sedition by the extortions of their last governors, they had heroically recommenced the struggle of the Maccabees against foreign domination. They believed that the time was come for that Messiah whom their sacred books foretold. Refusing to recognize him in the holy victim of Golgotha, they thought that he was about to manifest himself, glorious and mighty, amid the crash of arms. The insurrection had invaded Galilee, where the historian Josephus organized the rebellion. Vespasian and Titus confined it in the capital of Judæa. After a memorable siege Jerusalem fell. The Temple was burned, the ploughshare passed over its ruins and the dispersion of the Hebrew people began (70). Eleven hundred thousand Jews fell in this war.

While Vespasian's generals were rendering his arms triumphant, he himself at Rome was degrading unworthy senators and knights, improving the finances that Nero had left in a wretched state, restoring the Capitol which had been destroyed in a conflagration, constructing the immense Coliseum and the temple of peace, founding a library, and appointing teachers of rhetoric whom the state paid. Nevertheless Vespasian felt obliged to expel from Rome the Stoics, who ostentatiously displayed republican sentiments. Because of his too great freedom of speech the most respected of the senators, Helvidius Priscus, was exiled and afterward put to death, though contrary to the intention of Vespasian. Of serious mind, a man of business and method, Vespasian laughed at flatteries as at apotheosis. "I feel myself becoming a god," he said when he beheld his last hour approaching. But he tried to rise, saying, "An emperor should die on his feet."

**Titus** (79–81). — He was succeeded by Titus, who had distinguished himself in the German and British wars and

especially in Judæa. Though his dissoluteness and violence had been feared, he surprised all by his self-control, and his gentle and affable manners won for him the surname of "Delight of the human race." He considered a day lost in which he had done no good action.

Frightful calamities attended his brief reign. A conflagration lasting three days devastated a part of Rome. Pestilence ravaged Italy. On November 1, 79, Vesuvius suddenly vomited forth masses of ashes and lava which buried Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiæ. Pliny the naturalist, then commanding the fleet of Misenum, wished to behold this terrible phenomenon close by, and was either stifled by the ashes or crushed by the stones shot forth from the volcano. Titus reigned only seventeen months.

**Domitian** (81–96). — Domitian, his brother, was immediately proclaimed. In his first acts he showed firmness and justice, repressed all the abuses of which he could obtain information, and by his active watchfulness assured to the provinces an almost paternal government. The frontiers were well guarded and the barbarians held in check, including the Dacians who were becoming formidable. But as his thirst for money grew with his fears, he soon became grasping and cruel. Informers multiplied and were followed by executions. His cousin Sabinus was put to death, because the crier who was to name him consul by mistake had called him emperor. Many rich persons on account of their wealth were accused of high treason.

A revolt of the governor of upper Germany increased his tyranny, because Domitian believed himself to be surrounded even in Rome by the accomplices of the rebel. Many senators perished. Some were accused of the new crime of judaizing. Under this pretext his cousin Flavius Clemens and his own niece Domitilla were condemned. At last a plot was formed among the people of the palace, by whom he was murdered.

It was Domitian however who completed the conquest of the greater part of Britain. Vespasian had sent thither Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, who pacified the island without however subduing the mountaineers of Caledonia. Only the south of Scotland was united to the province. To protect it against incursions from the north, Agricola raised a line of fortified posts between the firths of the Clyde and the Forth, and Roman civilization aided by numerous colonists speedily took possession of Britain.

# XI

## THE ANTONINES

### (96–192)

**Nerva** (96–98). — The Flavian family was extinct. The senate made haste to proclaim Nerva, a former consul. With this prince began a period of eighty years which has been called the golden age of humanity. It is the epoch of the Antonines. Though Nerva displayed good intentions, he had neither the strength nor the time to realize them. He adopted the Spanish Trajan, the best general of the empire.

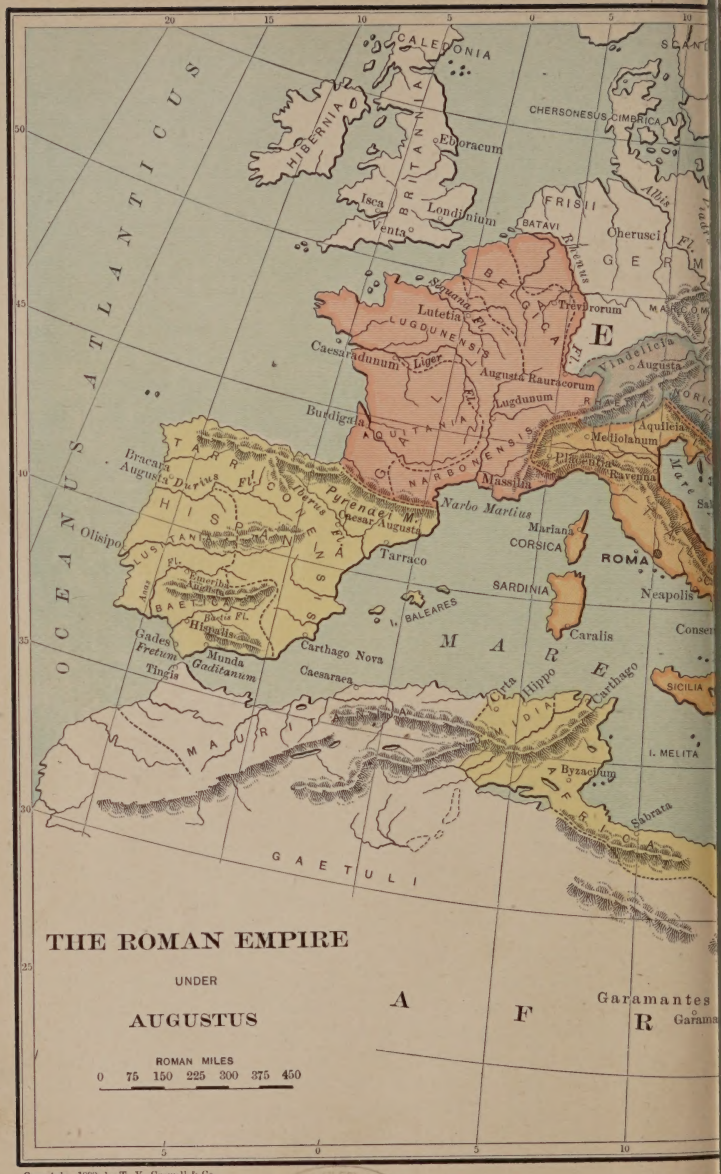
**Trajan** (98–117). — When Nerva died, Trajan was at Cologne. Recognized as emperor by the senate, the people and the armies, he remained one year more on the banks of the Rhine to pacify the frontiers and restore discipline. He wished to enter Rome on foot. The Empress Plotina followed his example. As she ascended the palace steps, she turned toward the crowd to say, "What I am on entering, I wish to be on departing." Trajan banished informers, diminished the taxes and sold the numerous palaces which his predecessors had acquired by confiscations. In order to encourage the free population, he distributed among the cities of Italy revenues intended for the support of poor children. The senate could almost believe itself transported to the days of its ancient power, for it deliberated on serious affairs and really assigned the offices. Trajan even restored the elections to the comitia. At least the candidates presented themselves to solicit as in former days the votes of the people. He himself in Campus Martius canvassed in the midst of the crowd. The monuments which he raised had as their object public utility or the adornment of Rome, like the Trajan column which still recounts his exploits. Among his works the most important were the completion of a highway which traversed the whole Roman empire from the Pontus Euxinus to Gaul, and the restora-

tion of the road thrown across the Pontine marshes. He caused the seaports of Ancona and Civita-Vecchia to be excavated at his expense, established colonies in different places, either as military or commercial stations, and founded the Ulpian library, which became the richest in Rome. Only two reproaches can be brought against him; he had not the sobriety of Cato and he persecuted the Christians. He forbade their being hunted, but ordered that such as made themselves prominent should be beaten. He himself condemned Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, to be cast to the lions.

His reign was the most warlike which the empire had beheld. He directed in person an expedition against the Dacians (101), crossed the Danube at the head of 60,000 men, vanquished the barbarians in three battles, captured their capital, Sarmizegethusa, and forced them to sue for peace (103). The following year they rebelled again. Trajan threw over the river a stone bridge, the remains of which are still to be seen, several times entered Dacia, vanquished Decebalus, who killed himself, and reduced the country to a province. Numerous colonists were sent thither and flourishing cities rose. In consequence the Roumanian nation still speaks on the banks of the Danube a dialect which is almost the language of the contemporaries of Trajan.

In the East he reduced Armenia to a province. The kings of Colchis and Iberia promised entire obedience, and the Albanians of the Caspian accepted the ruler whom he gave them. One of his lieutenants, Cornelius Palma, had already subjugated some of the Arabs. Trajan penetrated into Mesopotamia, captured Ctesiphon, Seleucia and Susa, and descended as far as the Persian Gulf. "If I were younger," said he, "I would go and subdue the Indies." Such rapid conquests could not be durable. The vanquished rose as soon as the emperor departed and the Jews again revolted everywhere. Blood flowed in streams. Trajan had not even the consolation of seeing the end of this formidable insurrection. He died at Selinus in Cilicia.

**Hadrian** (117–138). — Hadrian abandoned the useless conquests of his predecessors in the East. To prevent the inroads of the Caledonian mountaineers into Britain, he constructed from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway Firth the wall of the Picts, numerous remains of which

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are still to be seen. His only war was a fierce one against the Jews. He changed the name of the city of David to Ælia Capitolina, erected there altars to all the gods and forbade the Jews to observe the bloody rite of circumcision. Thus they were now threatened with the loss of their religious, as they had lost already their political, existence. At the call of the doctor Akiba they once more appealed to the verdict of arms under the leadership of Barkochba, the Son of the Star, who claimed to be the long-expected Messiah. Nearly 600,000 Jews perished and the survivors were sold.

Hadrian's internal administration was sagacious. He relieved the provinces from those arrears of debt which had accumulated during sixteen years, and did away with the republican forms which since the time of Augustus had perpetuated the false image of Roman liberty. He divided the offices into those of the state, palace and army, the civil magistracies holding the highest rank and the military the lowest. For the transaction of business he established four chanceries, and invested the prætorian prefects with both civil and military authority. So they formed a sort of upper ministry. And lastly Salvius Julianus by command of the emperor formed a sort of code from existing edicts which, under the name of perpetual edict, acquired the force of law (131).

The army, like the palace and the higher administration of the government, was subjected to a severe reform. Hadrian made many regulations which have survived him, touching discipline, drill and the age at which a man became eligible to the different grades. He visited all the provinces one after the other, most of the time on foot, accompanied only by a few lawyers and artists. A number of cities were enriched by him with splendid monuments, as Nîmes, where he probably erected the amphitheatre in honor of Plotina; Athens, where he passed two winters; Alexandria; and Rome, which owes to him the castle of San Angelo (Moles Hadriani) and the bridge which connects the two banks. He encouraged commerce and industry, and rendered the slaves amenable to the courts alone, and not to the caprice of their masters.

The good deeds of this prince make us forget his shameful morals, which however were those of his age, the influence exercised over him by Antinous, of whom he eventually made a god, and certain acts of excessive severity. In

the early days of his reign, the senate executed four men of consular rank accused of conspiracy without even awaiting his orders. Toward the end of his life, after his successive adoption of Verus and Antoninus, plots real or imaginary began again and many senators were sacrificed. He died at Baiæ.

**Antoninus** (138–161). — Antoninus, a native of Nîmes, had been adopted by Hadrian on condition that he in turn would adopt Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He reigned twenty-three years in profound peace, and received from his grateful contemporaries the surname of "Father of the human race." A wise economy in the administration of the finances enabled him to found useful institutions and to assist cities afflicted with some calamity, like Rome, Antioch, Narbonne and Rhodes, which had been ruined by fire and earthquake. "The wealth of a prince," he said, "is public happiness." Two conspiracies against him were discovered. Only their chiefs perished. A defence of Christianity composed by the philosopher Justinus obtained for the Christians, who were already numerous in Rome and in the provinces, toleration from the emperor and the magistrates. Antoninus carried on no important war, nothing more than petty expeditions for the maintenance of order on the frontiers.

**Marcus Aurelius** (161–180). — Marcus Aurelius, surnamed the Philosopher, undertook to continue the administration of his three predecessors. He had shared the title of Augustus with Verus, his son-in-law and adopted brother. He sent him to the East during a crisis, but Verus concerned himself at Antioch only with his debauches, and left the skilful Avidius Cassius to capture Ctesiphon and Seleucia. A terrible pestilence raged at Rome; earthquakes devastated the empire; the German tribes on the Danube rose in revolt. The Stoic philosopher who occupied the throne did not allow himself to be alarmed, and amid the perils of the war against the Marcomanni wrote the admirable maxims of Stoic wisdom contained in the twelve books of his work entitled *Meditations.*

Almost all the barbarian world was in commotion. The Sarmatian Roxolani, the Vandals and other tribes of whom we know only the names, crossed the Danube and penetrated even to the neighborhood of Aquileia. The two emperors marched against them, and the barbarians retreated without giving battle so as to secure their booty. A certain number

even accepted the lands which Marcus Aurelius gave them, or enrolled among the auxiliaries of the legions. Verus died on his return from this expedition. The as yet unconquered Germans appeared once more under the walls of Aquileia. In order to obtain the money required for this war, Marcus Aurelius sold the treasures and jewels of the imperial palace. He was obliged to arm the slaves and gladiators and enroll the barbarians (172). The enemy retreated. The emperor pursued the Quadi even to their own country, where on the banks of the Gran he incurred a serious danger. A storm accompanied by thunder and lightning saved him, and gave rise to the tradition of the Christian legion that hurled thunderbolts. A treaty of peace with many nations apparently gave a glorious termination to this war. From the banks of the Danube, Marcus Aurelius hurried to Syria to suppress the revolt of Cassius, who was killed by his soldiers. Almost immediately the Marcomanni, the Bastarnæ and the Goths resumed their incursions. The unhappy emperor, whom fate condemned to pass his life in the camp, hastened to march against them with his son Commodus. He died without having finished the war at Vindobona, now Vienna.

**Commodus** (180–192). — Commodus, aged nineteen years, concluded a hasty peace with the Marcomanni and the Quadi, took 20,000 of those barbarians into the service of the empire, and returned to Rome to contend more than 700 times in the arena, to drive chariots and play the part of Hercules. Perennis, the prefect of the guards on whom at first devolved the cares of government, was massacred in 186. He was replaced, both as prætorian prefect and imperial favorite, by the freedman Cleander, a Phrygian, who made money out of the life and honor of the citizens. Three years later the cruel and avaricious favorite was killed in a popular sedition which plague and famine had excited. Then Commodus launched sentences of death against the most virtuous citizens, against his relatives, against the senate, even against the great jurisconsult Salvius Julianus and allowed the prætorians the utmost license. As those nearest to him were the most endangered, it was their hand which smote him. His concubine Marcia, the chamberlain Electus, and the prefect of the guards Lætus, whom he intended to put to death, had him strangled by an athlete.

## XII

### MILITARY ANARCHY

(192–285)

**Pertinax and Didius Julianus** (192–193). — Pertinax, prefect of the city, proclaimed emperor by the murderers of Commodus, was recognized by the senate and the prætorians, but, when he tried to restore order in the state and the finances, he displeased the soldiers, who murdered him in his palace. Then began scenes without a name, and happily without example. The soldiers literally put the empire up at auction. Two purchasers presented themselves, who rivalled each other in promises. The monarchy of Augustus was adjudged to the aged ex-consul, Didius Julianus, at 6250 drachmas for each soldier. The sale finished, the prætorians in battle array conducted Didius to the palace, and the senators accepted the man whom the soldiers had elected. He had promised more than he could perform. The creditors, implacable toward their imprudent debtor, would no doubt have overthrown him themselves, had they not been forestalled by the legions of the frontiers, who also wished to bestow the empire. The British legions proclaimed their chief Albinus; the Syrians, Pescennius Niger; the Albanians, the African Septimius Severus. The latter being the nearest to Rome immediately set out for the capital. The senate, encouraged by his approach, declared Didius a public enemy, had him slain, punished the murderers of Pertinax and recognized Severus as emperor.

**Septimius Severus** (193–211). — He broke the power of the prætorians; but, instead of abolishing that turbulent guard, he contented himself with certain changes and even rendered it more numerous. In Asia Minor he defeated Niger, who was killed while about to flee to the Parthians (194). Near Lyons he overthrew Albinus (197), whose head he sent to the senate with a threatening letter. On his return to Rome, he multiplied the executions. Forty-one

senatorial families became extinct under the headsman's axe.

To extenuate his cruelties by a little glory, he endeavored to seize Seleucia and Ctesiphon from the Parthians, who had made an alliance with Niger. On his return he ordered a persecution against the Christians, in spite of the eloquent apologies of Tertullian and Minutius Felix. Severus administered the finances with economy. After his death corn sufficient for seven years was found in the granaries at Rome. "Keep the soldiers contented," he said to his children, "and do not trouble yourselves about the rest. With them you can repulse the barbarians and repress the people." Military discipline was strictly maintained, but at the same time the soldiers obtained privileges and increase of pay. After a few quiet years Severus was called to Britain by a revolt which he had no difficulty in quelling. He penetrated a great distance into the Caledonian mountains, but incessantly harassed and worn out by continual attacks which cost him as many as 50,000 men, he returned to the policy of Antoninus, and constructed a wall from one shore to the other along the line traced by Agricola.

During this expedition he had been constantly ill. Nevertheless his son Bassianus, called Caracalla from the name of a Gallic garment which he was fond of wearing, could not wait for his approaching end, and tried to assassinate him. From that time the emperor's malady increased. He expired with the words: "I have been everything, and everything is nothing." His last countersign had been "laboremus." He left two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

**Caracalla** (211–217). — The two princes had already disturbed the palace by their quarrels. On his return to Rome Caracalla stabbed his brother in the arms of their mother. Papinianus, refusing to make a public defence of the fratricide, was put to death and with him perished 20,000 partisans of Geta. Caracalla made his cruelty felt in all the provinces, particularly at Alexandria, where in order to avenge himself for some epigrams he ordered a massacre of the unarmed people. A centurion, who had an injury to revenge, killed him.

**Macrinus** (217). — The army elected the prefect of the guards Macrinus, who, after a sanguinary battle with the Parthians in Mesopotamia, purchased peace at the price of 50,000,000 denarii; but the severe measures which he took

for the restoration of discipline destroyed his popularity. The soldiers mutinied in their camp, proclaimed Bassianus, the young and handsome high priest of Emesa, and massacred Macrinus.

**Heliogabalus** (218–222). — Bassianus, better known as Heliogabalus from the Syrian god whose priest he was, brought to Rome the most shameful passions of the East. His luxury and depravity would have made Nero blush. He formed for himself a senate of women and, like the great king, wished to be adored. His palace was strewed with gold and silver dust, and his fish ponds filled with rose water in which to bathe. The soldiers were soon horrified at this unnatural emperor, who attired himself in women's clothes. They killed him, together with his mother Sœmis, and saluted as emperor his cousin Alexander, aged fourteen, who remained under the guidance of his grandmother Mæsa and his mother Mamæa.

**Alexander Severus** (222–235). — The two empresses devoted themselves to developing the natural virtues of the young prince. They gave him as ministers the lawyers Paulus and Ulpianus and formed for him a council of twelve senators. The empire passed many peaceful years under his reign. On the front of his palace these words, the foundation of all social morality, were carved: "Do unto others as thou wouldest have them do unto thee." Nevertheless, his hand was not firm enough to maintain discipline among the soldiers. One day they slew their prefect Ulpianus under his very eyes.

The ruin of the Parthian kingdom and the foundation of a second Persian empire by the Sassanide Artaxerxes in 226 occasioned a war on the Euphrates. The new monarch, who restored to the Persian mountaineers the domination which the Parthians had wrested from them, declared himself of the ancient royal race, and claimed all the provinces which Darius had formerly possessed. Alexander replied by attacking the Persians. The expedition was fully successful. The news that the Germans had invaded Gaul and Illyricum hastened his return. He hurried to the Rhine and was there killed in a sedition.

**Six Emperors in Nine Years** (235–244). — The soldiers proclaimed Maximinus, a Thracian Goth, who in his youth had been a shepherd. He was a giant, eight feet tall. He is said to have eaten daily thirty pounds of meat and to

have drunk an amphora of wine. This barbarian, who did not dare even once to come to Rome, treated the empire like a conquered country, pillaging cities and temples alike. Mankind soon tired of him. Despite their entreaties, the proconsul of Africa, Gordianus I, and his son, Gordianus II, who boasted their descent from the Gracchi and Trajan, were proclaimed emperors. Recognized by the senate but overthrown, the senate afterwards itself proclaimed Pupienus and Balbinus. The people demanded that a son of the younger Gordianus should be declared emperor. As for Maximinus, he and his son were assassinated before Aquileia which he was besieging, and a little later the senate's two emperors were massacred in their palaces. Then the prætorians proclaimed Gordianus III. He was only thirteen years of age. Misitheus, his tutor and father-in-law, governed wisely in his name, but the death of the clever counsellor enabled the Arab Philip to become prefect of the prætorian guard. He slew the emperor and took his place.

During the reign of Gordianus the Franks are mentioned for the first time. They were a confederation of Germanic tribes on the lower Rhine, like that of the Alemanni on the upper Rhine. The latter constantly threatened Rhætia and even Gaul itself, whose northern provinces the former invaded. At the other extremity of Germany, the Goths had gradually descended from Scandinavia upon the lower Danube and the Black Sea. They were for the time being the empire's most dangerous neighbors.

**Philip** (244–249). **Decius** (249–251). **The Thirty Tyrants** (251–268). — At the end of five years the soldiers decided that Philip had reigned long enough and revolts broke out everywhere. Meanwhile the Goths crossed the Danube, and the senator Decius, whom he sent against them, was proclaimed by the troops. A battle was fought near Verona and Philip was killed. The quiet enjoyed by the Church during Philip's reign has led to the erroneous belief that he was a Christian. Decius on the contrary persecuted it cruelly. However he reigned only two years and perished in a great battle with the Goths in Mœsia (251).

The army acknowledged Galbus, one of its generals, who promised the barbarians an annual tribute. This had the effect of inducing them to return. Æmilianus, who routed them, assumed the purple. Both were killed by their soldiers (253). Valerian, saluted as emperor, named his son

Gallienus as Cæsar and endeavored to arrest the imminent dissolution of the empire. In 258 he recaptured from the Parthians the great city of Antioch and penetrated into Mesopotamia; but near Edessa he was vanquished and made prisoner by King Sapor (260), who retained him in captivity exposed to insults until he died. Sapor had re-entered Syria. He was forced back across the Euphrates by the prætorian prefect Balista and the Arab chief Odenath. The latter grew powerful enough to secure recognition as Augustus by Gallienus (264). Palmyra his capital, situated in an oasis at three days' distance from the Euphrates, had become rich and powerful through its immense commerce. Imposing ruins still testify to its past greatness.

After the captivity of his father Gallienus ruled alone for eight years. His reign was one ceaseless struggle against the usurpers, barbarians and calamities of all sorts that descended upon the empire. This period is called that of the Thirty Tyrants. There were in reality only nineteen or twenty, all of whom died violent deaths like Saturnus, who said to his soldiers, "Comrades, you are losing a good general and making a wretched emperor," and who was slain because of his severity. Odenath, a valiant prince, delivered the East from the Persians and the Goths, who had disembarked in Asia Minor, but was himself assassinated in 267 by his nephew. Zenobia, his wife, slew the murderer and succeeded to her husband's power. Gaul was independent for fourteen years under five Gallic emperors. To internal disorder had been added barbarian invasions. The Goths and the Heruli had ravaged Greece and Asia Minor. One Goth wished to burn the library at Athens, but another prevented him. "Leave to our enemies," said he, "these books which deprive them of the love of arms." The Athenians however, led by the historian Dexippus, had the honor of defeating these brigands.

**Claudius** (268). **Aurelian** (270). **Tacitus** (275). **Probus** (275). **Carus** (282). — Gallienus, who alone appeared legitimate among all these usurpers, was mortally wounded by traitors while besieging one of his competitors in Milan. As he expired, he chose for his successor a Dalmatian, Claudius, who was then the most renowned general of the empire. Claudius had only the time for a hurried march to Macedon, where he defeated 300,000 Goths near Naissus, and there died of the pest. Aurelian took his place (270). He had

first to check an invasion of the Alemanni, who penetrated through Rhætia as far as Placentia where they destroyed a Roman army and thence as far as the shores of the Adriatic. Rome was terror-stricken. The senate consulted the Sibylline books and in obedience to their responses sacrificed human victims. A victory gained on the banks of Metaurus delivered Italy; but the danger which Rome had incurred determined the emperor to surround it with a strong wall. He was less fortunate against the Goths. A treaty abandoned to them Dacia, whose inhabitants he transported into Mœsia. The Danube again became the boundary of the empire.

Tranquillity reëstablished on that frontier, he marched to the East (273) to encounter Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. This princess, celebrated for her courage and her rare intelligence, dreamed of forming a vast Oriental empire. He wrested from her Syria, Egypt and a part of Asia Minor, defeated her near Antioch and Emesa and besieged her in Palmyra, her capital, where she had taken refuge. When the resources of the city were exhausted, Zenobia fled on a dromedary toward the Euphrates but was captured and taken to Aurelian. Her principal minister, the sophist Longinus, whose treatise on the *Sublime* we still possess, was suspected of being the author of an offensive letter sent by Zenobia to Aurelian and was put to death. The emperor reserved the queen to adorn his triumph and afterward assigned her a splendid villa at Tibur. In the West, Tetricus, who had usurped Gaul, Spain and Britain, himself betrayed his army and passed over to the side of Aurelian, who appointed him governor of Lucania.

Delivered from foreign troubles Aurelian tried to restore order in the administration and discipline in the army. Desirous of occupying the restless minds of the legions he was preparing an expedition against the Persians, when his secretary, accused of extortion and afraid of punishment, had him assassinated (275). The soldiers, ashamed of having permitted the murder of their glorious chieftain, forced the senate to choose an emperor. It appointed the aged Tacitus, who died after six months.

The soldiers then proclaimed Probus, who immediately hastened to Gaul, which had been invaded by the Alemanni. He recaptured sixty towns, followed the enemy across the Rhine and pursued them beyond the Neckar. The Germans

delivered to him 16,000 of their young warriors, whom he enrolled, though dispersing them among his troops. In Illyricum he routed the Sarmatæ; in Thrace the Getæ; in Asia Minor the brigands of Isauria and Pamphylia; in Egypt the Blemyes, who had seized Coptos. Narses, king of Persia, alarmed by these successes, sued for peace. On his return through Thrace Probus established on the lands of the empire 100,000 Bastarnæ, just as he had already established Germans in Britain and Franks on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus. He was preparing to march against the Persians when the hard labor which he imposed upon his soldiers, compelling them to plant vineyards and drain marshes, caused a revolt in which he perished (282). The next day the soldiers mourned him. They chose the prefect of the guards, Carus, who bestowed the title of Cæsar on his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus. The elder received the government of the West. The younger after a victory over the Goths and Sarmatæ followed his father to the East. Carus captured Seleucia and Ctesiphon but died suddenly, and Numerianus hastened to treat with the Persians. As he was leading the legions back to the Bosphorus, he was killed by his father-in-law Arrius Aper (284). Five days later under the walls of Chalcedon the soldiers proclaimed the Dalmatian Diocletian, who slew Aper with his own hand before the eyes of the whole army. Carinus endeavored to overthrow the new emperor, but he was slain in battle near Margus in Mœsia (285).

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# XIII

## DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE. CHRISTIANITY

(285–337)

**Diocletian** (285–305). **The Tetrarchy.** — Forty-five emperors had already worn the purple. Of this number twenty-nine, not to mention the thirty tyrants, had been assassinated. Four or five others had perished by violence. Only eleven or twelve had met natural deaths. Such was the organization of supreme power in the Roman Empire!

Diocletian imposed upon himself the double task of reëstablishing order at home and security on the frontiers. While the tyranny of the governors of Gaul drove the peasants of that province to revolt, the Alemanni crossed the Danube and ravaged Rhætia; the Saxons pillaged the coasts of Britain and Gaul; the Franks went as far as Sicily to plunder Syracuse, and Carausius, on being ordered to arrest those pirates, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor in Britain (287). Alarmed at this critical situation Diocletian took as colleague Maximianus, one of his former comrades in arms (285), who assumed the surname of Herculius as Diocletian had assumed that of Jovius. Disorder and invasion threatening everywhere, the two Augusti associated with themselves two inferior rulers, the Cæsars Galerius and Constantius Chlorus (293).

In the partition of the empire Diocletian kept the East and Thrace; Galerius had the Danubian provinces; Maximianus Italy, Africa and Spain, with Mauritania; Constantius Gaul and Britain. The ordinances issued by each prince were valid in the provinces of his colleagues. Diocletian remained the supreme head of the state and by his skill and conciliatory spirit maintained harmony among princes who were already rivals. He was the first Roman emperor to surround the throne with all the pomp of an Asiatic court. He adopted a diadem, clothed himself in silk and gold, and compelled all, who obtained permission to

approach, to adore on their knees the imperial divinity and majesty. He began to establish that regulated hierarchy so necessary in a monarchical administration to protect the prince from military revolutions, and also that despotism of the court, that seraglio government, which slays public spirit and makes service rendered to the person of the prince more esteemed than service rendered to the state. But successful wars justified the measures of Diocletian.

In the East, the Persians had driven a partisan of the Romans from the Armenian throne and were threatening Syria. Galerius marched against them. A defeat which he suffered was gloriously redeemed, and Narses ceded Mesopotamia, five provinces beyond the Tigris and the suzerainty of Armenia and Iberia at the foot of the Caucasus (297). This was the most glorious treaty which the empire had yet signed. Diocletian erected numerous fortifications there to preserve the conquest. At the other extremity of the Roman world, Constantius, after having expelled the Franks from Gaul and Batavia, made a descent on Britain and vanquished the usurper Alectus (296) who had succeeded Carausius.

Tranquillity having been everywhere restored, Diocletian sowed discord among the barbarians. He armed Goths and Vandals, Gepidæ and Burgundiones, against each other. Then he repaired all the fortifications on the frontiers and constructed new posts. In these few years the empire regained a formidable footing. These successes were celebrated by a splendid triumph, the last which Rome beheld (303).

Unfortunately Diocletian was persuaded by Galerius to order a cruel persecution of the church. A conflagration, which burst out in the imperial palace and with which the Christians were charged, increased his wrath. Throughout the empire, except in the provinces where Constantius Chlorus reigned, the victims were hunted down and tortured.

Shortly afterward Diocletian grew weary of power and abdicated at Nicomedia. Maximianus unwillingly followed his example and laid down the diadem the same day at Milan. The former chief of the Roman world retired to a magnificent villa, which he had built near Salona on the Dalmatian coast, and passed his old age in peaceful pursuits. One day when Maximianus was urging him to reascend the throne, he replied: "If you could only see the splendid

vegetables which I raise myself, you would not talk to me of such worries." He died there in 313. The ruins of his palace are still to be seen.

**New Emperors and New Civil Wars** (303–323). — Galerius and Constantius assumed the title of Augustus and chose two new Cæsars. These were Maximinus, who received the government of Syria and Egypt, and Severus, who had Italy and Africa and who became Augustus after the death of Constantius. Constantine, the son of this last prince, whom a brilliant destiny awaited, succeeded his father with the title of Cæsar.

The scheme of Diocletian, apparently so cleverly contrived to prevent usurpation by sharing the power in advance with a few ambitious men and rendering the supreme authority almost everywhere present, was in reality impracticable. This empire, so vast and now so menaced, could be held together for a moment by a firm and experienced hand like that of Constantine or Diocletian, but ultimate dismemberment was sure. Rome herself gave the signal for new wars. Incensed at the desertion in which the new emperors left her, she bestowed the title of Augustus upon Maxentius, son of Maximianus (306), who took his father as his colleague. Thus the empire had six masters at once: the two Augusti, Galerius and Severus; the two Cæsars, Constantine and Maximinus; and the two usurpers, Maxentius and Maximianus. Severus was the first to fall, vanquished and slain by Maximianus. The latter was the next to disappear, banished by his son and put to death by his son-in-law Constantine, whom he was attempting to overthrow (310). In the following year Galerius died in consequence of his debauches. Maxentius succumbed in turn to the blows of his brother-in-law, Constantine, near the Milvian Bridge which spans the Tiber. For this expedition Constantine had gained the support of Christianity by placing the cross upon his standards (312).

Licinius, the successor of Galerius, had at the same time vanquished Maximinus who took poison (313). Thus the empire had now only two masters, Licinius in the East and Constantine in the West. This was one too many for these ambitious and perfidious princes, who sought each other's destruction. Licinius fomented a conspiracy against his rival. The latter in reply declared war, defeated his enemy and imposed upon him an onerous peace.

This peace lasted nine years, during which Constantine introduced order into the administration and gained glory and power by a victory over the Goths, 40,000 of whom entered his service under the name of Fœderati. Under pretext of protecting the Christians, Constantine attacked his colleague and took him prisoner after two victories. He stripped him of the purple promising that he would respect his life, but some time afterward put him to death (323).

**Christianity.** — Pagan morality had risen to a great height with Seneca, Lucan, Persius, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius. The activity of the philosophers had some effect upon the intellect. But the brilliancy with which certain intellects still shine in our eyes prevents our seeing the state of spiritual infancy in which the greater part of the human race then lay. For it the fairest doctrines wrought by human reason remained without effect, because they were not sustained by creeds born of faith alone. The philosophers talked grandly of their scorn for fortune, pain and death; but they knew little concerning the life to come or the pains and rewards in store. Their haughty virtue suited hopeless wise men, like some of those Roman nobles who, having lost the dignity of the citizen, had taken refuge in the dignity of the man. For the masses such marvels were required as impress the imagination and impose certainty without being understood.

*Credo quia absurdum*, Tertullian says. Religion alone can provide those beliefs with which reason has nothing to do. Placed between Egypt and Persia, that is to say, between the two countries which have professed the most ardent faith in a life to come, Judæa had finally added to the grand Semitic idea of divine unity the idea of the resurrection and of the judgment of the dead. The simple purity of the parables of Jesus, his invincible faith in God and in his justice, his teaching, which devoted itself to ardent charity for all the suffering and wretched, went to the heart of the lower classes. Meanwhile the Fathers and the Doctors, constructing with Platonic ideas the most rational and hence the most philosophical system of metaphysics which the world had ever known, won gifted minds to the cause of the new Gospel.

Jesus was born five years before our era in the town of Bethlehem in the midst of Jews who, overwhelmed with misery, awaited the advent of the Messiah promised by their

prophets. In the fifteenth year of Tiberius he began to journey throughout Judæa, teaching love of God and man, purity and justice, the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad. The Pharisees, the strict sectaries of the Mosaic law, caused the holy victim of humanity to be condemned and nailed to the cross. After the Passion the apostles dispersed among the provinces where many Jewish colonies had been established. The Church welcomed a multitude of pagans who were disgusted with their marble gods and many slaves and miserable people, who at last heard a human voice whisper in their ears words of consolation and hope. In the time of Nero there were already enough Christians in Rome to excite persecution. Some suffered under Domitian. A larger number were condemned under Trajan. That emperor forbade search being made after them but, applying the ancient decrees of the senate, he punished whoever were convicted of holding secret meetings or of showing contempt for imperial authority by refusing to sacrifice to the gods, the worship of whom the emperor as pontifex maximus was bound to protect.

Nevertheless as the Church grew her doctrines became better known. The pagans set up in opposition the pretended miracles of Vespasian and of Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher and wonder-worker. They also tried to purify paganism, thereby rendering it less unworthy of contending with the religion of Christ. They introduced into their worship mysterious forms, such as initiations and expiations, calculated to impress the popular imagination. These innovations did not succeed in preventing men from embracing a doctrine which was both more simple and mild. Christianity encountered another danger. Like philosophy it had its different schools or heresies. The four Gospels, the Epistles, the Apostles' Creed, maintained union, and Aristides and Justin presented to Hadrian and Antoninus two Apologies, which gained for the believers a little repose. But the sophists induced Marcus Aurelius to decree fresh persecutions in which Justin, Polycarp and many others were martyred. The Christians were generally tranquil until Severus, a rude disciplinarian, took alarm at their secret assemblies and ordered a persecution (199–204) to which the sympathetic tolerance of Alexander Severus put a stop. Under Decius the calamities of the empire were attributed to the wrath of the gods on account of Christian-

ity, and the last persecution, that of Diocletian or rather of Galerius, deserved to be called the era of martyrdom (303-312). It was all the more severe because the Christians were then very numerous in the empire. Constantine determined to make himself the head of this increasing party, and to this resolution owed his victory.

In his expedition against Maxentius (312) he declared himself the protector of the new faith. The following year he published at Milan an edict of toleration. As long as Licinius lived Constantine used discretion with the pagans. Beginning with the year 321 he granted the Church the right to receive donations and legacies. He repaid the assistance which it had afforded him against his last rival by lavishing upon it at the expense of the state property which he guaranteed to it in perpetual possession. He transferred to the Christian priests all the privileges which the pontiffs of paganism enjoyed, that is to say, the right of asylum for their temples, and for themselves exemption from public service, statute labor and imposts. Even the humblest ecclesiastic could not be put to torture, and rest on Sunday was prescribed, a great boon to the slaves.

To multiply conversions he made it plain in what quarter imperial favors were to be found, bestowing offices on Christians and privileges on the cities which overturned the pagan altars. On the other hand he tried to destroy paganism by frequent exhortations to his peoples, and afterward when triumphant Christianity no longer feared dangerous tumults, by severe ordinances which in many places closed the temples and overthrew the idols, without however shedding the blood of those who remained attached to the ancient worship. The Council of Nicæa, convoked by Constantine in 323, finally drew up the creed of Christianity. When it had dispersed, the emperor wrote to all the churches "that they were to conform to the will of God as expressed by the Council."

**Reorganization of the Imperial Administration.** — The revolution had been accomplished in the religious order. He completed it in the political order. Diocletian had only outlined the organization which was destined to put an end to military revolutions. Constantine resumed this enterprise. The first thing he did was to abandon Rome, still filled with her gods with whom he wished nothing to do, and to found another capital on the banks of the Bos-

phorus between Europe and Asia. Constantinople rose upon the site of Byzantium, far enough from the eastern frontiers to have small fear of hostile attack, while sufficiently near them to assure their being better watched and defended. The site was so well chosen that for ten centuries every invasion passed her by. In 330 Constantine inaugurated the new city as capital of the empire. He established a senate, tribes and curiæ. He erected a Capitol, consecrated not to the Olympian gods, now dethroned and dead, but to learning. He built palaces, aqueducts, baths, porticoes and eleven churches. It was like Rome a seven-hilled city and divided into fourteen regions. Gratuitous distributions of corn were made. Egypt sent thither her grain and the provinces their statues and finest monuments. Rome abandoned by her emperor and by her wealthiest families, who went away to establish themselves near the court, "gradually became isolated in the centre of the empire; and, while fighting went on around her, sat in the shadow of her name awaiting her ruin."

The empire was divided into four prefectures and these again into thirteen dioceses. The enormous size of the provinces had often inspired their governors with the idea of mounting higher, even to the imperial power. So the twenty provinces of Augustus were cut up into the 116 provinces of Constantine. A numerous body of administrators, graded in a lengthy hierarchy, was interposed between the people and the emperor, whose will, transmitted by the ministers to the prætorian prefects, passed from the latter to the presidents of the dioceses and descended through the provincial governors to the cities. At the head of this hierarchy seven great officers formed the imperial ministry: the Count of the Sacred Chamber or Grand Chamberlain; the Master of Offices or Minister of State, who directed the household of the emperor and the police of the empire; the Quæstor of the Palace, a sort of Chancellor; the Count of the Sacred Largesses or Minister of Finance; the Count of the Private Domain; the Count of the Domestic Cavalry; and the Count of the Domestic Infantry. The two latter were chiefs of the emperor's guards. Add to these officials the throng of inferior agents who encumbered the palace and were more numerous, says Libanius, than the swarming flies in summer.

The four prætorian prefects of the East, Illyricum, Italy

and Gaul had no longer any military command, but they published the emperor's decrees, made assessments, superintended the collection of taxes and sat as appellate judges over the chiefs of the diocese. Their rich appointments and their numerous staff made them resemble four kings of secondary rank commanding the governors of the dioceses and of the provinces.

The Masters of Cavalry and Infantry had under their orders the Military Counts of the provinces.

Diocletian had already surrounded himself with the splendor of the Asiatic courts in order to exalt the majesty of the prince. Constantine imitated his example. The posts of the imperial court conferred upon those invested with them titles of personal but not transmissible nobility. The consuls, the prefects and the seven ministers were called the illustres; the proconsuls, the vicars, the counts and the dukes were spectabiles; the former consuls and the presidents were clarissimi. There were also perfectissimi and egregii. The princes of the imperial house bore the title of nobilissimi.

This divine hierarchy, as in official language the army of functionaries surrounding and concealing the sacred person of the emperor was called, added to the brilliancy of the court without increasing the strength of the government. Salaries were required for this immense staff, who took much greater pains to please the prince than to labor for the public good. The expenses of administration increased and taxes increased with them while poverty was already draining the richest provinces. Then between the treasury and the taxpayer began a war of ruse and violence, which fretted the people and extinguished the last remnants of patriotism.

The free institutions of former days still lived in the municipal system of government. Each city had its own senate or curia, composed of curiales or proprietors of at least fifteen acres of land, who deliberated on municipal matters and from their own number elected magistrates to administer affairs. It had also its duumvirs who presided over the curia, watched over the interests of the city and judged law cases of minor importance; an ædile; a curator or steward; a tax collector; irenarchs or police commissioners; scribes and notaries. Beginning with the Emperor Valentinian I each had a defensor, or sort of tribune,

elected by the city to defend its interests with the governor or prince.

But the curiales, charged with collecting the tax, guaranteed its payment with their own property. Thus their condition became more and more wretched. They sought escape by taking refuge in the privileged bodies of the clergy or army, but were thrust back by force into the curia, where at their death their sons were to take their place. Their exemption from torture and from certain ignominious penalties was only slight compensation. Thus the number of the curiales was already diminishing in the cities.

The imposts for which they were responsible were very heavy. In the first place there was the indiction or land-tax, which was assessed according to the fortune of each person as indicated in the register drawn up every fifteen years or cycle of indictions; then the twentieth of inheritances; the hundredth of the proceeds of auction sales; the poll-tax, paid by non-landholders and for slaves; the customs dues; and lastly the chrysargyron, levied every four years on petty commerce and petty industry. The aurum coronarium, formerly voluntary when the cities sent crowns of gold to consuls or emperors, had become an obligatory tax.

These charges pressed all the heavier on small or moderate fortunes since they fell upon the rich lightly or not at all. The nobilissimi, the patricii, the illustres, the spectabiles, the clarissimi, the egregii, all the staff of the palace, all the courtiers and the clergy, were exempt from the heaviest of the imposts, which fell wholly upon the curiales. The third class, that of simple freemen comprising those who owned less than fifteen acres, the merchants and artisans, were no less unfortunate. The corporations which the artisans of the cities had formed had, especially since the time of Alexander Severus, become prisons from which exit was prohibited. While destroying industry, the government supposed it could in this way force men to labor. In the rural districts the petty proprietors, despoiled by the violence and craft of the great or by the invasions of the barbarians, were reduced to becoming the dependents of the rich. Thus attached to the soil, they were deprived of the greater part of the rights though not of the name of freemen. The slaves alone gained in the midst of all these miseries. Stoic philosophy and afterwards Christianity had

somewhat humanized ideas and laws concerning them. At last they were regarded as men. They were authorized to dispose more freely of their savings, and it was forbidden to kill or torture them or to separate families when they were sold. As freemen were abased and slaves exalted, a new condition began to take form in serfdom of the soil. This was preferable to slavery, but the discouraged freeman ceased to work. Population diminished, and it became necessary to repopulate with barbarians the abandoned provinces.

The real army whose duty it was to repel invasion was now composed only of barbarians, mainly Germans, to whom the guardianship of the frontiers was imprudently confided. The legions, reduced from 6000 to 1500 men each so that their commanders might be less ambitious, garrisoned the cities of the interior. The palatines, who formed the emperor's private guard, were the best paid and most honored. Otherwise there was the same system in the army as in civil life, of servitude and privilege, which repelled every man of value from the profession of arms. The recruits were obtained from the dregs of society or among the vagabonds of those barbarian nations who were soon to dictate the law. Sense of military honor did not exist. The soldiers were branded like galley slaves. Thus in spite of its 133 legions, its arsenals, its magazines, its magnificent belt of fortifications along the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, the Euphrates and the desert of Arabia, the empire was about to be assailed by despised enemies.

If then the new state of things elevated the classes formerly humble as the slave, the woman, the child, it on the other hand degraded whatever had been strong and proud as the freeman or citizen. As soldiers were wanting, so were writers and artists. Nothing great could issue from the schools, which Valentinian was to reorganize. They had only sophists and rhetoricians like Libanius, or scribblers of light verses and of epithalamia like Claudian. Literature and art, still closely linked with paganism, fell with the creed whose followers were soon to be found only in rural districts.

Faith and life, withdrawing from the old worship and the old society, passed to those that were new. Christianity had developed and received form in the fires of persecution. It had ascended the throne with Constantine, who

heaped privileges, immunities and wealth upon the Church. Thus an influence was added to that which it already possessed through its young and ardent faith, its proselyting spirit and the genius of its leaders. Even heresy had served to strengthen it. From its bosom sprang forth a lofty, passionate, active literature, represented by Tertullian, Saint Athanasius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory of Nazianzen, Lactantius, Salvian and many more. Fifteen great councils held in the fourth century bore witness to its activity, and were already regulating its doctrine, its discipline and its ecclesiastical hierarchy. Though empire and ancient social order crumble away, the Church will survive. It will welcome the barbarians to its embrace, sending to the Dacian Goths an Arian bishop Ulphilas, to translate the Bible into their dialect, and other missionaries to convert the Burgundians.

**Last Years of Constantine** (323–337). — These three mighty facts — the establishment of Christianity as the dominant religion of the empire, the foundation of Constantinople and the administrative reorganization — fill the reign of Constantine. From his defeat of Licinius in 323 to his death in 337, we find nothing in his personal history except the bloody tragedies of the imperial palace, in which by his orders his son Crispus, his empress Fausta and the son of Licinius, a child of twelve, were put to death. Embassies of Blemmyes, Ethiopians and Indians, a treaty with Sapor II, who promised to ameliorate the condition of the Christians in Persia, and two successful expeditions against the Goths and the Sarmatæ (332), caused all these domestic misfortunes to be forgotten. A few days before expiring Constantine was baptized.

## XIV

### CONSTANTIUS. JULIAN. THEODOSIUS

**Constantius** (337). — Constantine committed the mistake of dividing the empire between his three sons and several of his nephews, without deciding upon a definitive dismemberment. This procedure caused fresh wars and fresh crimes. First of all the soldiers massacred his nephews with the exception of Gallus and Julian. The eldest of his sons, Constantine II, perished in battle against one of his brothers (340) who himself was killed (350) by the Frank Magnentius. Constantius, who had to check the Persians in the East and to combat a usurper in the West, appointed his cousin Gallus as Cæsar and intrusted to him the war against Sapor. Magnentius killed himself on being defeated in Pannonia (351), whereupon Gaul, Spain and Britain submitted. Thus all the provinces were once more united under one master, but they were no better governed. The palace was distracted by the intrigues of women, eunuchs and courtiers, and the empire by the quarrels of Arianism and by the continued inroads of barbarians. From false reports Constantius believed that Gallus, the Cæsar of the East, was preparing to revolt. The young prince, recalled from Asia by flattering promises, was taken to Pola in Istria and beheaded. His brother Julian was spared. Exiled to Athens, he was able to fully gratify his taste for study and to become initiated into the Platonic doctrines. But imperial authority must be present on all the menaced frontiers. So after fourteen months it became necessary to recall Julian and intrust to him, as Cæsar, the defence of Gaul, now invaded by the Franks and the Alemanni. He vanquished the barbarians in the battle of Strasburg (357), expelled them from all the country comprised between Basle and Cologne, crossed the Rhine and brought back a great number of captive Gauls and legionaries as prisoners. His skilful administration rendered him as popular with the citizens as his victories had done with the soldiers. Constantius grew uneasy and wished to take

away his troops, but they mutinied and proclaimed him Augustus. This was a declaration of war. A bold and rapid march had already brought Julian to the heart of Illyricum, when Constantius died (361).

**Julian** (361). — Julian, a conqueror without a combat, abjured Christianity and received the surname of the Apostate. He publicly professed the ancient faith and reopened the temples. He strangely misunderstood the society which he was called to rule by attempting to restore life to the dead. Had he lived longer, he would doubtless have cruelly expiated this unintelligent return to the past. Nevertheless he did not summon the aid of violence to effect the triumph of reaction. He promulgated an edict of toleration, which permitted the sacrifices forbidden by Constantius, and recalled the exiled members of all religious parties; but he must be reproached for one astute order which forbade Christians to teach belles-lettres. The reign of Constantius had been incessantly troubled by the contentions of the Arians and the Orthodox. Alexandria and Constantinople were the principal theatres of this struggle. These quarrels assisted Julian in his attempted restoration of paganism. Also the sect of the Donatists was devastating Africa at the same time. The Circumcelliones, separating from the Donatists, wished to establish social equality. They liberated debtors, broke the chains of the slaves and divided the property of the masters. Hence arose a savage war.

Austere himself, he lay claim to the simplicity of a rigid stoic. He was sometimes harsh toward others. Thus to judge faithless officers, after his accession he established a tribunal which was charged with revising unjust decisions. Once when severity would have been justified he displayed a patience which does him honor. Anxious to avenge upon the Persians the long injuries of the empire, he had reached Syria with his army. At Antioch the inhabitants, zealous Christians, loudly ridiculed him for his untrimmed beard and shabby clothing and even proceeded to insult. The emperor could punish, but the philosopher contented himself with replying by the *Misopogon*, a satire on their effeminate habits. At the head of 60,000 men he penetrated to Ctesiphon, where he crossed the Tigris and burned his fleet that his soldiers might have no other hope than victory. But misled by traitors and in need of provisions, he was obliged to fall back upon Gordyene to which a vic-

tory opened the road. In a second combat he fell severely wounded, and died conversing with his friends concerning the immortality promised to the just. Only thirty-two years of age, he had sat upon the throne less than twenty-three months (363).

**Jovian** (363). **Valentinian and Valens** (364). — The army proclaimed Jovian. By a disgraceful treaty he abandoned to Sapor the supremacy in Armenia and the five provinces beyond the Tigris with many strongholds which served as bulwarks to the empire. He died seven months afterward (364). The generals agreed to proclaim Valentinian, who gave the East to his brother Valens, and established himself at Paris whence he could observe the Germans. He sowed discord among the barbarians, set the Burgundians against the Alemanni and after conquering several of those turbulent tribes rebuilt the fortresses which guarded the passages of the Rhine. In his internal government, he was stern even to cruelty. Death was the punishment for all offences. But he showed himself tolerant in religious affairs. Unfortunately for the empire this valiant chief died in an expedition against the Quadi (375). His son Gratian who succeeded abandoned to his younger brother, Valentinian II, the prefectures of Italy and Illyricum.

In the East Valens less wise had entered into religious quarrels instead of reorganizing the army. A great peril threatened. A horde of Huns, belonging to the Mongol race of Eastern Asia, had crossed the Ural, subjugated the Alani and driven back upon the Danube the Goths, who stretched out supplicating hands to the emperor (375). Valens, whose pride was flattered, forgot his prudence and welcomed this host of 200,000 fighting men. Afterward they rose against him, and Valens near Adrianople experienced a defeat more disastrous than that of Cannæ (378). Barely a third of the Roman army escaped. The wounded emperor perished in a hut to which the barbarians set fire. The whole country was horribly ravaged. Some bands of Saracens, summoned from Asia, saved Constantinople. Those children of the southern deserts found themselves for the first time in hand-to-hand combat with the men of the north whom they were destined to encounter three and a half centuries later at the other extremity of the Mediterranean.

**Theodosius** (378). — At this very time Gratian was fight-

ing the Alemanni near Colmar, while the empire of the East was without a head. To replace his uncle he chose a skilful general, Theodosius, who reorganized the army and restored the soldiers' courage by affording them the opportunity of fighting petty engagements in which he took care that they should have the advantage. He allowed no fortress to fall into the hands of the enemy and diminished their numbers by provoking desertions. At last without having won a victory he forced the Goths to make a treaty (382). In reality Theodosius gave them what they wished. He established them in Thrace and Mœsia with the duty of defending the passage of the Danube. Forty thousand of their warriors were admitted to the imperial ranks.

In Gaul Gratian had been overthrown by the usurper Maximus (383) who, taking advantage of the Arian troubles in Italy, crossed the Alps and forced Valentinian II to take refuge with Theodosius. This prince brought him back to Italy after a victory over Maximus, who was put to death by his own soldiers in Aquileia. He gave him as his principal minister the Frank Arbogast, who had just freed Gaul from the Germans, but who filled all the civil and military offices with barbarians. After the departure of Theodosius, Valentinian wished delivery from this tutelage, but a few days later he was found strangled in his bed (392).

Arbogast threw the purple over the shoulders of a dependent of his own, the pagan orator Eugenius, and tried to rally to his cause what pagans remained. This imprudent conduct roused the Christians against him. A single battle near Aquileia ended his ephemeral domination. Eugenius was made prisoner and put to death. Arbogast killed himself (394). This time the victor retained his conquest. This victory was also the triumph of orthodoxy. Theodosius forbade under severe penalties the worship of the pagan gods. He forbade the bestowal of honors on heretics, nor could they dispose of their property by will. On the other hand he made wise regulations in the effort to heal some of the evils infesting this moribund society. He honored the last days of the empire by exhibiting upon the throne those virtues which the people had rarely beheld there.

The inhabitants of Thessalonica during a riot had killed the governor and several imperial officers. Theodosius gave orders which cost 7000 persons their lives. This massacre excited a sentiment of horror throughout the em-

pire. When he presented himself some time later at the doors of the cathedral of Milan, Saint Ambrose in the presence of all the people reproached him with his crime and forbade him to enter the church. The emperor accepted the public penance which the saintly bishop thus imposed in the name of God and outraged humanity. At his death he divided the empire between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius (395). This final partition corresponded with the real state of affairs, for the Adriatic separated two languages and almost two religions. Constantinople, Greek-Orthodox though so often Arian, and Rome, Latin and Catholic, had each desired its own emperor. This separation still exists in the different creeds and civilizations of those two halves of the ancient world.

**End of the Western Empire** (476). — The barbarians who for four centuries had remained on the defensive were now beginning incessant attacks. Thanks to her situation, Constantinople was almost impregnable to assault. Rome, on the contrary, was speedily captured. The empire of the West writhed for eighty years in a painful death agony, the chief features of which we shall find in the subsequent history of Alaric, Attila and Genseric. Honorius died in 423. His nephew Valentinian III reigned miserably until 455 and perished by assassination. Majorian, worthy of a better epoch, was killed by the Sueve Ricimer who bestowed the crown on three senators in succession. Finally a chieftain of the Heruli, Odoacer, put an end to the Western Empire (476) by deposing the last emperor Romulus Augustus. Proclaimed king of Italy by his barbarians, he assigned them one-third of the territory of the country, and requested at Constantinople the title of patrician, thereby recognizing the rights of the Eastern Emperor as suzerain of the new kingdom.

**Summary.** — The Roman Empire fell because it had at its origin detestable political principles, and in its latter days a deplorable military organization. Taxes, constantly becoming more burdensome, and a merciless fiscal system alienated the affection of subjects whom the army no longer defended. A new religion, which tended to detach attention from the earth, did not strengthen the devotion for the public cause. Thus the empire was not thrown down headlong by a violent and unexpected blow. It collapsed because it could no longer live.

The Roman people added nothing to the heritage Greece had bequeathed. Nevertheless it also left behind great deeds and great lessons, though belonging to another order of facts and ideas. Its language has been and still in a measure is the bond of the learned world. Its laws have inspired modern legislation. Its military roads, its bridges, its aqueducts, have made men understand the necessity of public works. Its administration has taught how to control multitudes of men. Its government has served as a model to the absolute monarchies which have succeeded the feudal system. Its municipal institutions are the source of our own and could still offer useful examples. Lastly it began the transformation of ancient slavery into serfdom.

The barbaric kings, dazzled at the splendor shed by this dying empire, had at first no other idea than to continue it. Clovis will be a patrician of Rome. Theodoric will count himself the colleague of the emperor of the East. Charlemagne, Otho, Frederick Barbarossa, will call themselves the successors of Constantine. The Christianity of Jerusalem, become Catholicism at Rome, will be the most powerful government of the soul. The spiritual monarchy of the popes will copy and strive to replace the temporal monarchy of the emperors. The intellectual heirs of Ulpian and of Papinian will attach to feudal royalty the powers bestowed upon the Cæsars by the lex regia. When those royalties shall all have perished in their turn, Napoleon will assume a Roman title as representative of an idea both new and old, the idea of the protectorate of popular interests exercised at Rome by the tribunes of the people, whose power, tribunicia potestas, the emperors had absorbed.

Thus the history of Rome will long remain the training-school of the lawyer and the statesman, even as artists, thinkers and poets will always turn toward Greece.

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# HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

## I

### THE BARBARIAN WORLD IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

**Definition of the Middle Ages.** — The term Middle Ages indicates the period which elapsed between the ruin of the Roman Empire and the establishment of the great modern monarchies. It extends from the German invasion at the beginning of the fifth century to the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks ten centuries later in 1453.

In this period, situated between ancient and modern times, the cultivation of arts and letters was suspended, although a new and magnificent architecture was developed. In place of the republics of antiquity and the monarchies of our day there grew up a special organization called feudalism. This domination of the feudal lords, the product of many centuries, was finally overthrown by Louis XI, the Tudors and the princes contemporary with them. Although there were kings in all countries, the military and ecclesiastical chiefs were the real sovereigns from the ninth to the twelfth century. The central power had no force, local powers had no overseer or guide, the frontiers had no fixed limits. The sovereign and owner parcelled out the territory into a multitude of petty states where the sentiment of nationality could not exist. Nevertheless above this condition of many lords hovered the idea of Christianity represented by the pope, and of a certain political unity represented by the emperor in comparison with whom all the kings of Europe were provincial. Thus the great wars of those times were religious wars, as were the crusades against the Mussulmans of Palestine, the Moors of Spain, the Albigensian heretics or the pagans of the Baltic, or were a struggle between

the two powers which aspired to rule the world, a quarrel between Papacy and the Empire. Hence there is a wide difference between this period and those periods which preceded or followed. Hence of necessity it has a name and a place apart in universal history.

**The Northern Barbarians: their Habits and Religion.** — During the military anarchy which drained the last resources of the Roman Empire, peoples, hitherto concealed in the depths of the north, south and east, were setting themselves in motion beyond its boundaries, to which they daily drew nearer. In the north were three layers of humanity, placed at intervals in the following order: Germans, Slavs and Turanian tribes. On the east were the Persians, a settled and stationary people, who had often made war on the empire but had no thought of invading it. On the south in the deserts of their great peninsula were the Arabs, who as yet caused no fear; and in the wastes of Africa the Moorish populations, who had been touched rather than permeated by Roman civilization.

At the death of Theodosius (395) there was no serious danger except from the north. Driven forward by the Asiatic hordes from the banks of the Volga, the Germans were pressing upon the frontiers of the empire. The Suevi or Suabians, Alemanni and Bavarians were in the south between the Main and Lake Constance. The Marcomanni, Quadi, Heruli and the great Gothic nation controlled the left bank of the Dānube. In the west along the Rhine extended the confederation of the Franks, formed as early as the middle of the third century, and toward the mouth of the Ems, the Frisii, a remnant of the Batavi. In the north were the Vandals, Burgundi, Rugii, Longobardi or Lombards; between the Elbe and the Eyder, the Angles and Saxons; farther north, the Scandinavians, Jutes and Danes in Sweden and Denmark, whence they emerged to join the second invasion; and lastly in the immense plains of the east and at many points of the Danubian valley, the Slavs, who were to follow the Germanic invasion but only to enter into history later on, first through the Poles and then through the Russians.

A spirit totally different from that of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire animated these barbarians. Among them reigned the love of individual independence, the devotion of the warrior to his chieftain and a passion for wars

of adventure. As soon as the young man had received in the public assembly his buckler and lance, he was a warrior and a citizen. He immediately attached himself to some famous chieftain, whom he followed to battle with other warriors, his leudes or henchmen, always ready to die in his behalf. The government of the Germans was simple. The affairs of the tribe were administered in an assembly in which all took part. The warriors gathered there together in arms. The clash of shields denoted applause; a violent murmur, disapproval. The same assembly exercised judicial power. Each canton had its magistrate, the graf, and the whole nation had a könig, or king, elected from among the members of one special family which held hereditary possession of that title. For combat the warriors chose the leader, or herzog, whom they wished to follow.

The Olympus or heaven of these peoples presented a mixture of terrible and graceful conceptions. At the side of Odin, who gave victory and who by night rode through the air with the dead warriors; of Donar, the Hercules of the Germans; and of the fierce joys of Walhalla, — appeared the goddesses Freja and Holda, the Venus and the Diana of the north, who everywhere diffused peace and the arts. The Germans also adored Herta, the earth, Sunna, the sun, and her brother Mani, the moon, who was pursued by two wolves. The bards were their poets and encouraged them to brave death. It was their glory to die with a laugh.

The Germans cultivated the soil but little. They possessed no domain as private property, and every year the magistrates distributed to each village and each family the plot which they were to cultivate. They had no towns but scattered earthen huts far distant from each other, each surrounded by the plot which the proprietor cultivated. Their habits were tolerably pure. Polygamy was authorized only for the kings and the nobles. But drunkenness and bloody quarrels generally terminated their Homeric feasts, and they had a passion for gambling.

**Arrival of the Huns in Europe.** — Behind this Germanic family which was destined to occupy the greater part of the empire, pressed two other barbarous races: the Slavs whose turn did not come until later, and the Huns who were an object of fear to the people of the west. Their lives were passed in enormous chariots or in the saddle. Their bony faces, pierced with little eyes, their broad flat

noses, their enormous wide-spread ears and swarthy tattooed skins made them seem hardly human. At the end of the fourth century they had convulsed the whole barbaric world and precipitated the Germans upon the Empire of the West. In consequence of intestine discords a part of the nation of the Huns, driven on toward Europe, crossed the Volga, carrying with them the Alani. They dashed themselves against the great Gothic empire in which Hermanric had united the three branches of the nation: the Ostrogoths or Oriental Goths east of the Dnieper; the Visigoths or western Goths; the Gepidæ or Laggards farther to the north. The Ostrogoths submitted. The Visigoths fled toward the Danube and obtained from the Emperor Valens an asylum on the lands of the empire. They revolted soon after against their benefactor and slew him at the battle of Adrianople (378). But they were arrested by Theodosius who established many of them in Thrace, where at first they faithfully defended that frontier against the Huns.

**Invasion of the Visigoths. Alaric. The Great Invasion of 406.** — When at the death of Theodosius his two sons divided their heritage (395), Honorius received the West. His provinces bore the full brunt of the invasion from the north. In the course of half a century this empire endured the four terrible assaults of Alaric, Radagaisus, Genseric and Attila. Hardly had it fallen, when the Franks of Clovis wrested the finest portion from its invaders, which they still retain. The Visigoths under the lead of their king Alaric first tried their forces against the Empire of the East. They ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, passed Thermopylæ where there was no longer a Leonidas, devastated Attica, but respected Athens, and penetrated into the Peloponnesus. The Vandal Stilicho, general of Honorius, surrounded them on Mount Pholoe, but they escaped. Arcadius, who reigned at Constantinople, only rid himself of their dangerous presence by pointing out the Empire of the West. They hastened thither, but found at Polentia in Liguria (403) the same Stilicho, who defeated them and forced them to evacuate Italy. Honorius, to celebrate this victory of his lieutenant, enjoyed a triumph at Rome and offered the people the last sanguinary games of the circus. Then he hid himself at Ravenna behind the marshes at the south of the Po, disdaining his ancient capi-

tal, and no longer daring to reside in Milan where Alaric had nearly surprised him.

The ostensible consent of the empire had admitted upon its territory the Visigoths, who rewarded it badly. But now four peoples, the Suevi, Alani, Vandals and Burgundians, at two points forced their way across the frontier. One of their divisions passed the Alps under Radagaisus, but was annihilated at Fiesole by Stilicho. Another crossed the Rhine (406) and for two years laid waste the whole of Gaul. Afterward the Burgundians founded on the banks of the Rhone a kingdom which Honorius recognized in 413, and the Alani, the Suevi and the Vandals proceeded to inundate Spain. The great invasion had begun.

**Capture of Rome by Alaric** (410). **Kingdoms of the Visigoths, Suevi and Vandals.** — But Alaric returned to the charge. No longer was he confronted by Stilicho, who had been sacrificed to the jealousy of Honorius. He captured Rome, delivered it over to the fury of his barbarians who respected the Christian churches, and died some time later in Calabria at Cosenza (410). The Visigoths hollowed out a tomb for him in the bed of a river whose waters had been diverted, and then restored the natural course of the stream after having slain the prisoners who had done the work.

The power of the Visigoths did not expire with Alaric. Notwithstanding their sack of Rome this people, who had been so long in contact with the empire, were specially disposed to yield to the paramount influence of Roman civilization. Ataulf, the brother-in-law of Alaric, and after him Wallia, entered the service of Honorius. In his interest they rescued Gaul from three usurpers who had there assumed the purple, and Spain from the three barbarian tribes which had invaded it. For his reward Wallia obtained a portion of Aquitania, and founded the kingdom of the Visigoths (419) which was to cross the Alps. During the same year Hermanric organized with the remnants of the Suevi a kingdom in the mountains of the Asturias. A little later the Vandals, who had been crowded into the south of Spain, crossed into Africa, which was opened to them by the treachery of Count Boniface. They captured Hippo despite its long resistance, which the exhortations of the Bishop Saint Augustine sustained, and forced the Emperor Valentinian to recognize their occupancy (435). Genseric who made this conquest also seized Carthage

(439), founded a maritime power on those shores which had formerly acknowledged the Carthaginian sway, and until his death (477) ravaged all the coasts of the Mediterranean with his ships. In 453 he captured Rome and for the space of fourteen days gave it over to pillage.

**Attila.** — Four barbaric kingdoms had already risen in the West when Attila made his appearance. This is the great episode in the invasion of the fifth century. What would have become of Europe under the Tartar domination of Attila, the scourge of God, who wished the grass not to grow where his horse's hoof had fallen! Having put to death his brother Bleda, he reigned alone over the nation of the Huns, and held under his yoke all the peoples established on the banks of the Danube. He inhabited a wooden palace in a city in the plains of Pannonia, whence he had dictated laws and imposed tribute on Theodosius II, emperor of the East. When Genseric invited him to create a diversion favorable to his own designs he poured upon the West the immense hosts of his peoples. He traversed northeastern Gaul, overthrowing everything in his path, and laid siege to Orleans. The patrician Aëtius hastened thither with a mixed army, in which Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks and Saxons fought beside the Romans against the new invaders. The decisive battle of Châlons (451) drove Attila to the other side of the Rhine. He retreated toward Italy. There he destroyed many cities, and among others Aquileia, whose inhabitants escaped to the lagoons of the Adriatic where they laid the foundations of Venice. On his return to Pannonia he died of apoplexy (453) and the great power of the Huns wasted away in the quarrels of his sons.

The Western emperors were hardly more than playthings in the hands of the barbarian chiefs who commanded their troops. One of them, the Herule Odoacer, ended this death agony by assuming the title of king of Italy (476). Thus fell the great name of the Western Empire, an event more important in subsequent than in contemporary eyes, which had been accustomed through more than half a century to see the barbarian masters dispose of everything. Nevertheless a remnant of the empire still existed under the patrician Syagrius at the centre of Gaul, between the Loire and the Somme. Ten years later that too disappeared before the sword of the Franks.

## II

### PRINCIPAL BARBARIAN KINGDOMS. THE EASTERN EMPIRE

**Barbarian Kingdoms of Gaul, Spain and Africa.** — We have just seen how from the Loire to the Strait of Gibraltar Alaric and his successors founded the kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, how Genseric built that of the Vandals in Africa, and lastly how Attila ravaged everything but constructed nothing. Other barbarian dominations established were those of the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Anglo-Saxons, the Ostrogoths and the Lombards which speedily passed away.

The Burgundian kingdom, established in 413 in the valleys of the Saône and Rhone with Geneva and Vienne for its principal cities, had eight kings of little distinction. Clovis rendered it tributary in 500 and his sons conquered it in 534.

The kingdom of the Suevi, born at the same time, expired a few years later. In 409 this people invaded Spain and seized the northwest region or Galicia. Under its kings Rechila and Rechiarius it seemed about to conquer the whole of Spain, but the Goths arrested its growth and reduced it to subjection (585).

**Saxon Kingdoms in England.** — Britain, separated from the continent by the sea, had her invasion apart. Under the Romans three distinct peoples existed there. These were: in the north, in the Scotland of to-day, the Caledonians or Picts and Scots whom the emperors had been unable to subdue; in the east and south, the Lœgrians who were affected by Roman civilization; on the west, beyond the Severn, the Cambrians or Welsh who seemed invincible in their mountains. Abandoned by the legions (428) and left defenceless to the incursions of the Picts, the Lœgrians (455) entreated assistance from the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, who were incessantly setting out from their German and Scandinavian shores to plough the seas. Two

Saxon chiefs, Hengist and Horsa, routed the Picts and received in payment the isle of Thanet on the coast of Kent. But Hengist, despoiling those who had summoned him, took possession of the country from the Thames to the Channel and assumed the title of king of Kent (455). Thenceforth the ambition of all these pirates was to conquer a settlement in Britain. The kingdom of Sussex or South Saxons was founded in 491; that of Wessex or West Saxons in 516; and that of Essex or East Saxons in 526. In 547 began the invasion of the Angles, who founded the kingdoms of Northumberland or the kingdom north of the Humber; on the eastern British coast, of East Anglia (577) and Mercia (584). These three kingdoms of the Angles being reckoned with the four Saxon kingdoms, there were in Britain seven little monarchies or the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy which later on formed a single state. The Saxons formed the basis of the present population of the country and to them England owes her language.

**Kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Theodoric** (489–526). — The conquest of Italy by the Ostrogoths took place later and nearly coincided with the conquest of Gaul by the Franks. Emancipated from the yoke of the Huns by the death of Attila, the Ostrogoths in 475 had taken as their chief Theodoric, the son of one of their princes, who had been reared as a hostage at Constantinople. At the invitation of Zeno, emperor of the East, Theodoric conquered Italy from the Heruli (439–493), and showed himself the most truly great of the barbarian sovereigns prior to Charlemagne. To his kingdom of Italy by skilful negotiations he added Illyricum, Pannonia, Noricum and Rhætia. A war against the Burgundians gave him the province of Marseilles and he routed a Frankish army near Arles in 507. The Bavarians paid him tribute. The Alemanni appealed to him for aid against Clovis. Finally at the death of Alaric II he became the guardian of his grandson Amalric and reigned in fact over the two great branches of the Gothic nation, whose possessions touched each other toward the Rhone and who occupied the shores of the Mediterranean in Spain, Gaul and Italy. Family alliances united him to almost all the barbarian kings.

He made an admirable use of peace. The newcomers needed land. Each city gave up one-third of its territory for distribution to the Goths. This preliminary assignment

once made, a common law was established for the two peoples, though the Goths retained some of their peculiar customs. In other respects he aimed at separating the vanquished from the victors, reserving arms for the barbarians and civil dignities for the Romans. He possessed a great veneration for ancient imperial institutions. He consulted the senate of Rome and maintained the municipal system of government, himself appointing the decurions. Thus a barbarian restored to Italy a prosperity which she had lost under her emperors. The public edifices, aqueducts, theatres and baths were repaired, palaces and churches were built and the waste lands were cultivated. Companies were formed to drain the Pontine Marshes and those of Spoleto. The population increased. Theodoric, who did not know how to write, gathered around him the finest literary geniuses of the time, Cassiodorus, Boëthius and Bishop Ennodius. Himself an Arian, he respected the Catholics and confirmed the immunities of the churches. Yet the close of his reign was saddened by threats of persecution in reprisal for what the Eastern emperor was inflicting on the Arians, and by the torture of Boëthius and of the prefect Symmachus, unjustly accused of conspiracy. He died in 526 and his kingdom survived him only a few years. Thus too passed rapidly away the Vandals and the Heruli, the Suevi and the Burgundians, the western and eastern Goths. They all formed part of the barbarian guard which first entered the empire. Roman society, incapable of defending itself, seems to have been strong enough to communicate to those who came in contact with it that death which it bore in its own breast.

**Revival of the Eastern Empire. Justinian** (527–565). — The ruined Empire of the West had been replaced by thirteen Germanic kingdoms; those of the Burgundians, Visigoths, Suevi, Vandals, Franks, Ostrogoths and of the seven Anglo-Saxon states. The Greek Empire alone had escaped invasion and remained erect in spite of its religious discords and the general weakness of its government. The reign of Theodosius II, the longest which the fifth century presents (418–450), was really that of Pulcheria, the sister of the incapable emperor. It was signalized by the publication of the Theodosian Code. Under Zeno and Anastasius Constantinople was racked by quarrels and riots on questions of religion.

Justinian restored vigor and brilliancy to this empire. He preserved intact the eastern frontier and forced the Persians to conclude in 562, after thirty-four years of war, an honorable treaty. He repulsed (559) an invasion of Bulgarians which threatened Constantinople. In the west he destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals by the victories of Belisarius and that of the Ostrogoths by the successes of the eunuch Narses. While his generals were winning battles, his lawyers were drawing up the *Code*, the *Digest* or *Pandects*, the *Institutes* and the *Novellæ*, which have transmitted to posterity the substance of ancient jurisprudence. This reign was the glorious protest of the Eastern Empire and of civilization against invasion and barbarism. The splendor was of brief continuance. In 568 Italy was lost. Conquered by the Lombards, a fourteenth Germanic kingdom was founded, which lasted more than 200 years and was to fall under the blows of Charlemagne. From her geographic position Constantinople could not be the heir of Rome. The inheritance of the Western Empire was to belong to the Germanic race.

As for the Eastern Empire, after that brilliant period it passed many gloomy days despite the talent of princes like Maurice and Heraclius. Thanks to her strategic situation Constantinople, the daughter of aged Rome, who bore on her brow from her very birth the wrinkles of her mother, alone remained standing like an isolated rock. For ten centuries she braved victoriously the assaults of the Mussulmans in the south and of the Slavic and Turanian tribes on the north.

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## III

### CLOVIS AND THE MEROVINGIANS

(481-752)

**The Franks.** — In the third century before Christ the Germans had formed on the right bank of the Rhine two confederations: on the south, that of the Suevic tribes, who called themselves the Alemanni or men; on the north, that of the Salii, the Sicambri, the Bructeri, the Cherusci and the Catti, who took the name of Franks or the brave. They are first mentioned by Roman writers in 241 when Aurelian, then legionary tribune, defeated a body of Franks on the lower Rhine. Probus recaptured from them the Gallic cities which they had attacked on the death of Aurelian, and transported a colony of them to the Black Sea (277). A little later others crossed the Rhine, devastated Belgium and received from Julian authority to establish themselves on the banks of the Meuse which they had ravaged. Several of the Frankish chiefs rose to high positions in the empire. Thus Arbogast was the prime minister of Valentinian II and disposed of the purple.

Twelve years after his death the Franks, already established in northern Gaul, tried to arrest the great invasion of 406. Failing in this they wished to obtain their share of these provinces which the emperor himself was abandoning, and their tribes advanced into the interior of the country, each one under its own chieftain or king. At that time there were Frankish kings at Cologne, Tournay, Cambrai and Thérouanne. Of these kings, Clodion, chief of the Salian Franks of the country of Tongres or Limburg, is the first whose existence has been well authenticated. Pharamond, his reputed predecessor, is mentioned only in later chronicles. He captured Tournay and Cambrai, put to death all the Romans whom he found and advanced toward the Somme which he crossed; but in the neighborhood of Sens was vanquished by the Roman general Aëtius (448).

He did not survive his defeat. Merovig his kinsman succeeded. He joined three years later with all the barbarians quartered in Gaul and with the rest of the Romans in resisting the Huns. The battle of Châlons (451) against Attila cost the lives, it is said, of 300,000 men and rescued the barbarian nations encamped between the Rhine and the Pyrenees.

Childeric, the son of Merovig, was expelled by the Franks who were disgusted at his excesses. He was replaced by the Roman general Ægidius. Recalled at the end of eight years, he reigned over the Franks until his death and was interred in Tournay, where his tomb was discovered in 1633. His son Chlodowig or Clovis was the real founder of the Frankish monarchy.

**Clovis.** — In 481 Clovis possessed only a few districts of Belgium with the title of king of the Salian Franks, who had settled in the neighborhood of Tournay. He commanded 4000 or 5000 warriors. Five years later he defeated near Soissons Syagrius, the son of Ægidius, who governed in the name of the empire the country between the Somme and the Loire. He forced the Visigoths among whom the vanquished general had taken refuge to give him up, put him to death and subdued the country as far as the Loire.

In 493 he married Clotilde, daughter of a Burgundian king, herself an Orthodox Christian. This union had the happiest results for Clotilde soon converted her husband. As all the barbarians established in Gaul were Arians and hence in orthodox eyes equivalent to heretics, Clovis became the hope of the orthodox Gauls. Even before his conversion, Amiens, Beauvais, Paris and Rouen had opened their gates, thanks to the influence of their bishops. The Alemanni having crossed the Rhine, Clovis marched against them. He was on the point of being vanquished, when he invoked the God of Clotilde. Success seemed granted to his prayer, and the Alemanni were thrust back beyond that river and pursued into Suabia. On his return Clovis was baptized with 3000 of his men by Saint Remi, archbishop of Reims. As the archbishop sprinkled the holy water on the head of the neophyte he said to him, "Bow thy head, softened Sicambrian. Adore what thou hast burned; burn what thou hast adored." An Arian sister of Clovis was baptized at the same time (496). The Gallo-Roman inhabitants, oppressed by the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths, thence-

forth centred their affections and hopes in the converted chieftain of the Franks. All the episcopate was on his side. "When thou fightest," wrote to him Avitus, bishop of Vienne, "we share the victory." So they aided him in all his enterprises. Some of his liegemen deserted, but his successes and above all the booty they could gain under so skilful a leader brought them back.

The country between the Loire and the Somme was subjugated and Armoricum won over to his alliance. Then he attacked the Burgundians (500), defeated their king Gundobad and made him pay tribute. Then one day he said to his soldiers, "It causes me great grief that those Arian Visigoths possess a part of this Gaul. Let us march with the help of God and after vanquishing them let us reduce their country to our power." The army crossed the Loire, by the express order of the king religiously respecting on its passage all the property of the churches. The Visigothic king Alaric II was beaten and slain at Vouillé near Poitiers. That city, Saintes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, opened their gates and Septimania with Nîmes, Béziers and Narbonne would have been conquered if Theodoric, the great head of the Ostrogoths, had not sent succor to his brethren of the West. On his return from this expedition Clovis found the ambassadors of the Emperor Anastasius who brought him the titles of consul and patrician with the purple tunic and robe. His last years were bloody. He slew Sigebert and Chloderic kings of Cologne, Chararic another petty Frankish king, Ragnachairus king of Cambrai, and Benomer king of the Mans, that he might seize their kingdoms and treasures. He died in 511 and was interred in the basilica of the Holy Apostles or Saint Geneviève which he himself had built. His reign had lasted thirty years, and his life forty-five.

At his death the state which he founded comprised all Gaul except Gascogne where no Frankish troop had made its appearance, and Brittany which was controlled by counts or military chiefs. The Alemanni in Alsace and Suabia were associates in the fortunes of the Franks rather than subject to the authority of their king. The Burgundians after paying tribute for a time fully intended to refuse it in future; and the cities of Aquitaine, feebly restrained by Frankish garrisons at Bordeaux and Saintes, remained almost independent.

As to the victorious nation united only for conquest and pillage it had contented itself with expelling the Visigoths from Aquitaine without replacing them. The war ended the Franks had returned with their booty to their former abodes between the Rhine and the Loire. Clovis himself had settled at Paris, a central position between the two rivers, whence he could more easily watch the provinces and his enemies.

**The Sons of Clovis** (511–561). — The four sons of Clovis shared his territories and followers, so that each one had a nearly equal portion of the land to the north of the Loire where the Frankish nation had settled, and also a part of the Roman cities of Aquitaine which paid rich tributes. Childebert was king of Paris; Clotaire, king of Soissons; Clodimir, king of Orleans; Thierry, king of Metz or Austrasia.

The impulse imparted by Clovis lasted for some time. His sons carried their arms to Thuringia, Burgundy, Italy and Spain. The Alemanni and the Bavarians had recognized them as suzerains, and the Saxons paid them tribute.

**Frédégonde and Brunehaut.** — Clotaire, one of the sons of Clovis, had reunited his father's kingdom in 558, but upon his death three years afterward the Frankish monarchy became again a tetrarchy by the partition of its states among his four sons: Caribert, king of Paris; Gontram, of Orleans and Burgundy; Sigebert, of Austrasia, and Chilperic, of Soissons. From that time rivalry began, destined to increase between the eastern Franks or Austrasians and the western Franks or Neustrians. The former were more faithful to the rude manners of Germany of which they were the neighbors. The latter were more accessible to the influence of that Roman civilization in the midst of which they had settled.

This opposition finds its first expression in the hatred of two women. Sigebert had married Brunehaut, the daughter of Athanagild king of the Visigoths, beautiful, learned and ambitious. Chilperic, desirous also of a royal wife, obtained the hand of Galswinthe, the sister of Brunehaut. Soon however he returned to his imperious concubine Frédégonde, who caused her rival to be strangled and took her place. Brunehaut burning to avenge her sister stirred up Sigebert to attack Neustria. Her husband, victorious,

was about to proclaim himself king of the Neustrians, when two servants of Frédégonde, "bewitched by her," stabbed him at the same time in the side with poisoned knives (575). As his son Childebert II was still a minor, the Austrians were governed by a mayor of the palace. That official was originally a mere steward of the king's household, chosen from among his vassals. Supported by other vassals, the mayors of the palace were to acquire an important influence to the advantage of the barbarous aristocracy, already very hostile to royalty, and were to hold the feeble kings in tutelage until the moment came when they could take their place.

The years that followed are confused and bloody, filled with the turbulence of the leudes or liegemen, and above all with the fierce struggle between Brunehaut and Frédégonde. The former in the name of her children and grandchildren seized the power in both Austrasia and Burgundy. Her stern and orderly rule alienated her subjects, who proposed to Clotaire II, the son of Chilperic and Frédégonde, to make him their king if he would rid them of Brunehaut. Abandoned by her troops, she and her four grandsons were captured by Clotaire. He cut the throats of the young princes and had the aged queen fastened to the tail of a wild horse (613) which dashed her body to pieces.

**Clotaire II** (584) **and Dagobert** (628). — Clotaire II for the third time established the unity of the Frankish monarchy. Under his reign seventy-nine bishops and many laymen took part in the Council of Paris, which promulgated a so-called perpetual constitution whereby the power of the ecclesiastical and secular aristocracy was greatly increased. The taxes imposed were abolished, the fiefs granted were declared inalienable and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was extended.

The reign of Dagobert was the most brilliant of the Merovingian line and gave to the Franks preponderance in Western Europe. He stopped the incursions of the Venedi over whom a Frankish merchant had become king, opposed the incursions of the Slavonians into Thuringia and delivered Bavaria from a Bulgarian invasion. In Gaul he compelled the submission of the Vascons and the alliance of the Bretons whose chief had assumed the title of king. He chose clever ministers and won a legitimate popularity by travelling about his kingdom to administer justice in behalf of the small as the great. He revised the laws of the Salii, the

Riparii, the Alemanni and the Bavarians, encouraged commerce and industry and built the Abbey of Saint Denis.

**The Sluggard Kings. The Mayors of the Palace** (638–687). — But Dagobert carried the power of the Merovingians with him to the tomb. After him came the sluggard kings. Nevertheless royalty found a formidable champion in Ebroin, mayor of the palace in Neustria, who with increased energy resumed the struggle of Brunehaut and Dagobert against the leudes and their chief, Saint Leger, bishop of Autun. In a document he wrote, "Those men have apparently forfeited their fiefs who are convicted of infidelity to those from whom they hold them." Many vassals who seemed too independent were put to death, deprived of their property or banished. The Austrasian vassals made common cause with the exiles. They deposed their Merovingian king and confided the power to the two mayors, Martin and Pepin d'Heristal, with the title of princes of the Franks. After the death of Ebroin they gained the battle of Testry and all Neustria in consequence (687). From that day forth Pepin d'Heristal reigned in reality though without assuming the title of king. His successors were to erect the Frankish Empire in which all the Germanic invasion is summed up.

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Volga
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Caucasus Mts.
Tiflis
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
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KURDISTAN
Orfa
AL-DJEZAREH
Mosoul
IRAK-ARABI
IRAK-AJEMI
Euphrates
Bagdad
Ispahan
Koufah
Bassorah
Shiraz
KERMAN
BELOUTCHISTAN
Kerman
Indus
Tropic of Cancer
PERSIAN GULF
Strait of Ormuz
OMAN
MEKRAN
BELAD EL DJOF
THEMOUD
Yatreb (Medina)
Hedjer
Imamah
Taief
Mecca
AL AHKAF
Ras Madraka
Dzafar
Morebat
Hadramaut
Mareb
Saba
Loheia
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Samarcand
Kashgar
Bokhara
BOKHARIA
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TOKHARESTAN
Caboul
AFGHANISTAN
Nichabour
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## IV

### MOHAMMED AND THE ARAB INVASION

**Arabia. Mohammed and the Koran.** — After the German invasion which came from the north followed the Arab invasion from the south. Arabia, whose peoples then appeared for the first time on the scene of history, is a vast peninsula covering more than a million square miles. Northward it opens upon Asia through extensive deserts and is attached on the northwest to Africa by the Isthmus of Suez. Elsewhere it is surrounded by the Red Sea, the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, the Indian Ocean, the Strait of Ormus and the Persian Gulf. The ancients, who had small acquaintance with it, divided it into three parts: Arabia Petræa or the peninsula of Sinaï; Arabia Deserta or Nedjed, comprising the deserts which extend from the Red Sea to the Euphrates; and Arabia Felix or Yemen. Its religion was a mixture of Christianity, introduced by the Abyssinians and Greeks; of Sabeism, taught by the Persians; of Judaism, which had filtered in everywhere in the track of the Jews; and above all of idolatry. The temple of the Kaaba in the holy city of Mecca contained 360 idols, the custody of which was intrusted to the illustrious family of the Koreïsh. There was much religious indifference in the presence of so many faiths. The masses of population were kept together by the poets, who were already developing the language of Islam in those poetical tournaments, wherein the idea of Allah, the Supreme Being, a belief natural to such a country, frequently occurs.

Mohammed was born of Koreïsh parents in 570. Early an orphan and without fortune, he became a camel-driver and travelled in Syria where he became intimate with a monk of Bostra. His integrity and intelligence won the hand of a rich widow named Khadijah. Thenceforth he could give himself up to his meditations. At the age of forty his ideas were fixed.

To Khadijah, to his cousin Ali, to his freedman Seïd and

to his friend Abou-Bekr he disclosed his purpose of restoring to the religion of Abraham its primitive purity. He told them that he was receiving from God through the Angel Gabriel the verses of a book which was to be the book of all others, or the Koran. He designated his new religion as Islam or entire resignation to the divine will. His hearers believed in him and Abou-Bekr won over Othman and the fiery Omar to the new faith. The proselytes increased daily. Persecuted by the Koreïsh, he fled to Yatreb (622). With the year of the Hegira or Flight the Mussulman era begins.

Yatreb now became Medinat-al-Nabi, the city of the Prophet, commonly called Medina. At the battle of Bedr 300 of his followers defeated 1000 Koreïsh (624). Afterwards he was worsted at Mount Ohud, but gained a decisive advantage in the War of the Nations or of the Trench. Finally he reëntered Mecca (630) where he destroyed all the idols, saying: "The truth has come. Let the falsehood disappear!" From that moment he was the religious leader of Arabia. He wrote threatening letters to Chosroes, king of Persia, and to Heraclius, emperor of the East, and was on the point of undertaking a holy war against them when he died (632).

The Koran is the collection of all the revelations which according to the occasion fell from the mouth of the Prophet, and which were collected in a first edition by the orders of the Caliph Abou-Bekr, and in a second by those of the Caliph Othman. Composed of one hundred and fourteen chapters or surates subdivided into verses, it contains both the religious and civil law of the Mussulmans. The basis of its dogma is fully summed up in these words, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God." In Allah, the sole and jealous God, the Koran admits no plurality of persons and it places no inferior divinity beside him. It rejects all idea of God made man; but it teaches that God has revealed himself by a series of prophets, of whom Mohammed is the last and the most complete. Those who preceded him are: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Christ, with whom God communicated through angels, his messengers. Mohammed acknowledged that Christ possessed the gift of miracles which he himself had not. He preached the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body and its participation in the joys or

sufferings of a future life. A delightful but sensual paradise was in store for the good, a burning hell for the bad. Nevertheless in this paradise which appealed to the vulgar crowd there are also spiritual joys. "The most favored of God will be he who shall behold his face evening and morning, a felicity which will surpass all the pleasures of the senses as the ocean surpasses a drop of dew."

He elevated the condition of Arab women. "A son," he said, "wins paradise at the feet of his mother." Before his day the daughters inherited nothing. He assigned to them one-half the portion of their brothers. While enforcing the authority of the husband, he bade him be a tender protector to his wife. Though he tolerated polygamy so as not to shock Eastern customs, he allowed a man only four legitimate wives, and advised that as a praiseworthy act a man should confine himself to one. The Koran prescribes severe penalties for theft, usury, fraud and false witness and enjoins alms. It minutely regulates the ritual of worship; the fast of Ramazan; the observance of the four sacred months, an ancient custom which like the truce of God suspended hostilities among the faithful; the great annual pilgrimage to Mecca where Mohammed had installed the seat of this new religion; the five daily prayers; the absolutions, either with water or sand; circumcision; abstinence from wine and many other detailed observances. Nevertheless so far as Christians and Jews were concerned, it is sufficient not to ally oneself with them by blood and one must not fight against them unless they give provocation. As for other people, it is the duty of every good Mussulman to attack, pursue and slay them if they do not embrace the religion of the Prophet.

These doctrines, these hopes and these threats were powerful springs of action which launched the Arabs, sword in hand, in every direction.

**The Caliphate. The Sunnites and Shiites. Arab Conquests.** (637–661). — Mohammed did not designate his successor, but Abou-Bekr, whom he had charged with pronouncing the formal prayer in his place, was recognized as caliph or religious, civil, and military chief (632). Abou-Bekr in turn designated Omar (634) and after Omar, Othman was elected (644), who was succeeded by Ali. The latter was the husband of Fatima, daughter of the Prophet, and chief of the Fatimite party which gave birth to the great Mussulman sect

of the Shiites or Separatists. They regard Ali as having been unjustly excluded from the succession after the death of Mohammed. The Sunnites, or followers of tradition, recognize Abou-Bekr, Omar and Othman as legitimate. After Ali the hereditary system begins with the Ommiades (661).

This period is that of the great conquests. Khaled and Amrou by the victories of Aïznadin and the Yermouk wrested Syria from Heraclius, emperor of the East, who had just returned victorious from expeditions against Persia. In ten years' time the conquest of Persia was assured by the victories of Kadesiah, Jalula and Nehavend. Yezdegerd, the last of the Sassanides, in vain besought succor from the emperor of China. In 639 Amrou entered Egypt and made himself master of the country after besieging Alexandria fourteen months.

**The Ommiades.** — The usurpation of Moaviah, chief of the Ommiades, who rendered the government a despotism and made Damascus his capital, was followed by civil dissensions. Blood flowed in streams for thirty years. The almost suspended movement of conquest began again about 691 under Abd-el-Malek. In the east, Transoxiana and Sogdiana were conquered and India was threatened. Though in the north Constantinople successfully resisted a seven years' siege (672–679), the Arab power was established in the west along the entire northern coast of Africa. Kairowan was founded, Carthage captured, a revolt of the Moors stifled and the Columns of Hercules passed by Tarik who gave them his name as the mountain of Tarik or Gibraltar. The Spanish Visigothic kingdom, weakened by ecclesiastical influence and given up to discord by its elective system of monarchy, succumbed at the battle of Xeres (711). Of all the peninsula the Christians retained only a corner of land in the Asturian mountains where Pelayo took refuge with his comrades. Carried on by their ardor the rapid conquerors crossed the Pyrenees, occupied Septimania, ravaged Aquitaine and were already marching upon Tours when Charles Martel arrested them by the victory of Poitiers or Tours (732).

**Division of the Caliphate.** — Thus the Arabs at a bound reached the Pyrenees and the Himalayas. Their faith was supreme over two thousand leagues of country. Nevertheless geography, the greatest of forces to support or destroy newborn states, condemned their empire to speedy partition

among many masters, because it was too extensive to have one centre and contained too many different peoples to possess unity. The diverse influences of locality and race soon began to manifest themselves and then to enter into conflict. The dynasties, representing this or that nationality, which geography and history had produced, began to dispute the throne with one another and as a natural result the empire fell to pieces.

In 750 the Syrian dynasty of the Ommiades was overthrown by Abul-Abbas, who founded the dynasty of the Abbassides, sprung from an uncle of Mohammed. A single Ommiad escaping proscription fled to Spain and there erected the Caliphate of the West or of Cordova (755). Thus the Abbassides now reigned only over the Caliphate of the East or of Bagdad, a new capital built upon the Tigris in 762 near the ancient Seleucia. There they furnished a succession of great men: Almanzor (754), Haroun-al-Raschid or the Just (786), Al-Mamoun (813); all of them patrons of letters, arts and science, which they had borrowed from the Greeks. But in those places which had always witnessed despotism and where the shade of the great kings still seemed to wander, the caliphs soon came to consider themselves the image of God on earth. A splendid court separated them from their people, immense wealth replaced the poverty of Omar and military ardor became extinct in the midst of an effeminate life. Then these men, ignorant how to fight, bought slaves to make soldiers of them, and the slaves became their masters. A guard of Seldjuk Turks was introduced into the palace. They filled it with disorder and violence and at their pleasure made or unmade sovereigns. The Abbassides fell into the condition of the French Sluggard Kings. Togrul Beg left to the caliph only an empty religious authority (1058) and founded the power of the Seldjuk Turks. In the ninth century Africa was detached from the Caliphate of Bagdad and divided up among three dynasties: the Edrissites at Fez, the Aglabites at Kairowan and the Fatimites at Cairo. The latter claimed descent from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed.

As for the Caliphate of Cordova, like that of Cairo, it had its brilliant days. Many Christians being treated mildly mingled with the Mussulmans and formed the active population of the Mozarabis. The ever-skilful Jews were relieved from the rigors of the Visigothic law. Com-

merce, industry and agriculture flourished and afforded the caliphs great riches. Convulsed by the conquests of Charlemagne's lieutenants north of the Ebro, the Caliphate of Cordova was again shaken by the revolts of the valis, or provincial governors, and by the insurrection of the bandits, Beni-Hafsoun, which lasted for eighty years. The reigns of Abderrahman I (755), Hescham I (787), Al-Hakam I and Abderrahman II were very fortunate. That of Abderrahman III surpassed all the rest (912–961). The successes of this caliph and of Almanzor, the chief minister of Hescham II, arrested on the Douro and the Ebro the progress of the Christian kingdoms founded in the north. But after Almanzor everything fell to pieces. An African guard delivered the palace over to a sanguinary anarchy which favored the efforts of the valis at independence. In 1010 Murcia, Badajoz, Grenada, Saragossa, Valentia, Seville, Toledo, Carmona, Algesiras, were so many independent principalities. In 1031 Hescham, the descendant of the Ommiades, was deposed and retired with joy into obscurity. Shortly after the very title of caliph disappeared.

**Arabic Civilization.** — Such was the fate of the empire of the Arabs in the three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe; a sudden and irresistible expansion, then division and a rapid general enfeeblement. But they had established their religion, their language and the laws of their Koran over a great number of peoples, and transmitted to the Europe of the Middle Ages industries and sciences of which they were, if not the inventors, at least the diffusers. While Europe was plunged in thick shades of barbarism, Bagdad, Bassorah, Samarcand, Damascus, Cairo, Kairowan, Fez, Grenada, Cordova, were so many great intellectual centres.

The Koran had determined the literary Arab language and it is preserved to our day just as Mohammed spoke it. Time and local influences have caused the vulgar tongue to undergo marked transformations. This Arabic, prodigiously rich in words which express the objects and impressions of the desert, nevertheless adapted itself to all the usages of literature and science. From the moribund school of Alexandria the Arabs had received Aristotle whom they zealously commented. More than once the commentators were themselves philosophers worthy of consideration. Such were in the East, Avicenna; in the West, Averroes,

who enjoyed fame in the Middle Ages because he had transmitted to the Christians of Europe the knowledge of the Stagirite.

The exact sciences received from Almanzor, the second of the Abbassides, a lively impulse, thanks to the learned men whom the caliphs attracted from Constantinople. As early as the first half of the ninth century two astronomers of Bagdad measured in the plain of Sennaar a degree of the meridian. Soon afterwards Euclid was expounded, Ptolemy's tables corrected, the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly calculated, the precision of the equinoxes and the difference between the solar year and the common year better determined, new instruments of precision invented and at Samarcand an admirable observatory was founded. Still it is an error, though common, to attribute to the Arabs the invention of algebra and of the so-called Arabic figures which we use. Probably they only transmitted to Europe what they found in the learned school of Alexandria. We have from them in the same degree the compass and gunpowder. They excelled in medicine where again they were the pupils of the ancients, as was Averroes of Galen.

In architecture also they borrowed much from the Greeks. Their horseshoe arch belongs to the Byzantine style. They cultivated neither painting nor sculpture, because their religion forbade the representation of the human figure, but their arabesques are a form of ornamentation peculiar to themselves. The magnificent remains of this architecture can be seen at Cordova, Grenada and Cairo.

In agriculture and industry we have devised nothing superior to their system of irrigation, which the peasants of Valencia and Granada still practise. The reputation of the sword blades of Toledo, the silk of Grenada, the blue and green cloths of Cuenca, the harnesses, saddles and leather of Cordova, were celebrated throughout Europe. But this civilization like the empire in whose bosom it had blossomed disappeared almost as quickly as it was formed.

## V

### THE EMPIRE OF THE FRANKS. EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE UNITY IN CHURCH AND STATE

**Difference between the Arab and German Invasions.** — The Arab invasion began with unity of faith, command and direction. It was ruined by schism, division and weakness. The German invasion, made at random and solely for the sake of pillage under leaders united by no common idea, at first gave rise to a number of little kingdoms. It had however taken place in countries where the memory of the Roman Empire still lingered, and where a new principle of unity, that of the Church, had arisen. Thus after wandering for two centuries in confusion and amid the ruins which they had made, nearly all of those adventurers finally gathered under the sceptre of one family, that of the Carlovingians, who tried to reconstitute the state and the government, while the Pope with his monks and bishops organized the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The harmony of these two powers caused the brilliancy of Charlemagne's reign. Their rivalry brought about the great struggle of the Middle Ages, or that between the priesthood and the empire.

**Ecclesiastical Society.** — The Roman Empire had perished, but so far the barbarians had erected upon its ruins only fragile structures. A single institution, the Church, traversed the centuries, developing regularly in accordance with the spirit of its life, constantly gaining in power and fortifying itself by the unity of its government. This society had in the beginning been thoroughly democratic with elected leaders. It emerged, mutilated but radiant, from the catacombs and the amphitheatres. Constantine bestowed upon it the Roman world. In the Councils it determined its dogmas and discipline. Thus it found itself possessed of a strictly regulated hierarchy, where only the highest dignities like the episcopacy and papacy were elective, while the inferior grades were conferred by the bishop. If we consider territorial boundaries, the bishop governed

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the diocese which was divided somewhat later into parishes. Many dioceses united formed the ecclesiastical province of the archbishop or metropolitan, above whom rose the bishops of the great capitals with the title of patriarchs or primates.

In this picture we recognize the entire civil organization of the empire. Thus the authority, in which the whole mass of believers originally shared, was gradually withdrawn from the lower classes, handed over to the bishops and ended in the West by becoming concentrated at the summit in the Pope. This ascent of religious authority, terminated only in our day by the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility, sums up the entire internal history of the Roman Catholic Church. But in the eighth century the sacerdotal monarchy had only traversed half the road, toward the end of which Boniface VIII was destined to lead it.

The bishop of Rome possessed great estates in Italy. He occupied in the most famous city of the universe that large place in the municipal system of government, which at the fall of the empire had been conferred upon the bishops. Thus the Pope, in addition to his spiritual authority, had means of action through the income of the property bestowed upon his Church, and an authority which was naturally increased at the fall of the Western Empire and of Theodoric. In temporal affairs he still remained subject to the emperor of Constantinople and to his representative in Italy, the exarch of Ravenna; but the yoke was light, thanks to distance and to the embarrassment of the exarch whom the Lombards threatened and finally expelled.

Gregory the Great (690–704) did much for the development of the papal power. In the first place he saved Rome from an attack by the Lombards. Then he took an energetic part in the conversion of heretics and pagans which before his time had gone on at random. He brought the Visigoths back into the pale of the Catholic Church, won to the faith England, Helvetia and Bavaria, multiplied monasteries, where dwelt a faithful army under the rule of Saint Benedict, and drew closer around the bishops the bond of discipline. His successors continued the work of missions. The new churches, daughters of Rome, showed for the mother church a respectful attachment. Holland and Friesland were evangelized. Saint Boniface, in 723 appointed by the Pope bishop of Germany, was about to give to Rome those vast provinces.

Thus new Rome was again becoming a conqueror and dominant. Its chief still remained the subject of the emperor but a rupture was inevitable. When Justinian II wished to remove Pope Sergius, who rejected the canons of the Council in Trullo, the soldiers refused to obey. When Leo the Iconoclast ordered the images in Rome to be broken, the people drove the imperial prefect from the city and the Pope excited the Italians to revolt against the heretic prince (726). The Lombards took advantage of this controversy to seize the exarchy of Ravenna and tried to lay hands on Rome. Then it was that Gregory III had recourse to the chief of the Austrasian Franks.

**Charles Martel and Pepin the Short** (715–768). — After the death of Pepin d'Heristal (715), Charles, his natural son, took possession of the mayorship with the consent of the vassals. He was a valiant man. At the battle of Tours (732) he forced the Arab invasion to retreat beyond the Pyrenees, and at one blow saved Christianity and German supremacy. On the east he defeated the Saxons and Bavarians, though leaving much to be done in that direction by his successors. In the south he undertook to subjugate Aquitaine, still restive under the authority of the chiefs of northern Gaul. His renown equalled his power. In 741 two nuncios from Gregory III brought him magnificent presents, the keys of the tomb of Saint Peter, the titles of consul and patrician, and a suppliant letter. The Pope was disposing of what did not belong to him; for the pontiff offered the conqueror of the Saracens the sovereignty of Rome together with the protectorate over the Roman Church. In his letter Gregory implored the aid of Charles Martel against an energetic and ambitious prince, Luitprand king of the Lombards, who wished to unite the whole Italian peninsula under his sway. Although Luitprand was a Catholic, he was too near Rome. Gregory desired a more distant and hence a less exacting protector; and he granted a stranger what he refused to the Italian prince. This policy, which has remained that of his successors, was perfectly natural, because despite the precept, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," the Holy See aimed at complete independence. Yet in such attempts, what evils it has drawn down upon Italy without ever gaining a long-continued success!

Charles had not time to reply to this appeal. He died

in 741, and his sons, Carloman and Pepin, who succeeded him as mayors of the palace in Austrasia and Neustria, were at first too much occupied along their frontiers to think of Italy. But in 747, when Carloman had retired to the convent of Monte Cassino, Pepin despoiled his nephews and then decided to place upon his own brow the crown, that was only a mockery on the head of the Sluggard Kings. He consulted Pope Zacharias, and the latter replied that the title belonged to him who held the power. Saint Boniface revived for his benefit the Hebrew solemnity of consecration by Holy Unction (752). The last of the Merovingians was shut up in a convent. Two years later Pope Stephen II came to France to consecrate for the second time the mayor of Austrasia. Pepin repaid the Pope by giving him Pentapolis and the exarchate of Ravenna, which he took from the Lombards. Thus two important revolutions were effected simultaneously. The first was, that among the peoples, who had always practised election to the royal power, the Church cleverly introduced the contrary doctrine of divine right, of which naturally she was the dispenser. The second was, that in exchange for this divine legitimacy, which suppressed the ancient legitimacy of election, the king prepared by his donations the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. Here were seen two new principles which dominated society for ten centuries, and which by a logical connection of things happened at the same time.

The other wars of Pepin the Short were directed against the Saxons, whom he vanquished; against the Saracens, from whom he wrested Septimania, and against the Aquitanians, whom he subdued after eight years of rapine and fighting.

**Charlemagne, King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome** (774). — The second Frank monarchy, founded by Pepin the Short, reached its apogee under Charlemagne, who completed the work of his two predecessors and presented the greatest reign which the history of the German invasion records. Wherever his grandfather and father had fought, he carried on greater wars. The eastern frontier was threatened by the Saxons, Danes, Slavs, Bavarians and Avars. He made eighteen expeditions against the Saxons, three against the Danes, one against the Bavarians, four against the Slavs and four against the Avars. He made seven against the Saracens of Spain, five against the Saracens of Italy, five against the Lombards and two against the Greeks. If to

these we add those which he directed against several rebellious peoples already comprised in the Frankish Empire, as one against the Thuringians, one against the Aquitanians and two against the Bretons, we have a total of fifty-three expeditions which Charlemagne conducted for the most part in person.

He had at first shared the inheritance of Pepin with his brother Carloman (768). When that prince died three years afterward Charlemagne seized Austrasia, to the detriment of his nephews who took refuge at the court of Didier, king of the Lombards. Thus he remained sole master. While winning his first victory over the Saxons, Pope Adrian I besought aid against Didier, who had invaded the exarchate. Charlemagne crossed the Alps, vanquished the Lombards whose king became a monk, threw the sons of Carloman into a convent and made a triumphal entry into Rome where he confirmed Pepin's donation to the Pope. To the title of king of the Franks he added that of king of the Lombards and of patrician, to which the sovereignty over Rome and over all the domains of the Holy See entitled him (774).

**Conquest of Germany** (771–804). **Spanish Expedition.** — The war against the Saxons was begun in 771 and lasted thirty-three years. This still barbarous people occupied the lower course of the Weser and Elbe. Still pagans, they adored the idol called Irminsul or Hermann-Saul, consecrated to the vanquisher of Varus. When Saint Libuin undertook to convert them, they butchered his companions. Charlemagne supported his missionaries, who as spiritual conquerors were preparing the way for conquerors of another sort. He captured Ehresburg and broke Irminsul to pieces. Then appeared Witikind, the Hermann of another age. Against this valiant chieftain the most formidable expeditions long proved of no avail. When his countrymen were forced to swear allegiance to the victor at Paderborn (777), he fled to the depths of Germany and returned later on to rekindle the war. After the great victory of Buckholz, Charlemagne transported 10,000 Saxon families to Belgium and Helvetia. He deprived the Saxons who remained in their own country of their assemblies and their judges, put them under Frankish counts and divided their territory "among the bishops, abbots and priests, on condition that they should preach and baptize there." Many bishoprics were established. But Witikind, who had taken refuge

among the Danes, again returned and defeated several Frankish generals. The massacre of 4000 Saxon prisoners excited a desperate insurrection. It required the two victories of Detmold and Osnabrück and a winter passed under arms in the snows of Saxony, to triumph over the obstinate Witikind, who at last consented to receive baptism. Saxony, deluged in blood, was obliged to accept the harsh laws which the victor imposed.

The submission of Bavaria had preceded that of Saxony. Its provinces were divided into counties and its last duke shut up in a monastery. Behind the Hungarians were the Avars, a Hunnic people, who had settled in Ancient Pannonia, and in an immense camp called the Ring guarded the spoils of the world. After fierce conflicts a son of Charlemagne succeeded in getting possession of the Ring and imposed tribute on the remnants of this people.

On the south the Franks were less fortunate. The disaster of Roncesvaux, the resistance of the Vascons and of the Mussulmans of Spain allowed the Franks only outposts beyond the Pyrenees in the valley of the Ebro. Not until 812 could Louis, king of Aquitaine, the oldest son of Charlemagne, quarter his margraves south of the mountains.

By those wars the whole German race, excepting the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the Northmen of Scandinavia, was united into a single group. The foreign and hostile peoples which touched its frontiers, the Slavs, Avars and Arabs, were driven back or repressed. On the map of the world, instead of the confusion of preceding centuries, four great states were to be seen between the Indus and the Atlantic. These were the German and Greek Empires, and the Caliphates of Bagdad and Cordova.

**Limits of the Empire.** — The empire of Charlemagne had as its boundaries: on the north and west, the ocean from the mouth of the Elbe to the Spanish coast along the Bay of Biscay; on the south, the Pyrenees and in Spain a part of the Ebro with, in Italy the Garigliano and Pescara, not including Gaeta which the Greeks retained, and in Illyricum the Cettina or Narenta, without including the cities of Trau, Zara and Spalatro; on the east, the Bosna and the Sava to its junction with the Danube, the Theiss, the mountains of Bohemia, the Saale, the Elbe and the Eyder.

Within this vast circle everything was subject. Around the Carlovingian empire tributary nations formed a pro-

tecting zone. Such were the Navarrese, the Beneventines, the North Elbe Saxons and the Wiltzen, all held in check by the counts of the frontiers. Brittany and Bohemia had been ravaged but not conquered.

**Charlemagne Emperor** (800). — Beginning with 800 the master of this vast dominion was an emperor. During the Christmas festivals of that year, Pope Leo III placed upon his head the crown of the Cæsars. Thus was consummated the alliance between the supreme chief of German society and the supreme chief of the Church.

In assuming this title Charlemagne also reassumed all the rights of the emperors over Rome and over its bishops. Apparently therefore unity, concord and peace were at last to be reëstablished in the western world. But on the contrary this resuscitation of the empire was to be fatal to all who brought it about or who rejoiced at it: to the emperor, who will not have the support of a wise administration and will consequently be unable to carry this mighty burden; to Italy, who will lose thereby its independence for ten centuries. As to the two allies of 800, the Pope and the emperor, they will soon be bitter enemies and engage in the quarrel of investiture and the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

**Government.** — In spite of his Roman title, Charlemagne continued the chief of the German race and especially of the victorious Austrasian nation, whose language he spoke, whose costume he wore and whose country he inhabited. Aix-la-Chapelle was his favorite residence. But he showed a wisdom which had nothing of the barbarian. Twice every year the national assembly met around him. The bishops, the leudes, the freemen, the imperial agents, betook themselves there from the ends of the empire to inform the sovereign of all that took place in their provinces. The nobles met apart from the crowd of freemen to discuss and draw up the capitularies, of which sixty-five still exist comprising 1151 articles on every subject of civil and ecclesiastical government.

Missi dominici, or imperial envoys, traversed four times annually the districts submitted to their inspection. They went in couples, always a count and a bishop together, so as to supplement each other and to provide for all the needs of both secular and religious society. On their return they were to give the emperor a report of the state of the provinces.

Justice was rendered by the provincial assemblies, no longer by all the freemen but by a certain number of provosts. A jury consisted of at least seven persons under the presidency of a count and with right of appeal to the missi dominici. Beginning with the seventh century there were no more public imposts. The monarch received only what was due him as a landed proprietor from his numerous dependants. His revenues thus included the harvests and other income of his domains, the personal and active service of the counts and royal beneficiaries, the gratuitous gifts of the nobles and the tributes of conquered countries. The expenses of the prince and of his agents were defrayed by the proprietors over whose estates they passed. Moreover the proprietors were to maintain the roads and bridges. The army furnished its own equipment and lived at its own cost without pay. The land, which the soldier had received, was his recompense.

Charlemagne tried to dissipate the darkness which the invasions had brought upon the world. All literature had taken refuge in the monasteries, especially among those of the Benedictines. Their order was founded by Saint Benedict at the beginning of the sixth century. His rule required the copying of ancient manuscripts by the monks. To disseminate letters among his people, Charlemagne founded schools and compelled his officers to send their children to them. In his palace he himself established an academy of which he was a member. He commenced a Teutonic grammar and composed Latin poems. The principal literary persons of the period are Alcuin, an English monk whom he made Abbot of Saint Martin's of Tours, and Eginhard, his secretary and perhaps his son-in-law, who wrote his life.

Thus Charlemagne sought to bring order out of chaos and light out of darkness by organizing the German and Christian society, which he collected around the proud throne of the emperors of the West. This effort has caused his name to be placed among those before which the world bows down. Nevertheless the attempt was futile, because all the moral forces of the time and all the instincts and interests of the peoples were opposed to its success. Even in ancient Gaul, political unity could be preserved only by an able and resolute hand. Beyond the Rhine he had built the disorderly, fermenting tribes into a living barrier against

the Slavs. It was much that modern Germany was to succeed old Germania. But the day when he received at Rome the crown of the emperors was an evil day for Italy. Thenceforth that beautiful land had a foreign and distant master, who visited her only with his barbarous and greedy hordes. Torrents of blood were shed and piles of ruins were heaped up for centuries in the attempt to carry on this part of Charlemagne's work. Saddest ruin of all, so long irreparable, was that of the people itself and of Italian patriotism.

Charlemagne himself felt that his political edifice could not last. The partition of his estates among his sons showed that even in his eyes the empire lacked real unity. Already the apparition of the Northmen pirates foretold the calamities which were to ensue.

## VI

### THE LAST CARLOVINGIANS AND THE NORTHMEN

**Weakness of the Carlovingian Empire. Louis the Debonair.** — We have seen two immense empires formed in the seventh and eighth centuries by the side and at the expense of the Eastern Roman Empire. In the ninth the ancient continent changes its aspect. In place of the great blocks which formerly covered the face of Europe, Asia and Africa, we no longer find anything but grains of sand.

The Gallo-Romans and the Italians spoke with slight differences a similar language, derived from the Latin. But the Germans retained their Teutonic idiom. Charlemagne left to the Lombards and Saxons their own laws. The Salian and Ripuarian Franks, the Alemanni and Bavarians, preserved theirs. Thus these peoples were not fused and welded in one. The will of Charlemagne was the only bond that held them together. After his death the efforts of the tributaries to obtain freedom and the attempt of their neighbors, Northmen, Slavs, Bretons, to begin again their invasions, showed that the whole prestige of the new empire depended upon its founder.

Furthermore the numerous partitions made among the sons and grandsons of the Debonair attested not only the ambition of those princes but also the tendency of the various peoples to separate. The first of these partitions took place in 817. It created two inferior kingdoms, Aquitaine and Bavaria, for Pepin and Louis, the second and third sons of the emperor. The eldest, Lothaire, was to inherit the empire. His brothers without his consent could neither make war nor conclude a treaty. Bernard, king of Italy, nephew of the emperor, rebelled against this partition. Defeated, his eyes were put out and he died from the torture. His kingdom was given to Lothaire.

Louis had married as his second wife the beautiful and accomplished Judith, daughter of a Bavarian chief. She bore him a son and thenceforth exercised great influence.

For this child Louis formed a kingdom composed of Alemannia, Rhætia, a part of Burgundy, Provence and Septimania. His other sons took up arms against their father through anger at this partition. They made him prisoner and reaffirmed the division of 817. They could not agree among themselves and the Debonair was set free. Again his sons rebelled, and before a battle the emperor was deserted by his soldiers. He was declared by the bishops to have forfeited his crown, was shut up in a monastery at Soissons and clad in the garb of a penitent. In the following year he was restored to the throne and made a final partition in 839 favorable to his youngest son, Charles the Bald. His other sons were again resorting to arms when he died (840).

**The Treaty of Verdun** (843). — These shameful wars were partly due to the feebleness and partiality of the Debonair, but also to the unwillingness of his second and third sons to recognize the authority of their elder brother, who claimed for himself the imperial prerogatives of which the people wished to be rid. Lothaire demanded that even in the states of his brothers the oath of the freemen should be made to him. Pepin was dead, but the former adversaries, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, combined to resist this claim. A great battle took place at Fontanet near Auxerre. Almost all the peoples of the Carlovingian Empire took part in this grand encounter. Lothaire commanded the Italians, Aquitanians and Austrasians; Louis, the Germans; Charles, the Neustrians and Burgundians. In the army of Lothaire 40,000 men are said to have been slain. He was defeated but refused to accept this "judgment of God." To compel his submission the two victors formed a closer alliance and confirmed it by an oath, which Louis the German swore in the Roman language before the soldiers of Charles the Bald, and Charles swore in German before those of Louis (842). These two oaths, the "Oath of Strasburg," are the two most ancient monuments we possess of the French and German languages.

Lothaire yielded. The treaty of Verdun (843) divided the Carlovingian Empire into three parts. Lothaire, with the title of emperor, secured all Italy as far as the Duchy of Beneventum and from the Alps to the North Sea a long strip of land separating the states of his brothers. This share included the Netherlands, Lorraine, Burgundy, Swit-

zerland, Dauphiné and Provence. All which lay to the west of this track, called Lotharingia, fell to Charles the Bald. All which lay to the east, to Louis the German. This partition differed greatly from any made by the Merovingians. We see in it the first demarcations of the modern nations of France and Germany. The part of Lothaire alone was ephemeral. The other two were destined to aggrandize themselves from its fragments.

**Charles the Bald** (840–877). — He did not really reign over the whole of Gaul. The Bretons kept their independence and Aquitaine for a long time would not submit.

When Lothaire died his estates were divided among his three sons. Louis II had Italy, with the title of emperor; Charles, the country between the Alps and the Rhone under the name of Provence; Lothaire II, the country between the Meuse and the Rhine called Lotharingia. All three died without issue. Louis the German survived them only a few years. Charles the Bald endeavored to place all their crowns upon his head, but was unable to defend his cities against the Northmen and his authority against the nobles.

**Progress of Feudalism.** — The possessors of fiefs, or lands ceded for a time, and of crown offices, claimed that their fiefs and offices were hereditary. This assumption was always opposed by Charlemagne, but tolerated and even approved by Charles. He also allowed possessors of allodial lands to seek the protection of the holders of great fiefs. At the same time the immunities, or exemptions from payments and from the king's jurisdiction, were multiplied. Thus the royal authority was recognized by neither the powerful nor the weak.

The Northmen took advantage of these disorders. They landed along the coasts, ascended the rivers and sacked the cities. In 845 they pillaged the Abbey of Saint Germain des Près at the very gates of Paris. Yearly they became more rapacious. Charles the Bald paid them money to go away, thereby insuring their speedy return. Only Robert the Strong, who as duke of France held the country between the Seine and the Loire, offered energetic resistance. This Robert, ancestor of the Capetian dynasty, many times defeated the invaders and died fighting these pirates.

**Deposition of Charles the Fat. Seven Kingdoms.** — Louis II the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald, and his sons,

Louis III and Carloman, had miserable reigns. They died childless and the crown was offered to Charles the Fat, the son of Louis the German. He had united Germany and bore the title of emperor. The empire of Charlemagne was thus reconstituted for a brief time. But it was only the shadow of a great past. Emperor though he was, Charles could not repulse the Northmen who besieged Paris. The city was saved by Eudes, a reputed son of Robert the Strong.

Disgusted at the cowardice of the king, the Germans deposed him at the diet of Tribur (887). Seven kingdoms were formed from the fragments of the empire: Italy, Germany, Lorraine, France, Navarre and two Burgundies. Besides, Brittany and Aquitaine were independent in fact if not in law. The imperial crown remained in Italy, where petty sovereigns wrangled over it among themselves.

**Eudes and the last Carlovingians** (887–987). — Despite the opposition of the nobles, the brave Count Eudes occupied the throne. His premature death in 898 caused the accession of Charles III the Simple, a posthumous son of Louis the Stammerer.

Under this prince the incursions of the Northmen ceased, because, after having seized booty so long, they now seized the country itself. The treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte ceded to Rollo, their terrible chief, the country between the Andelle and the ocean with the hand of the king's daughter and the title of duke. In return he paid homage and became a Christian (911). Neustria, henceforth called Burgundy, became prosperous under the rule of this active prince. Charles, whose surname indicates his feebleness, was deposed in 922 and died in captivity in the tower of Péronne. The nobles elected in his stead Robert, Duke of France, and afterwards his son-in-law Raoul, Duke of Burgundy. In 935 another Carlovingian king appeared in Louis IV d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, whom Hugh the Great, Duke of France, twice seated on the throne and twice overthrew. His son, Lothaire, succeeded him (954), but was reduced to the possession of the single city of Laon. On his deathbed he entreated Hugh Capet, Duke of France, to protect his son Louis V. The latter reigned only one year. Hugh Capet was proclaimed king in an assembly of the principal bishops and nobles of north-

ern France. Two important factors of this enthronement must be noted. They are, that the Capetians had the Church for an ally from the very beginning, and that the crown, now united to a great fief, could thenceforth defend itself unaided.

## VII

### THE THIRD INVASION

**The New Invasion.** — The invasion which assailed the second Western Empire four centuries after the Germans had destroyed the first or Western Roman Empire, was a powerful cause in the dissolution of the Carlovingian monarchy. The movement of attack proceeded from three points, from the north, south and east, and was so prolonged toward the west as to envelop the whole empire. The Northmen were the first to appear.

**The Northmen in France.** — The Franks, after attaining the western limits of Gaul, had voltefaced and swept back from west to east the floods of men who had poured upon the Roman provinces. Then they undertook to subjugate Thuringia, Bavaria and Saxony. Their foes retreated toward the north to the Cimbrian and Scandinavian peninsulas, where dwelt populations of their own blood. The Northmen, restrained by the military organization which Charlemagne had given his eastern frontier, and by the Slavs who occupied the country of the Oder, found everything before them shut up except the sea. So they launched upon the water, "the path of the Swans." Familiar with its tempests, the vikings or children of the fiords were daunted by no peril. "The hurricane bears us on," they said, "wherever we wish to go." At first coasting along the shores for pillage and slaughter, they gradually established themselves at favorable points and thence roamed all over the country.

In this way they took possession of the Walcheren Islands at the mouth of the Scheldt, and of other places at the mouths of the Rhine, Seine and Loire. In 840 they burned Rouen. Three years later they pillaged Nantes, Saintes and Bordeaux. Repeatedly they ravaged the outskirts of Paris, sacked Tours, Orleans and Toulouse, and reached the Mediterranean. A royal edict ordered the counts and vassals to repair the castles and build new ones.

Soon the country was well fortified. The invaders, checked at every step, began to wish to settle in some safe and fertile spot. In 911 Neustria was assigned them. Their devastations, continued almost a century, had prepared the way for feudalism.

**The Northmen Danes in England.** — The Northmen had robbed France and the Netherlands of both security and property. From England they took her independence besides. In 827 the Saxon Heptarchy formed but one monarchy under Egbert the Great. He repulsed the first Danes who landed upon his shores. After his death they occupied Northumberland, East Anglia and Mercia. Alfred the Great (871) arrested their progress and gave his kingdom an organization, the main features of which have been preserved. These are: division of the country into counties; dispensation of justice by twelve freeholders as a jury; decision of general affairs by the wittenagemot or assembly of the wise, aided by a half-elective, half-hereditary monarchy. Athelstane, one of his successors, vanquished the Danes "on the day of the great fight" and drove them from England. But they soon reappeared led by Olaf, king of Norway, and Swein or Sueno, king of Denmark, who carried off enormous booty. Gold not proving an effectual means of getting rid of them, Ethelred devised a vast plot. All the Danes who were settled in England were massacred on Saint Brice's day in 1002. Swein avenged his countrymen by expelling Ethelred and assuming the title of king of England in 1013. Edmund II Ironsides fought heroically but in vain against Canute, who succeeded Swein, and the whole country recognized the Danish sway. Canute was at first cruel, but grew milder. By wedding Emma, the widow of Ethelred, he paved the way for the union of the victors and the vanquished. He made wise laws or enforced those of Alfred the Great and prevented the Danes from oppressing the Saxons. To Scandinavia he sent Saxon missionaries who hastened the fall of expiring paganism. In 1027 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where in behalf of all England he assumed the obligation of paying each year one penny per hearth to the Pope. This contribution was called Peter's Pence.

Thus in France the Northmen took only a province. In England they seized a kingdom. On both sides of the Channel these robbers showed the same aptitude for civili-

zation, and the fierce heathen became excellent Christians. Rollo in Normandy was a stern judicial officer and Canute deserved the name of the Great.

**The Northmen in the Polar Regions and in Russia.** — The larger number of these hardy adventurers descended toward the south where they found wine and gold. Others worked their way through the Baltic to the very end of the Gulf of Finland, or climbed above the North Cape, for the joy of seeing the unknown and doing the impossible. In 861 they made their appearance in the Faröe Islands; in 870 in Iceland, and a century later in Greenland whence they reached Labrador and Vinland, the country of the Vine. Thus they were in America four or five centuries before Columbus! Their exiles, the Varangians, penetrated at the same time by way of the Baltic to the centre of the Slavs, and sold their services to the powerful city of Novgorod, which their leader, Rurik, subjugated (862). He assumed the title of grand prince, and began the state which has become the Russian Empire.

As the Arabs, when they emerged eastward and westward from their parched peninsula, had spread from India to Spain without quitting their native southern regions, so the Northmen, starting from their sterile peninsulas, reached America and the Volga and still remained in northern latitudes. The former had in certain respects an original civilization. The latter, mastered by Christianity, were in no way different from the rest of the Christian nations.

**The Saracens and the Hungarians.** — The Saracens were the Arabs of Africa who, leaving their brethren to conquer provinces, took the sea for their domain and ravaged all the shores of the western Mediterranean. Tunis, or the ancient province of Carthage, was their point of departure. As early as 831 they subdued Sicily and passed over to the Great Land, as they called Italy. They seized Brindisi, Bari and Tarentum, repeatedly laid waste southern Italy and even ravaged the outskirts of Rome. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Isles belonged to them. They settled permanently in Provence at Fraxinet, which they retained until toward the close of the tenth century. They had posts in the defiles of the Alps to exact toll from commerce and pilgrimage. Thence their raids extended into the valleys of the Rhone and Po. This piracy was more terrible and more audacious than that organized in the sixteenth cen-

tury by Khaireddin Barbarossa, which France suppressed only in 1830.

In the valley of the Danube, through which came the Hungarians, the invasion had not ceased since the time of Attila. There the human streams had pressed upon each other like successive waves of the sea, driven on by the tempest. After the Huns came the Slavs who still remain there; then the Bulgarians, the Avars whom Charlemagne exterminated, the Khazars, the Petchenegs who have disappeared, and lastly a mixture of Hunnic and Ugrian tribes, which the Latins and the Greeks called Hungarii or Hungarians and who gave themselves the name of Magyars. Summoned by Arnulf, king of Germania, against the Slavs of Moravia, they quickly subjected the plains of the Theiss and of Dannonia. In 899 they ravaged Carinthia and Friuli. The following year they launched their bold horsemen on both sides of the Alps into the basin of the Po, the upper valley of the Danube, and even to the other side of the Rhine. Alsace, Lorraine and Burgundy were devastated. The hordes of the third invasion, the Northmen, Saracens and Hungarians, seemed to have appointed a meeting-ground in the heart of France and they left there an awful memory. Germany at last made mighty efforts to rid herself of these invaders. Henry the Fowler defeated them on the field of Merseburg (934), and his son Otto I slew, it is said, 100,000 at the battle of Augsburg (955). This disaster hurled them back into the country which they still inhabit.

The ruinous expeditions of the Magyars had the same result as those of the Northmen. In Italy the cities surrounded themselves with walls for the purpose of defence, just as the country districts of France bristled with castles, and the Italians reorganized their military forces, which enabled them to regain their municipal independence. Austria was in the beginning a margrave's fief, formed for military purposes against the Hungarians. The margravate of Brandenburg, in which Prussia originated, played the same part against the Slavs. These two immense territorial fortresses at last arrested the Eastern hordes in that westward march which had begun in the early periods of history. The Mongols in the thirteenth century and the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth, still obeying this primitive impulse, will make mere temporary inroads upon the Slavic world

and will be forced to halt at the frontiers of the Teutonic race. No more new peoples are to be received into the countries which formed the Western Roman Empire.

The invasion of the ninth century had as a consequence the foundation of new governing forces in Russia, Pannonia, Normandy and England. All these countries were situated on the outer verge of the ancient world. Within that ancient world its attacks had disturbed the states founded by the Germans, produced confusion and hastened the progress of feudal anarchy.

# VIII

## FEUDALISM

**Feudalism, or the Heredity of Offices and Fiefs.** — We have just seen how the empire was divided into kingdoms. The kingdoms are about to dissolve into seigniories. The great political masses are crumbling into dust.

The officers of the king, of whatever rank, under the last Carlovingians asserted the heredity of their offices or public duties as well as of their fiefs or land-grants. Hence was formed a hierarchy of possessors, peculiar in this respect that every parcel of land was a fief of some lord above the tenant and that every lord was a vassal recognizing some suzerain. Naturally in this hierachy the possessors or proprietors were unequal. Moreover, various concessions or exemptions had given these landed proprietors control of the public taxes and administration of the royal justice. Hence the king no longer was master of either lands or money or judicial rights. This system was called feudalism. It was first recognized by the edict of Kierry-sur-Oise (877), whereby Charles the Bald recognized the right of a son to inherit the fief or the office of his father.

One man became the vassal of another by the ceremony of homage and faith. That is to say, he declared himself the man of the new lord to whom he swore fidelity. The lord granted him the fief by investiture, often accompanied by some symbolic rite such as gift of a sod, a stone, or staff. Without mentioning the moral obligations of the vassal to defend and respect his lord, insure him deference from others and aid him by good counsel, he was bound by certain material obligations. These were: (1) Military service, a fundamental principle of this society which was unacquainted with permanent salaried armies. The number of men to be furnished on requisition of the lord and the length of service varied according to the fief, here sixty days, there forty, elsewhere twenty. (2) Obligation to

serve the suzerain in his court of justice and attend his sessions. (3) The aids or assistance, in some forms legal and obligatory, in others benevolent or voluntary. The legal assistance was due, when the lord was a prisoner and a ransom must be provided, when knighthood was conferred upon his eldest son, and when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage. Such assistance took the place of public taxes. Certain other services were required. These duties once rendered, the vassal became almost the master of his fief. He could enfeoff or let the whole or a part of it to vassals of inferior rank.

The suzerain also had his obligations. He could not arbitrarily and without sufficient cause deprive a vassal of his fief. He was bound to defend him if attacked and to treat him justly. Judgment by one's peers was the principle of feudal justice. The vassals of the same suzerain were equal among themselves. If the lord refused justice to his vassal, the latter could appeal to the superior suzerain. He even exercised at need the right of private war, a right of which the lords were very tenacious and which rendered feudalism a violent system, opposed to all pacific development of human society and injurious to commerce, agriculture and industry. This same principle caused the admission into legal procedure of the judicial combat in closed lists. The Truce of God, which forbade private wars between Wednesday evening and Monday morning, was an effort on the part of the Church to moderate the violence which it could not entirely prevent.

Jurisdiction did not appertain to all lords in the same measure. In France three degrees were recognized, high, low and intermediate. The first alone conferred the right of life and death. In general the largest fiefs possessed the most extensive jurisdiction. Among seigniorial rights we must note that of coining money, exercised at the advent of Hugh Capet by not less than 150 lords. Moreover, within the limits of his own fief each made the law. The capitularies of Charles the Bald are the last manifestations of public legislative power. Thenceforward to the time of Philip Augustus general laws no longer existed in France, being superseded by local customs. The clergy itself entered this system. The bishop, formerly the "defender of the city," often became its count and hence the suzerain of all the lords of his diocese. Moreover the

bishop or abbot, through donations made to his church or convent, received great possessions which he enfeoffed. This ecclesiastical feudalism became so powerful that in France and England it held more than one-fifth, and in Germany nearly one-third of all the land.

Below the warlike society of the lords was the toiling society of the villeins and serfs. The freemen had disappeared. The villeins, or free tenants, and the serfs cultivated the land for the lord under the shadow of the feudal keep around which they clustered, and which sometimes defended but more often oppressed them. The villein had only to pay his fixed rents like a farmer and to perform the least onerous forced labor. He could not be detached from the land which had been assigned him to cultivate, but he had the right to hold it as his own. As for the serfs, "The sire," says Pierre de Fontaine, "can take all that they have, can hold their bodies in prison whenever he pleases, and is forced to answer therefor only to God alone." In spite of this the condition of the serf was better than that of the slave in antiquity. He was regarded as a man. He had a family. The Church, which declared him a son of Adam, made him, before God at least, the equal of the proudest lords.

To sum up: the abandonment of every right to the lord, —such is the principle of feudal society. As royalty no longer fulfilled the office for which it was founded, protection could no longer be expected from either the law or the nominal head of the state, and was now demanded from the bishops, the barons and powerful persons. It was the sword which afforded this protection. Hence arose those interminable wars which broke out everywhere in feudal Europe, and which through their inevitable results of murder and pillage were the scourge of the period.

Nevertheless many persons admire those days which pressed so heavily upon the poor. They admit that commerce and industry had fallen very low, that social life seemed to have returned to elementary conditions, that there was much outrage and little security, that, despite the exhortations of the Church, in this miserable intellectual state passions were more brutal than in our age and vices as numerous. But, they say, the serf of the soil was happier than the serf of modern industry; competition did not rob him of his meagre pittance; setting aside the

chances of private war and brigandage, he was more assured of the morrow than are our laborers; his needs were limited, like his desires; he lived and died under the shadow of his bell-tower, full of faith and resignation. All this is true. Yet nature has not made man a plant to vegetate in the forest or an animal to be led by his appetites.

On many points the Middle Ages were inferior to antiquity. As to a few they were in advance. They made many men miserable, but they provided many asylums in the monasteries. Under the beneficent influence of Christianity the family was reconstituted. Through the necessity of depending upon one's self the soul gained vigor. Those lovers of battle recovered the sentiments of courage and honor which the Romans of the decline no longer knew. Though the state was badly organized, there existed for the vassal strong legal maxims, which through a thousand violations have come down to us: no tax can be exacted without the consent of the taxpayers; no law is valid unless accepted by those who have to obey it; no sentence is legitimate unless rendered by the peers of the accused. Lastly, in the midst of this society which recognized no claims but those of blood, the Church by the system of election asserted those of intelligence. Furthermore, by its God-man upon the cross and its doctrine of human equality, it was to the great inequalities of earth a constant intimation of what shall be carried into effect when the principle of religious law passes into civil law.

**Great French, German and Italian Fiefs.** — The feudal organization, which was complete only at the end of the eleventh century, reigned in all the provinces of the Carlovingian empire. Yet the great names of France, Germany and Italy survived, and great titles were borne by the so-called kings of those countries. Yet these were show kings, not real kings. They were mere symbols of the territorial unity which had vanished, and not genuine, active, powerful heads of nations. The Italian royalty disappeared early. The royalty of France fell very low. The crown of Germany, however, shed a brilliant light for two centuries after Otto I had restored the empire of Charlemagne. Yet the copy shrank in proportion as the model became more remote. Charlemagne reigned over fewer peoples than Constantine and Theodosius. The Ottos, the Henrys, the Fredericks,

reigned over less territory than Charlemagne and their authority was less unquestioned.

The king of France possessed the duchy of France, which had become a royal domain. Enclosing this territory on every side between the Loire, the ocean, the Scheldt, the upper Meuse and the Saône stretched vast principalities, whose princes rivalled him in wealth and power. These were the counties of Flanders, Anjou and Champagne, and the duchies of Normandy and Burgundy. Between the Loire and the Pyrenees lay the ancient kingdom of Aquitaine, divided into the four dominant fiefs of the duchies of Aquitaine and Gascony and the counties of Toulouse and Barcelona. These great feudatories, immediate vassals of the crown, were called peers of the king. To these lay peers, six ecclesiastical peers were added: the archbishop-duke of Reims, the bishop-dukes of Laon and Langres, and the three bishop-counts of Beauvais, Chalôns and Noyon. Among the secondary fiefs were reckoned not less than 100 counties and a still greater number of fiefs of inferior order. The kingdom of Arles included the three valleys of the Saône, Rhone and Aar.

The nominal boundaries of the kingdom of Germany were: on the west, the Meuse and Scheldt; on the north-west, the North Sea; on the north, the Eyder, the Baltic and the little kingdom of Slavonia; on the east, the Oder and the kingdoms of Poland and Hungary; on the south, the Alps. It comprised nine main territorial divisions: the vast duchy of Saxony, Thuringia, Bohemia, Moravia, the duchies of Bavaria and Carinthia, Alemannia or Suabia, Franconia and lastly Friesland on the shores of the North Sea.

The kingdom of Italy comprehended Lombardy, or the basin of the Po, with its great republics of Milan, Pavia, Venice and Genoa; the duchy or marquisate of Tuscany, the States of the Church; also the four Norman states, the principalities of Capua and Aversa and of Tarentum, the duchy of Pouille and Calabria, and the grand county of Sicily.

In Christian Spain we find in the centre the kingdom of Castile and Leon; in the west, the county of Portugal, dependent upon the crown of Castile; on the north and northeast, the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. In Great Britain are the kingdoms of England and Scotland and the

principality of Wales. Between the North Sea and the Baltic are the three Scandinavian states of Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Among the Slavs are the kingdoms of Slavonia on the Baltic, of Poland on the Vistula, the grand duchy of Russia with its multitude of divisions, and the duchy of Lithuania. In the year 1000 Pope Sylvester II sent a royal crown to Saint Stephen who had just converted the Hungarians. Soon Christian Europe is to rush in the direction of the Eastern Empire, from which the Arabs have stripped Africa and Egypt and on whose provinces of Syria and Asia Minor the Turks are encamped.

**Civilization from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century.** — The revival of letters under Charlemagne did not survive him. Hincmar, the great bishop of Reims, the monk Gottschalk, advocate of predestination, and his adversary, Joannes Scotus Erigena, still agitated burning questions. After them silence and thick darkness covered the tenth century. The physical like the moral wretchedness was extreme. So miserable was the world that mankind believed it would end in the year 1000. The future seeming so brief, buildings were no longer erected, and those existing were allowed to fall in ruin. After that fatal year was past, men began again to hope and live. Human activity awoke. Numerous churches were constructed. Sylvester II cast abroad in Europe the first intimation of the Crusade which was about to set the world in motion.

A literary movement awoke more powerful than that under Charlemagne. The vulgar tongues were already assuming their place at the side of the learned and universal ecclesiastical Latin. The latter was still employed in the convents, which rapidly multiplied. It continued as the medium of theology and of the grave discussions which began to resound. Lanfranc, abbot of Bec and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and his successor, Saint Anselm who composed the famous treatise of the *Monologium*, imparted fresh animation to the movement of ideas. The eleventh century had not closed when the fierce battle commenced between the realists and the nominalists in which Abelard took such brilliant part.

The vulgar tongues were as numerous as the newly formed nations. Teutonic idioms prevailed in Germany, the Scandinavian states and England. In Italy arose Italian, destined to attain perfection before the others. In France

was fashioned the Romance, already distinguished as the northern Romance or Walloon or language of oïl, and the southern Romance or Provençal or language of oc, which was also spoken in the valley of the Ebro.

The first literary use of the Romance was made by the poets of the time, the trouvères in the north, the troubadours in the south, and the jongleurs. The trouvère and troubadour invented and composed the poem which the jongleur recited. Sometimes the same person was both composer and reciter. They roamed from castle to castle, relieving by their songs the ennui of the manor. The trouvères generally composed chansons de gestes, epics of twenty, thirty or fifty thousand verses. They treated the subjects in cycles according to the period represented. First was the Carlovingian cycle with Charlemagne and his twelve peers as the heroes and the *Chanson de Roland* as its masterpiece. Then came the Amorican cycle with King Arthur, the champion of Breton independence, and the exploits of the knights of the Round Table. The principal poet of this theme is Robert Wace, with his *Roman de Brut*. To the third cycle belong all those ancient subjects which now take their place in popular poetry like a distant and confused prophecy of the Renaissance. These heroic lays are the poetry of feudalism and also of the chivalry which followed it.

The lords delighted in gathering their vassals around them. To some they confided services of honor as constable, marshal, seneschal, or chamberlain. The vassal brought his sons to the court of his suzerain, where as pages and esquires they were trained for knighthood. Into that exalted rank they were initiated by a ceremony, partly religious and partly military. The fast for twenty-four hours, the vigil, the bath, the accolade, the assumption of sword and spurs, were among its rites. To pray, to flee from sin, to defend the Church, the widow, the orphan, to protect the people, to make war honorably, to do battle for one's lady, to love one's lord, to pay heed to the wise, — such were the duties of the knight. The tournament was his diversion.

This new and original society not only produced scholasticism, the vulgar tongues, feudalism and chivalry, but also made innovations in art. To the Roman architecture, indifferently called Byzantine or Lombard and distinguished by a rounded arch supported on columns, succeeded a pointed architecture, wrongly termed gothic. The pointed arch, an

elementary and easier style than the rounded arch, belongs to all times and countries, but it was monopolized in the twelfth century and became the essential element in that new architecture which has imparted to mediæval cathedrals their imposing grandeur.

## IX

### THE GERMAN EMPIRE. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE

**Germany from 887 to 1056.** — While France was calling to the throne her native lords, Eudes and Hugh Capet, Germany, on the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), elected Arnulf, the bastard son of Carloman and a descendant of Charlemagne. As heir of the Carlovingian claims this prince received the homage of the kings of France, Trans-Jurane Burgundy, Arles and Italy. Finally he caused himself to be crowned king of Italy and emperor. Thereby he only gained an additional title. He repulsed several bands of Northmen and set against the Moravians the Hungarians, who were beginning to make as devastating raids through Europe as those of the northern pirates. With his son, Louis the Child, the German Carlovingian branch became extinct. Hence Germany began to choose sovereigns from different families, and election took root among German political customs at the very time when French royalty was becoming hereditary like the possession of a fief. Therefore the two royalties had a different experience in store. Conrad I was elected in 911. Under him began that conflict, which filled all the German Middle Ages, between the great feudatories and the Franconian emperor. He wished to weaken Saxony, the rival of Franconia, and to deprive it of Thuringia. Vanquished at Ehresburg by Duke Henry, he gained an advantage over the Duke of Lorraine whom he despoiled of Alsace, and over the governors of Suabia whom he beheaded.

After him the crown passed to the house of Saxony, where it remained for more than 100 years. Conrad on his death-bed had designated for his successor his former conqueror as the man most capable of defending Germany against the Hungarians. So Duke Henry was elected.

He brought order out of disorder and gave Germany definite boundaries. He forced every man above sixteen to

bear arms and founded fortresses on the frontiers. The great victory won by him near Merseburg (934) announced that the depredations of the Hungarians were near their end. His son, Otto I the Great, inflicted on them a decisive defeat at Augsburg (955), which compelled them to remain quiet in the country they still inhabit. The dukes of Franconia and Bavaria had rebelled and were supported by the French king, Louis IV. Otto defeated the rebels and penetrated France as far as Paris.

The restoration of the empire is the most important achievement of his reign. The last titular emperor, Beranger, had been assassinated. Otto wedded his queen, was proclaimed king of Italy at Milan and crowned emperor at Rome (962). He undertook to maintain the donations made the Holy See by Charlemagne, the Romans promising not to elect a Pope except in the presence of the emperor's envoys. By a single blow he thus restored the empire to the benefit of the kings of Germany, and founded a German domination over Italy. The southern part of the Italian peninsula remained in the possession of the Greeks. To obtain this territory without combat he secured the hand of the Princess Theophania for his son Otto. His successors, Otto II, Otto III and Henry II, were unable to retain the predominance which he had exercised. Under Otto III the tribune Crescentius tried to overturn the papal authority and restore the Roman republic. Under Henry II Italy gave to herself for a moment a national king.

In 1024 the imperial crown departed from the house of Saxony and entered that of Franconia. Conrad II compelled the king of Poland to recognize him as his suzerain, made prisoner the king of Bohemia and reunited to the empire the two Burgundies. The convention which he signed with the aged king of Arles is invoked by German writers to-day, as a claim on behalf of the present German Empire to the two valleys of the Saône and Rhone. In Italy Conrad ruined the Italian system of feudalism by his edict of 1037, which declared that all fiefs depended directly from the prince. His son, Henry III (1039), was the one emperor whose authority was best assured in Germany and Italy. He forced the king of Bohemia to pay tribute, restored to Alba, Royale, the banished king of Hungary, and received his homage. In Italy he dominated even the papacy.

**The Monk Hildebrand.** — A monk, the counsellor of many

Popes before he himself succeeded to the Holy See, proposed to deliver the papacy and Italy from German control. In 1059 Hildebrand caused a decree to be issued by Nicholas II, which announced that the election of the Popes should be made by the cardinal priests and cardinal bishops of the Roman territory; that the other clergy and the Roman people should then give their assent; that the emperor should retain the right of confirmation; and lastly, that in election a member of the Roman clergy should be preferred. Another decree forbade any ecclesiastic to receive the investiture of an ecclesiastical benefice from a layman. These decrees freed the Pope from dependence upon the emperor and placed all the temporal power of the Church in the hand of the pontiff thus emancipated.

**Gregory VII and Henry IV** (1073–1085).—In 1073 Hildebrand was elected Pope under the name of Gregory VII. The Pope was about to complete the work of the monk. His plans enlarged with his opportunity. Charlemagne and Otto the Great had rendered the Pope subordinate to themselves, and had placed the church within the state as the Greeks and Romans had done. But royalty, the central power, was declining throughout Europe because of the invading progress of the feudal system or the increasing local powers of the dukes, counts and barons. The clergy, on the other hand, had beheld popular faith and confidence in the Church increase in that same century. Its leader decided that the moment had come for restoring to those charged with the salvation of the soul the influence necessary for imparting the best direction to civil society, and for repressing moral disorders, violations of justice and all the causes of perdition. In a priest, such an ambition was great and legitimate. But had this attempt succeeded, the state in consequence would have been placed within the church. A sacerdotal autocracy would have formed to prevent all movement in the world, in thought, science and art.

Gregory VII desired four things. He wished to deliver the papal throne from German suzerainty; to reform the Church in its manners and discipline; to render it everywhere independent of the temporal power; and, lastly, to govern the laity, both peoples and kings, in the name and interest of their salvation. The first point was attained by the decree of Nicholas II and the refusal to submit the election of Popes to the imperial sanction. The second

object was favored by many acts of Gregory VII for the reformation of the clergy and the abolition of simony. To accomplish the third, the non-clerical princes had been forbidden to bestow, and the clergy to receive from their hands, the investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice. The last was to be brought about by the pontiff's haughty interference in the government of kingdoms.

In the attempt to render the Church independent of the empire, there arose between the two the famous so-called quarrel of investitures.

During the minority of Henry IV, all sorts of disorders had invaded the German priesthood. Gregory, imputing these scandals to the unhappy selection of prelates, called upon Henry to renounce the bestowal of ecclesiastical dignities and to appear at Rome to justify himself for his private conduct. The emperor retorted by having Gregory deposed by twenty-four bishops in the Synod of Worms (1076). Thereupon the Pope launched against him a bull of excommunication and forfeiture. The Saxons and Suabians, traditional enemies of the Franconian house, executed this sentence in the Diet of Tribur, which suspended the emperor from his functions, and threatened him with deposition if he did not become reconciled to Rome. Henry yielded. He hurried to Italy and sought the Pope in the castle of Canossa on the lands of the Countess Matilda, who was an adherent of the Holy See. Barefoot in the snow he waited three days for an audience with the pontiff. He retired, absolved but furious, and opened war. The battle of Volkshein, where his rival, Rodolph of Suabia, was slain by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine and bearer of the imperial standard, made him master of Germany (1080). He could then return to Italy in triumph. The Countess Matilda was despoiled of part of her possessions, Rome was captured and the bishop of Ravenna was appointed Pope as Clement III. Gregory himself would have fallen into the hands of the man he had so contemned, if the Normans who had just conquered southern Italy had not come to his aid. He died among them, saying, "Because I have loved justice and chastised iniquity, therefore I die in exile" (1085).

**Concordat of Worms** (1122). — Henry IV was victor, but the Church roused his own son against him and he perished miserably. Nevertheless it was this parricidal son, Henry V,

who put an end to the quarrel of investitures. The Concordat of Worms equably settled the dispute (1122). It assigned to the temporal sovereign, the emperor, the temporal investiture by the sceptre, and to the spiritual sovereign, the Pope, the spiritual investiture by the cross and ring. The plan of Gregory VII had only half succeeded, for the bond of vassalage was still unbroken which bound the clergy to the prince. But in its members, if not in its head, the church remained within the state.

As chief of the empire this same Henry inherited the fiefs of Countess Matilda and as her nearest relative her allodial property. Thus he became possessor of all her rich estates. The nearest approach to feudal power in the peninsula was thus annihilated. But the Franconian dynasty became extinct with this emperor (1125). Despite all the efforts of this house to weaken the general feudal system in Germany by conceding direct dependence on the crown to a host of petty seigniories and by raising many towns to the rank of imperial cities, it had tolerated the existence of several powerful vassals, and above all of the Welfs, dukes of Bavaria, and of the Hohenstaufens, dukes of Suabia. Thus Lothaire II (1125–1138) bore himself humbly in the presence of these princes. He was no less humble before the Pope who, when placing upon his head the imperial crown, claimed to confer it as a benefice.

**The Hohenstaufens.** — The house of Suabia ascended the throne with Conrad III. He obtained a firm footing by destroying the power of the Welfs through the spoliation of Henry the Proud, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. His unfortunate part in the second crusade and his death soon after his return prevented the completion of his work. But his son, Frederick I, Barbarossa, caused the imperial power once more to appear with brilliancy in Italy. Instead of the feudal system which no longer existed there, had arisen a medley of petty lordships and of cities organized into republics with their senates, consuls and general assemblies. This political system extended even to Rome, whence Arnaldo de Brescia expelled Pope Innocent II (1141). Frederick speedily destroyed this beginning of Italian independence and burned Arnaldo at the stake. But by making his authority too evident he alienated the republics and the Pope himself whom he had just restored. His despotic principles, enunciated at the Diet of Roncalia by the legists of the

Bolognese school, caused alarm. Milan revolted against his magistrates. He razed it to the ground and abandoned its ruins to the neighboring rival cities. Hardly had he returned to Germany, when the Lombard League was formed behind him. It was joined by Pope Alexander III, the Defender of Italian Liberty. Frederick, who marched hastily to destroy the coalition, was completely overthrown at Legnano (1176).

Seven years later the Treaty of Constance definitely regulated the quarrel between the empire and Italy, as the Concordat of Worms had regulated that between the empire and the papacy. The cities retained the rights which they had usurped. They could levy armies, protect themselves with fortifications, exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction within their boundaries and form confederations with one another. The emperor retained only the right of confirming their consuls by his legates and of placing a judge of appeals for certain causes in each city.

Barbarossa had not everywhere been so unsuccessful. The kings of Denmark and Poland acknowledged his suzerainty. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was deprived of his dominions. Foreign ambassadors attended the splendid diets convoked by the emperor, at the most celebrated of which, in Mayence, 40,000 knights appeared.

His son Henry succeeded (1190). As the husband of Constance, daughter and heiress of Roger II, king of Sicily, he established the house of Suabia in southern Italy. Thus an equivalent was gained for loss of authority in the north, and the Holy See was enveloped on all sides. Innocent III (1198–1216) resolved to avert this new danger. He had excommunicated the kings of France, Aragon and Norway for transgression of the moral code, and had set another portion of Christendom again in motion by preaching the fourth crusade. When he beheld kings abase themselves before him and nations rise at his voice, the Pope naturally believed himself strong enough to humble the ambitious house which persistently cherished the memory of imperial supremacy over Rome. In Germany he supported Otto of Brunswick against Philip of Suabia, and the fierce struggle of the Guelphs, or partisans of the Church, against the Ghibellines, or partisans of the empire, began. Displeased with Otto, who when rid of his rival made the same claims upon Italy, Innocent turned again to the house of Suabia

and caused the young Frederick II, son of Henry VI, to be recognized as emperor on condition of his abandoning the Two Sicilies. But this prince, a lover of art and letters and a man of easy character, retained those provinces where was his favorite residence. In his palaces at Naples, Messina and Palermo, he and his chancellor, Pierre des Vignes, vigorously organized his Italian kingdom. To possess a constant defence against the thunders of the Church, he engaged an army of Saracens in his service.

The Pope beheld with affright the firm grip of this German upon Italy. In the south, Frederick held his Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In the centre he enjoyed the possessions of the Countess Matilda. In the north his title of emperor conferred both influence and rights. To remove the obnoxious ruler to a distance, the Pope ordered him to take the cross. When Frederick hesitated, he threatened him with an anathema if he did not fulfil the vow he had taken. Frederick set out on the crusade, but he did not fight. A treaty with the sultan of Egypt threw open to him the gates of the Holy City (1228). He crowned himself king of Jerusalem and then hastened to return. His absence had afforded Gregory IX, the energetic old man who then occupied the throne of Saint Peter, time to reorganize the Lombard League, to persuade the young prince Henry to rebel against his father and to hurl an adventurer with an army upon the kingdom of Naples. Frederick overcame all his adversaries. The defeat of the Lombards at Corte Nuova seemed to place Italy at his feet.

The Pope alone did not yield. He issued a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, and offered the imperial crown to Robert of Artois, brother to the king of France. Louis IX refused this proffer to his family, and reproached the Pope with wishing "to trample all sovereigns together with the emperor under his feet." Gregory then sought the support of a council which he convoked in the church of Saint John Lateran. At Melloria the vessels of Frederick defeated the Genoese fleet, which was carrying the Fathers to the council, and two cardinals together with bishops and abbots were captured. Gregory died of grief. His successor, Innocent IV, escaped from Rome in disguise, assembled at Lyons a council which excommunicated Frederick II, and caused a crusade against him to be preached. When the tidings was told the emperor, he

seized his crown, planted it more firmly on his head and exclaimed, "It shall not fall until rivers of blood have flowed." He appealed to the sovereigns of Europe: "If I perish, you all perish." He hurled his Saracens upon central Italy while his ally, Eccelino de Romano, the tyrant of Padua, fought and butchered in the north. But the cities everywhere rose at the call of the priests and monks. From one end of the peninsula to the other, the Guelphs flew to arms in behalf of the Holy Father who for his own freedom needed that Italy also be free. In vain did Frederick humble himself. He offered to abdicate, to go and die in the Holy Land, to divide his heritage on condition that it should be left to his children. Innocent remained immovable, and pursued the annihilation of "that race of vipers." The struggle was becoming still more envenomed when the emperor died suddenly (1250). His death heralded the fall of German domination in Italy and the beginning in the peninsula of a new period, that of independence.

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## X

### THE CRUSADES IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST

**The First Crusade in the East** (1096–1099). — During the Middle Ages there were two worlds, that of the Gospel and that of the Koran, the one in the north and the other in the south. At their points of contact in Spain and toward Constantinople they had long been engaged in conflict. At the end of the eleventh century the two religions grappled, and their encounter is called the crusades.

Mussulman Asia had passed from the power of the Arabs into that of the Seldjuk Turks. Under Alp Arslan (1063) and Malek Shah (1075) they had conquered Syria, Palestine and Asia Minor. At the death of Malek Shah his empire was divided into the sultanates of Syria, Persia and Kerman, to which must be added that of Roum in Asia Minor. The empire of Constantinople, the bulwark of Christendom, had wavered at this new invasion. For a time it seemed hardly able to resist its enemies, despite the vigor it manifested under several emperors of the Macedonian and Comnenan dynasties and the victories it had gained over the Persians, Bulgarians, Russians and Arabs.

At the very beginning of the century, Pope Sylvester II had suggested to the Western peoples the idea of delivering the Holy Sepulchre (1002). Pilgrimages became more frequent. Pilgrims by thousands visited the sacred places and on their return inflamed Europe with stories of outrages and cruelties endured from the Mussulmans. Gregory VII took up the project of Sylvester, and Urban II put it into execution. At Piacenza he convened a council where ambassadors appeared from Constantinople. At a second council at Clermont in Auvergne, an innumerable multitude assembled. Supporting his own majestic eloquence by the popular eloquence of Peter the Hermit, who had just returned from the Holy Land, Urban carried the immense host captive. With the cry "God wills it!" each man fastened to his garments the red cross, the emblem of the

crusade (1095). Peasants, villagers, old men, women and children set out, pell-mell, under the lead of Peter the Hermit and of a petty noble, Walter the Penniless. Almost the whole multitude perished in Hungary, and those who reached Constantinople fell under the cimeter in Asia Minor.

In the following year the crusade of the nobles started, — more prudent, better organized, more military. Four great armies, composed chiefly of Frenchmen, departed by three different routes. Those under Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Bourg and Baldwin of Flanders followed the track of Peter the Hermit. Those under Raymond, Count of Toulouse, passed through Lombardy and Slavonia. The rest, commanded by Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William I of England, Stephen of Blois and Hugh the Great of Vermandois went to Brindisi to join the Italian Normans, and thence crossed the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thrace. These 600,000 men were to meet at Constantinople.

With distrust the Emperor Alexis received into his capital guests so uncouth as the warriors of the West. As soon as possible he had them transported beyond the Bosphorus. They first laid siege to Nicæa at the entrance to Asia Minor, but allowed the Greeks to plant their banner on the walls when the city had been forced to surrender. Kilidj Arslan, the sultan of Roum, tried to arrest their march, but was vanquished at Dorylæum (1097). On entering arid Phrygia hunger and thirst decimated the invaders. Nearly all the horses perished. Bitter dissensions already divided the leaders. Nevertheless Baldwin who led the vanguard took possession of Edessa on the upper Euphrates, and the bulk of the army captured Tarsus and arrived before Antioch. The siege was long and the sufferings of the invaders were cruel. At last the city opened its gates to the intrigues of Bohemond, who caused himself to be appointed its prince; but the besiegers were besieged in their turn by 200,000 men who had been brought up by Kerboga, the lieutenant of the caliph of Bagdad. By a marvellous victory the Christians cut their way out and marched at last upon Jerusalem, which they entered on July 15, 1099, after a siege no less distressing than that of Antioch.

Godfrey was elected king, but would accept only the title of defender and baron of the Holy Sepulchre, "refus-

ing to wear a crown of gold on the spot where the King of kings had worn a crown of thorns." The conquest was assured by the victory of Ascalon over an Egyptian army which had come to recapture Jerusalem.

The majority of the crusaders returned home. The little kingdom of Jerusalem organized for defence and gave itself a constitution in accordance with feudal principles, which were thus transported ready made into Asia. Godfrey of Bouillon caused the Assizes of Jerusalem to be drawn up, a code which gives a complete picture of the feudal system. There were established as fiefs the principalities of Edessa and Antioch, afterward increased by the county of Tripoli and the marquisate of Tyre, and the lordships of Nablous, Jaffa, Ramleh and Tiberias. The country was subjected to three judicial authorities: the court of the king, of the viscount of Jerusalem, and the Syrian tribunal for natives. The defence of the state was committed to two great military institutions: the Order of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, founded by Gérard de Martigues in 1100, and that of the Templars, founded in 1148 by Hugues de Payens. Through the influence of these institutions the kingdom of Jerusalem continued its conquests under the first two successors of Godfrey, Baldwin I (1100–1118) and Baldwin II (1118–1131). Cæsarea, Ptolemaïs, Byblos, Beyrout, Sidon and Tyre were captured. But after these two reigns discord brought about decline and Noureddin, sultan of Syria, seized Edessa whose inhabitants he put to the sword (1144).

**Second and Third Crusades** (1147–1189). — This bloody disaster induced Europe to renew the crusade. Saint Bernard roused Christendom by his eloquent appeals. In the great assembly of Vézelay Louis VII, who wished to expiate the death of 1300 persons burned by him in the church of Vitry, his wife, Eleanor of Guyenne and a throng of great vassals and barons assumed the cross. The emperor of Germany, Conrad III, was the first to set out. He reached the heart of Asia Minor, but losing his whole army in the defiles of the Taurus returned almost alone to Constantinople, where Louis VII had just arrived. The latter was no more fortunate, though following the coast-line so as to avoid the dangerous solitudes of the interior. In Cilicia he abandoned the mass of pilgrims, who fell under the arrows of the Turks, and with

his nobles embarked on Greek ships, arrived at Antioch, and then at Damascus which the crusaders besieged in vain. He brought back from this expedition only his fatal divorce.

The capture of Jerusalem (1187) by Saladin, who had united Egypt and Syria under his sceptre, provoked the third crusade. The Pope imposed on all lands, including even those which belonged to the Church, a tax called Saladin's tithe. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France and Richard Cœur de Lion of England, the three most powerful sovereigns of Europe, set out with large armies (1189). Barbarossa reached Asia by way of Hungary and Constantinople and had arrived in Cilicia, when he was drowned in the Selef. Nearly the whole of his army was destroyed. Philip and Richard made a more prosperous journey by a new route, the sea. The former embarked at Genoa, the latter at Marseilles. They put into port in Sicily and began to quarrel. Richard halted again at Cyprus to depose a usurper, Isaac Comnenus, and rejoined Philip under the walls of Saint Jean d'Acre, which the crusaders besieged. They wasted there more than two years, wholly engrossed in feats of chivalry against the Saracens and in quarrels with each other. Philip found these discords a pretext to return to France. Richard, who remained in Palestine, was unable to recapture Jerusalem. On his way back a tempest wrecked his ship on the Dalmatian coast. He wished to cross Germany and regain England overland. Leopold, Duke of Austria, whose banner he had caused to be contemptuously cast into the trenches of Saint Jean d'Acre, kept him in prison until he paid an enormous ransom.

**Fourth Crusade** (1202). **Latin Empire of Constantinople** (1204–1261). — Innocent III could not resign himself to leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the infidels. He caused a fourth crusade to be preached by Foulques, curé of Neuilly, who persuaded many nobles of Flanders and Champagne to assume the cross. Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders, and Boniface II, Marquis of Montferrat, were the leaders. The crusaders sent envoys to Venice to ask for ships. Of this embassy Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the historian of that crusade, was a member. Venice first secured payment in hard cash, and then exacted of the crusaders that they should capture for her the stronghold of Zara, which be-

longed to the king of Hungary. Already once diverted from its religious purpose, the crusade was again turned aside by Alexis, the son of a deposed Greek emperor, who offered them immense rewards if they would reinstate his father. They placed him and his father for a time upon the throne. The great capital was then a prey to anarchy. Forgetting Jerusalem, the original object of their march, they seized Constantinople for themselves and parcelled out the whole empire as booty. Baldwin was appointed emperor. The Venetians, seizing one quarter of Constantinople, most of the islands of the Archipelago and the best harbors, dubbed themselves "lords of a quarter and half a quarter" of the Greek Empire. The Marquis of Montferrat became king of Thessalonica. The Asiatic provinces were given to the Count of Blois. A lord of Corinth, a duke of Athens and a prince of Achaia were created. Some Greek princes of the Comnenan family retained a few fragments of the empire, such as the principalities of Trebizond, Napoli of Argolis, Epirus and Nicæa. The Latin Empire of Constantinople lasted fifty-seven years, and was then overthrown by the Greeks, and the Latins expelled.

**Last Crusades** (1229–1270). **Saint Louis.** — Jerusalem had not been delivered. The barons of the Holy Land constantly implored the aid of Christendom. Andrew II of Hungary led a fifth but fruitless crusade against Egypt. The sixth was commanded by Frederick II, who took advantage of the terror with which the approach of Tartar hordes inspired Malek Kamel, and obtained from him without combat a truce for ten years, together with the restitution of the Holy City, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Sidon. He even crowned himself king of Jerusalem (1229). Hardly had he taken his departure when the Turkomans, fleeing before the Mongols of Genghis Khan, hurled themselves upon Syria, at Gaza cut in pieces an army of crusaders and seized the Holy City. At this news Pope Innocent IV tried to arouse Europe and launch it against the infidels. But the crusading spirit, waxing weaker day by day, found no echo save in the soul of Saint Louis, king of France. During an illness he made a vow to go and deliver Jerusalem. Despite the entreaties of his whole court and even of his mother, the devout Blanche of Castile, he embarked at Aigues Mortes with a powerful army (1248). He wintered at Cyprus. The

crusaders had comprehended that the keys of Jerusalem were in Cairo. When spring came they set sail for Egypt and mastered Damietta. But their sluggishness ruined everything. Insubordination burst out in the army. Debauches produced epidemics. Delayed a month at the canal of Aschmoum, after crossing it they suffered the disaster of Mansourah through the imprudence of Robert of Artois. During the retreat they were decimated by the pest and harassed by the Mussulmans who captured their king, Saint Louis. He paid a million gold besants as ransom, then crossed over to Palestine and remained there three years, employing his influence in maintaining harmony and his resources in fortifying the cities.

He had managed this great expedition very badly. Sixteen years later he attempted another. In 1270 his brother Charles of Anjou, king of the Two Sicilies, persuaded him that the Tunisian Mussulmans must be attacked, whose threats made him anxious as to the fate of the Sicilian kingdom. Under the walls of Tunis the Christians encountered famine and pestilence from which Saint Louis died. The princes who had accompanied him were paid to withdraw, and Charles of Anjou made a treaty advantageous to his Sicilian subjects. This crusade was the last.

**Results of the Crusades in the East.** — Those great expeditions, in which France played the principal part, devoured uncounted multitudes and failed in their object. The Holy Land remained in the hands of the infidels. Still Europe and Asia were brought closer together. In Europe itself, the Christian nations formed relations, and in each country all classes of the population became somewhat united. The crusades developed commerce and enlarged the horizon of thought. They opened the East to Christian travellers and to the merchants of Marseilles, Barcelona, Pisa, Genoa and Venice. To manufactures they revealed new processes and to the soil new plants such as the mulberry, maize and sugar-cane. Feudalism was shaken by the gaps made in its ranks, and by the forced sale of lands to which many crusaders had recourse to obtain the money requisite for the journey. The communal movement derived greater strength, and the enfranchisement of the serfs received a broader interpretation. Finally, the crusades gave birth to the Knights Templars and to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem who de-

fended the Holy Land, as well as to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who soon quitted the East to subdue and convert the pagans on the shores of the Baltic. Heraldry as a means of distinguishing individuals and companies was a product of the crusades.

The new religious orders which arose were an effect of the religious movement of which the crusades were themselves the consequence, and the mendicant friars are to be placed beside the soldier monks. The Franciscans who gave rise to the Recollets, the Cordeliers, and the Capucins, date from 1215; the Dominicans, or Jacobins, from 1216. Removed from the control of the bishops, they were the army of the Holy See. Possessing nothing, living on alms, they roamed the world over to carry the Gospel wherever a too wealthy clergy no longer carried it, amid the poor, along the highways, at the cross-roads and in the public squares. The bishops disputed the right of the Pope to grant to the mendicant friars the privilege of preaching and filling the functions of parish priests. To them Saint Thomas Aquinas replied: "If a bishop can delegate his powers in his diocese, the Pope has the right to do the same in Christendom." It will be seen that ultramontanism is not a thing of yesterday. It is not Christian in its inception, for the Gospel knows it not; but it is the fundamental principle and the necessary logic of Roman Catholicism.

**Crusades of the West.** — In the East the Crusades failed. In the West they succeeded; for they founded the two great states of Prussia and Spain and accomplished the political unity of France.

In the interval between the first and second crusades, the burghers of Bremen and Lubeck founded in the Holy Land a hospital under the charge of Germans for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen. Everything at Jerusalem was taking on a religious and military form. The attendants of this hospital were transformed into an armed corporation, called the Teutonic Order, which speedily acquired great possessions, so that its chief was raised by Frederick II to the rank of prince of the empire. To this order a regent of Poland in 1230 intrusted the task of conquering and converting the Borussi or Prussians between the Niemen and the Vistula. They were successful in this undertaking and built the fortresses of Königsburg and Marienburg to overawe the defeated tribe. The Knights of

Christ, or Brothers of the Sword, subjugated the neighboring regions at the same time. When they united with the Teutonic Order, Prussia, Esthonia, Livonia and Courland, hitherto barbarous and pagan, were attached to the European community. Until the fifteenth century the Order exercised a preponderating power in the north. In the sixteenth century its Grand Master secularized this ecclesiastical principality, which then fell to the Electors of Brandenburg.

The crusade against the heathen of the Baltic caused civilization to germinate in a savage country. The crusade which Simon de Montfort directed against the Albigenses stifled civilization in a rich and prosperous region.

The population of southern France was the mixed offspring of different races. There religious opinions had sprung up which differed greatly from the prevailing faith. The people were called Albigenses from their capital, Albi. Innocent III resolved to stamp out this nest of heresy. To Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, he sent the monk Pierre de Castelnau as a papal legate to demand the expulsion of the heretics, but he obtained no satisfaction. Raymond was then excommunicated (1207), whereupon he employed threats. One of his knights assassinated the legate at a ford of the Rhone. The monks of Citeaux at once preached a crusade of extermination. The same indulgences were promised as for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the perils were less and the profit more sure, men rushed against the Albigenses in crowds. Among their assailants were the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers, Auxerre and Geneva, the bishops of Reims, Sens, Rouen and Autun and many other dignitaries. Simon de Montfort, a petty noble from the vicinity of Paris, ambitious, fanatical and cruel, was the chief commander. The war was merciless. At Béziers 30,000 persons were butchered and everywhere else in proportion. Raymond VI was defeated at Castelnaudary and Pedro II, king of Aragon, was slain at the battle of Muret (1213). The Council of the Lateran bestowed the fiefs of the Count of Toulouse upon Simon de Montfort. Southern France was crushed by the French of the north. The brilliant civilization of those provinces was smothered by rude hands. Like a funereal and ever-menacing spectre, the tribunal of the Inquisition established itself on the blood-stained ruins, a tribunal that has slain so

many human beings without succeeding in destroying liberty of thought.

Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, came finally to take part in this crusade. In their misery these people of Languedoc had bethought themselves of the king of France. Montpellier surrendered to him. When Simon de Montfort was slain at the siege of Toulouse, his son ceded to Louis IX (1229) the provinces which the Pope had given his father, but which he could not retain amid the universal execration of his subjects. Thus neither Montfort nor his race profited from this great iniquity. The entire political benefit of the crusade accrued to the house of France, which had at first remained a stranger to it.

When Charles Martel and Pepin the Short expelled the Arabs from France, they were satisfied with driving them over the Pyrenees into the Iberian peninsula. There Mussulmans and Christians found themselves constantly facing each other. Thus the history of Spain through the Middle Ages is that of a crusade six centuries long. After the battle of Xeres in 711, Pelayo and his comrades took refuge in the Asturias, behind the Cantabrian Pyrenees, where Gihon was their first capital. Oviedo became their capital in 760, when they had advanced a step toward the south. Still later it was Leon whose name the kingdom appropriated. Charlemagne protected them. From the Marches, which he founded north of the Ebro, emerged the Christian states of Navarre and Barcelona, between which the lords of Aragon and the counts of Castile founded fiefs which were to become mighty kingdoms. So along the north of Spain there was a series of Christian states, buttressed upon the mountains like fortresses, yet advancing in battle array toward the south. At the end of the ninth century Alphonso the Great, king of Oviedo, had already attained and passed the Douro. In the tenth century the caliphate of Cordova showed fresh vigor. The Christians fell back in turn before the victorious sword of Abderrahman III, who defeated them at Simancas. Likewise they were worsted by the famous Almanzor, who wrested from them all the places on the banks of the Ebro and Douro including Leon itself. But when this victor of fifty battles had himself suffered defeat at Calatanazor (998), the power of the caliphate fell with him. In the eleventh century the caliphate of Cordova was broken and the Christians drew closer together. San-

cho III, king of Navarre, about 1000, acquired Castile by marriage and gave it together with the title of king to his second son, Ferdinand, who married a daughter of the king of Leon (1035). In the same manner he erected the county of Jacca or Aragon into a kingdom for his third son, Ramiro II, while the eldest, Garcias, inherited Navarre.

Thus four Christian kingdoms were founded and united by family alliances. Three, Navarre, Castile and Aragon, belonged to the sons of Sancho. The fourth, Leon, remained separate, but the male line of the descendants of Pelayo becoming extinct, the Council of the Asturias gave the crown to Ferdinand, thereby uniting Leon and Castile (1037). Internal affairs caused the Spaniards to forget for a time their struggle against the Moors, but when the holy war became popular in Europe Alphonso VI began again to carry forward the cross. In 1085 he seized Toledo, which once more became the capital and metropolis as it had been under the Visigoths. Henceforth the Christians, who had set out from the Asturias, were established in the heart of the peninsula. Five years later Henry of Burgundy, great grandson of Robert king of France, who had distinguished himself at the taking of Toledo, took possession of Oporto at the mouth of the Douro, which was erected for him into a county of Portugal by Alphonso. Almost simultaneously the famous Cid Rodrigo de Rivar, the hero of Spanish romance, advancing from victory to victory along the Mediterranean, seized Valencia (1094). At last in 1118 Alphonso I, king of Aragon, won a capital as king of Castile by mastering Saragossa.

The Arabs, enervated, divided and consequently vanquished, called successively to their aid two hordes of African Moors. These were the Almoravides and Almohades, sectaries who claimed to simplify the religion of Mohammed. The former, summoned in 1086 by Aben Abed king of Seville, arrived under the leadership of their chief Yusuf, the founder of Morocco (1069), cut in pieces the Christian army at Zalaca and repaid themselves for this service at the expense of those who had called them thither. They even recaptured Valencia on the death of the Cid (1099), took possession of the Balearic Isles and in 1108 at Ucles won over Alphonso VI a battle as sanguinary as that of Zalaca. There however their successes ended. Toledo repulsed them many times. Alphonso, son of Henry of

Burgundy, who assumed before the combat the title of king of Portugal, won a complete victory over them at Iurique (1139), which rendered him master of the banks of the Tagus and of several places beyond that river.

The Almohades did not come from Morocco until the middle of the following century. When they made their appearance in 1210, 400,000 strong, all Europe took alarm. Pope Innocent III caused a crusade to be preached for the succor of the Spanish Christians. The Spanish kings formed a coalition and destroyed their enemies at the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which ended the great invasions from Africa. This achievement had been largely aided by the Spanish military Orders of Alcantara, Calatrava and Saint James of Castile, and by the Portuguese Order of Evora.

The domination of the Almohades had finally ended in bloody anarchy. Cordova, Seville, Murcia and many other places fell into the power of the king of Castile. Meanwhile Jayme I, the Conqueror, king of Aragon, subjugated the kingdom of Valencia and the Balearic Islands (1244), and Portugal, regaining the province of Algarve in 1270, assumed its definite territorial form. At the close of the thirteenth century the Moors possessed only the little kingdom of Granada, which was completely surrounded by the sea and by the possessions of the king of Castile. But in this contracted space, recruited by their coreligionists whom the Christians expelled from the conquered cities, they maintained themselves with a vigor which deferred their ruin for two centuries. Occupied with foreign affairs, the Spaniards suspended the holy war until 1492.

The crusade of Jerusalem failed though it contributed general results to the civilization of the Middle Ages. The crusade of Spain, without consequence so far as the social state of Europe was then concerned, changed the face of that peninsula and reacted in the sixteenth century upon modern Europe. It wrested the country from the Moors to give it to the Christians. The little kingdom of Portugal supposed that it was pursuing the crusade beyond the seas when it discovered the Cape of Good Hope. In that war of eight centuries' duration, the kings of Castile and Aragon developed an ambition which impelled them as well as their subjects to many enterprises. Their military habits were to make them the mercenaries of Charles V and Philip

II, rather than the peaceful and active heirs of the manufactures, the commerce and the brilliant civilization of the Arabs.

Why did these two crusades result so differently? Simply because of distance. Palestine adjoined the land of Mecca. Spain was in sight of Rome. Jerusalem, at the extreme limit of the Catholic world, was bound to remain in the hands of the Mussulmans, just as Toledo, the last stage of Islam in the West, was bound to fall into the hands of the Christians. Geography explains much in history.

# XI

## SOCIETY IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

**Progress in the Cities.** — Since the fall of the Carlovingian empire three facts have been noted: the establishment of feudalism, the struggle between the Pope and the emperor for the control of Italy and the domination of the world, and lastly, the crusades. A fourth fact, resulting from the other three, in its turn had serious consequences. This was the reconstitution of the class of freemen. Let us indicate the character of this fact before returning to the special study of the states.

As early as 987 the villeins of Normandy had risen. But feudalism was still too strong and they were crushed. Although the nobles retained the control of the country districts, the villeins in the cities became bold and audacious behind their walls, and because of their numbers. In 1067 the city of Mans took arms against its lord. This was the beginning of that communal movement, which from the eleventh to the fourteenth century showed itself throughout Europe. Like Mans, cities in northern France and the Netherlands extorted from their civil or religious lords communal charters which assured to the inhabitants guarantees for the security of person and property, and jurisdiction to the municipal magistrates. These privileges, obtained generally by insurrection in the communes, were gained in the royal cities by concessions from the king. South of the Loire many cities retained or revived the organization which they had possessed under the Roman Empire. By these different causes there was formed, little by little, under the shelter of these privileges and of the security they bestowed, a burgher class which grew rich through manufactures and commerce. It formed powerful corporations, filled the universities and acquired learning, especially of the laws, at the same time as wealth. Its merchants will be called by Saint Louis into his council.

Its jurists will guide the French kings in their struggle against feudalism. Its burgesses will enter the States General of Philip the Fair, and will then form an order in the kingdom as the Third Estate.

In England the cities sent deputies to the parliament of 1264. In the parliament of 1295, 120 cities and boroughs were represented. Italy early had her republics. The Lombard League, when victorious over Frederick Barbarossa, imposed on him the Treaty of Constance (1183), which legalized their encroachments. North of the Alps the emperor, with a view to weakening feudalism, made the cities depend directly upon himself. For the sake of mutual protection they formed unions among themselves, the most famous of which was the great commercial Hanseatic League whose banner waved from London to Novgorod.

This progress in the city population brought about similar progress in the rural population. As early as the twelfth century serfs were admitted as witnesses in courts of justice, and the Popes had demanded their emancipation. Thus enfranchisements became common, for the lords began to understand that they would be the gainers in having upon their lands industrious freemen, rather than serfs "who neglect their work and say they are working for others."

The burghers, villeins and serfs found a powerful auxiliary in Roman law, the study of which the kings encouraged as favorable to their authority. Based upon natural equity and common advantage, it permitted the legists to labor in a thousand ways for the overthrow of personal and territorial servitude, the two forms of bondage in the Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century began that sullen conflict between rational rights and feudal rights, which in France was destined to end only in the French Revolution of 1789.

**Intellectual Progress.** — With more order in the state, more labor in the cities, more ease in families, other and intellectual wants arose, schools were multiplied, new branches of study introduced and national literatures begun.

The twelfth century had resounded with the mighty rival voices of the Breton philosopher Abelard, who championed a certain degree of liberty of thought, and of Saint Bernard, the apostle of dogmatic authority. The thousands of scholars who thronged around Abelard were the beginning of the University of Paris. In 1200 the

Studium, called later the University of Paris, was endowed by Philip Augustus with its first privileges, one of which made it accountable only to the ecclesiastical tribunals. It served as a model for Montpellier, Orleans, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca and many other famous seats. It soon became a centre of scholastic learning, an arena of ideas. Its opinion was authoritative in the gravest controversies, and the most eminent men issued from its ranks. The two recently created mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, reckoned among their members men of genius like Saint Thomas Aquinas who in his *Summa Theologiæ* undertook to record all that is known touching the relations of God and man, and Saint Bonaventura, the Seraphic Doctor. We must also mention the German Albert the Great; the Englishman Roger Bacon, a worthy predecessor of the other Bacon; the Scotchman Duns Scotus; and, lastly, the encyclopedist of that century, the author of the *Speculum Majus*, Vincent de Beauvais.

But with the exception of Bacon, who discovered or in his writings hinted at the composition of gunpowder, at the magnifying-glass and the air-pump, they all lived upon the remnants of ancient learning and made no additions thereto. Thus old and new errors were popular. Men believed in astrology, or the influence of the stars upon human life, and in alchemy, which caused them to seek the philosopher's stone or the means of converting other metals into gold. Sorcerers abounded.

**National Literatures.** — In proportion as the individuality of peoples took on shape, national literatures developed. The epic, or heroic ballad, indeed was declining. Martin of Troyes subsequent to 1160 spun out the legend of Arthur into a tedious, eight-syllabled poem, and Guillaume de Lorris, who died in 1260, wrote the *Romance of the Rose*, full of attenuated ideas and cold allegories. French prose had its birth with Geoffroy de Villehardouin whose quaint book, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, is still read, and with Joinville who after the seventh crusade composed his *Memoirs* in more finished style, thereby affording a foretaste of Froissart. The literature of southern France after furnishing brilliant troubadours had perished, drowned in the blood of the Albigenses.

German literature shone under the Hohenstaufens, but mostly as a reflection from the French. Wolfram von

Eschenbach in Suabia imitated the epic songs of the Carlovingian or Arthurian cycles. The *Nibelungenlied*, however, reveals its distinctively German origin, but the meistersingers and minnesingers, whose theme was love, drew their inspiration from Provençal poetry. German prose is hardly visible in a few rare moments of the thirteenth century. In Italy Dante was born in 1265. Spain had her war-songs in the romances of Bernardo del Carpio, the children of Lara, and the Cid. England was still too much engrossed with welding into a single idiom the Saxon-German and the Norman-French to produce any marked literary works. Her first great poet, Chaucer, belongs to the following age.

Architecture, the characteristic art of the Middle Ages, attained its perfection in the thirteenth century. Then it was simple, severe, grand, while in the following century it was to become florid and flamboyant. In France it produced Notre Dame de Paris, Notre Dame de Chartres, the Sainte Chapelle, the cathedrals of Amiens, Reims, Strasburg, Bourges, Sens, Coutances and many more. Corporations of lay architects were formed. Lanfranc and Guillaume de Sens labored together in the construction of Canterbury cathedral. Pierre de Bonneuil went to Sweden to build the cathedral of Upsala (1258). Maître Jean in the same century erected the cathedral of Utrecht and French artisans worked on that of Milan.

The sculpture is heavy, but the stained glass windows of the churches were magnificent, and the miniature-painters embellished the missals with delicate masterpieces.

# XII

## FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE

### (987–1328)

**First Capetians** (987–1108). — While feudal Europe was thronging the roads which led to Jerusalem, the great modern nations were assuming their outlines. Italy separated from Germany. France sought to separate herself from England, and Spain endeavored to rid herself of the Moors. The Capetian royal house was weak in the beginning, though it undertook the first internal organization of France. Hugh Capet spent his reign of nine years (987–996) in battling against the last representative of the Carlovingian family, and in seeking recognition in the south, wherein he did not succeed. His son Robert, crowned during his father's life so as to assure his succession, reigned piously although excommunicated for having married Bertha, his relative. He was wise enough to refuse the offered crown of Italy, but inherited the duchy of Burgundy. Henry I and Philip I lived in obscurity. The latter took no part in the first crusade or in the conquest of England by his Norman vassals. In fact from the ninth to the twelfth century French royalty existed only in name, because the public power which should have rested in its hands had become local power exercised by all the great proprietors. This revolution, which shattered the unity of the country for three centuries, was to be followed by another which would strive to unite the scattered fragments of French society and deprive the lords of the rights they had usurped. This revolution was to render the king the sole judge, sole administrator and sole legislator of the country. It began with Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, who restored a central government. It was fully accomplished only under Louis XIV, because the Hundred Years' War (1338–1453) and the religious wars of the sixteenth century interrupted this great internal work.

**Louis the Fat** (1108–1137). — The reign of Louis VI marked the first awakening of the Capetian royalty. That active and resolute prince put down in the neighborhood of Paris and the Île de France almost all the petty lords who used to descend from their donjon-keeps and pillage the merchants. He favored the formation of communities on the lands of his vassals. The example set by Mans in 1066 was soon followed by many other cities. But Louis, though gladly aiding the cities against their lords and thereby enfeebling the latter, permitted no communes to arise on his own domains. He tried to force Henry I of England to cede Normandy to his nephew, Guillaume Cliton, but did not succeed. When Henry V emperor of Germany, son-in-law of the king of England, menaced France in 1124, Louis VI faced him with a powerful army wherein figured the men of the communes. In the north for a brief space he imposed Cliton upon the Flemings, who had just assassinated their count (1126). In the south he protected the bishop of Clermont against the Count of Auvergne. He compelled Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine, to pay him homage and obtained for his son, Louis the Young, the hand of Eleanor, the heiress of that powerful lord.

**Louis VII** (1137–1180). — By this marriage Louis VII added to the royal domain Aquitaine, Poitou, Limousin, Bordelais, Agénois and Gascony and acquired suzerainty over Auvergne, Périgord, La Marche, Saintonge and Angoumois. But while fighting with the Count of Champagne, he burned 1300 persons in the church of Vitry. From remorse he joined the crusade. Incensed against his queen Eleanor, he divorced her on his return and gave her back the duchy of Guyenne, her dowry. This divorce was disastrous to the French monarchy and to national unity. Eleanor soon after married Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy and heir to the crown of England. The little domain of the king of France was thus enveloped and threatened by an overwhelming force. Fortunately this king was the suzerain and feudal law, which imposed respect on the vassal, still prevailed in its full force. Thus Henry, having attacked Toulouse, dared not prosecute the siege because Louis threw himself into the place. The French king also found supporters against his powerful adversary by allying himself with the clergy, whom the Englishman persecuted, and with the English

princes, who revolted against their father. He welcomed Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, whom Henry's officers afterwards assassinated when the prelate, trusting the royal word, ventured to return to England.

**Philip Augustus** (1180–1223). — This prince, the last king crowned before his accession, redeemed his father's faults. By persecuting and robbing the Jews, he obtained money. By giving up heretics and blasphemers to the Church, he gained the bishops. By forming a close alliance with the rebellious Richard, son of Henry II, he increased the embarrassments of the English king. At the same time safe but profitable petty wars secured for him Vermandais, Valois and Amiens. On returning from the third crusade he had an understanding with John Lackland, brother of Richard Cœur de Lion, to despoil the latter. Richard, being released from prison, reached England in a rage and began a furious war in the south of France. Pope Innocent III interposed and caused the antagonists to sign a truce for five years. Two months later Richard was killed by an arrow at the siege of a castle of Limousin (1199).

The crown of England reverted by right to the young Arthur, son of an elder brother of John Lackland. John usurped it, defeated his nephew and murdered him (1203). Philip Augustus summoned the murderer to appear before his court. John took good care not to come and Philip asserted his right under this forfeiture to take from him all the places of Normandy. That rich province, whence the conquerors of England had set out, then became a part of the royal domain and Brittany, which was its dependency, became a direct fief of the crown (1204). Poitou, Touraine and Anjou were occupied with equal ease. These were the most brilliant conquests that a king of France had ever made. By way of revenge John Lackland formed a coalition against France with his nephew, the Emperor Otto of Germany, and the lords of the Netherlands. Philip collected a great army, wherein the militia of the communes had their place, and gained at Bouvines a victory which had an immense influence throughout the whole land. This was the first national achievement of France (1214).

Before Philip Augustus died, the French monarchy reached the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean. The university had been founded, the supremacy of the royal jurisdiction vindicated by the verdict of the peers against John Lackland,

the kingdom subjected to a regular organization by division for administrative purposes, and Paris embellished, paved and surrounded by a wall.

In 1193 Philip had married Ingeborg of Denmark. The morning after the wedding, he sent her away to give her place to Agnes de Méranie. This scandal called down the reprimand of Pope Innocent III, who long threatened "the eldest son of the Church" before striking any blow, but finally to conquer his resistance placed the kingdom under an interdict. Philip understood the danger of an open rupture with the Church. He separated from Agnes, and took back Ingeborg in the Council of Soissons (1201).

Philip Augustus had nothing to do with the crusade against the Albigenses.

**Louis VIII** (1223) **and Louis IX** (1226). — Louis VIII, who before his accession had been invited to England by the barons in rebellion against John, undertook a new expedition into the south. He captured Avignon, Nîmes, Albi and Carcassonne, but died in an epidemic on his return (1126). His eldest son, Louis IX, was only nine years old. The barons endeavored to deprive the queen mother, Blanche of Castile, of the regency. But Blanche won over to her side the Count of Champagne and the war terminated to the advantage of the royal house.

Henry III, King of England, headed a rebellion of the lords of Aquitaine and Poitou. Louis, victorious at Taillebourg and Saintes, showed himself a generous conqueror and thereby secured the legal possession of what he retained. On condition of liege homage he consented (1259) to restore or to leave to the king of England, Limousin, Périgord, Quercy, Agénois, a part of Saintonge and the duchy of Guyenne; but he kept by virtue of treaty Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou and Maine. He followed the same principle with the king of Aragon, ceding to him in full sovereignty the county of Barcelona, but compelling him to renounce his rights over his fiefs in France. Louis' virtues rendered him the arbitrator of Europe, and surrounded the French royalty with a halo of sainthood. He served as mediator between Innocent IV and Frederick II, and between the king of England and his barons in reference to the statutes of Oxford.

We have related the story of his two crusades in Egypt and Tunis. His domestic government aimed at putting an

end to feudal disorder. In 1245 he decreed that in his domains there should be a truce between offender and offended for the space of forty days, and that the weaker might appeal to the king. He abolished the judicial duel in his domains. "What was formerly proved by battle shall be proved by witnesses or documents" (1260). He conceded a great place to the legists in the king's courts, the jurisdiction of which he extended. He fixed the standard of the royal coinage, and was the first to summon the burgesses to his council. In short his reign may be regarded as that period of the Middle Ages most favorable to learning, art and literature, and he is well called Saint Louis.

**Philip III** (1270) **and Philip IV the Fair** (1285). — Together with the body of his father, Philip III brought back to France the coffin of his uncle Alphonse, whose death gave to him the county of Toulouse, Rouergue and Poitou, which were united to the royal domain. The marriage of his eldest son, Philip IV, with the heiress of Navarre and Champagne paved the way for the union of those provinces to the crown of France. The Massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), which expelled the French from Sicily, brought about a war with Aragon which was finally profitable to the French of Naples. The reign of Philip III is obscure.

In 1292 a quarrel between some sailors caused difficulties with England of which Philip IV took advantage to have the confiscation of Guyenne declared by his Court of Peers. The war was at first carried on in Scotland and Flanders, one country being the ally of France and the other of England. Philip supported the Scottish chiefs, Baliol and Wallace, and occupied Flanders, whose count he sent to the tower of the Louvre.

**Quarrel between the King and the Pope.** — To meet the expenses of these wars and of a constantly embarrassed government, much money was needed. Philip pillaged the Jews, debased the coinage at his will and taxed the clergy. Pope Boniface VIII imperiously demanded that the clergy should be exempt. He excommunicated whatever priest paid a tax without the order of the Holy See, and the imposer of such tax, "whoever they may be" (1296). Philip retorted by forbidding any money to leave the kingdom without his permission, thus cutting off the revenues of the Holy See. The great jubilee of the year 1300 caused the

pontiff to indulge illusions as to his power. To Philip he sent as his legate Bernard Saisset, the bishop of Pamiers, who seriously offended the king by his arrogance and in consequence was arrested. The Pope immediately (1301) launched the famous bull, *Ausculta, Fili,* to which Philip made an insolent reply. But feeling the need of national support for this conflict he convoked (1302) the first assembly of the States General, where clergy, barons and burgesses pronounced in his favor. Boniface answered this attack by the bull, *Unam sanctam,* which subordinated the temporal power to the spiritual power, and threatened to give the throne of France to the emperor of Germany.

Thus the quarrel between the papacy and the empire seemed repeated. This time it was of brief duration. The weakening of the spiritual power could be measured by the rapidity of its defeat. In a new States General the jurist Guillaume de Nogaret accused the Pope of simony, heresy and other crimes. Guillaume de Plasian, another jurist, proposed that the king should himself convene a general council and cite Boniface before it. Nogaret started for Italy to take the person of the Pope into custody, and his companion, the Italian Colonna, with his iron gauntlet smote in the face the aged pontiff who died of grief (1303). The king was powerful enough to impose upon the cardinals the election of one of his creatures as Benedict XI and afterwards of Clement V. They established the Holy See at Avignon, and began that series of Popes who remained at the mercy of France for seventy years (1309–1378). This period is called the Captivity of Babylon.

**Condemnation of the Templars.** — Philip obtained from Clement V the condemnation of the memory of Boniface and of the Order of the Knights Templar, a militia which was devoted to the Holy See and whose immense possessions tempted the king. One morning the Templars were arrested throughout France without their offering any resistance. By legal process they were accused of the most monstrous crimes. Torture wrung from them such confessions as it always extorts. The States General, convoked at Tours, declared them worthy of death, and in 1309 fifty four were burned. In 1314 Jacques Molay, their Grand Master, suffered the same fate.

**Insurrection of the Flemings.** — While royalty was triumphing over the great religious institutions of the Middle

Ages, the people were beginning their struggle against the lords. The Flemings, driven to desperation by the extortions of the governor whom Philip IV had imposed upon them, rose in rebellion and inflicted upon the French nobility the terrible defeat of Courtray (1302). This disaster Philip avenged by his victory of Mons-en-Puelle (1304). Nevertheless in Flanders he retained only Lille, Douai and Orchies.

**The Last Direct Capetians** (1314–1328). **The Salic Law.**—Under Louis X the Quarrelsome a feudal reaction took place against the new tendencies of royal power. The ministers of the late king were its victims. The reign of Louis X is remembered only for the enfranchisement, after payment, of the serfs of the royal domain. On his death his brother Philip V claimed the crown to the detriment of Jeanne, his niece. He caused the States General to declare that "No woman succeeds to the crown of France." This declaration has been rigidly observed by the French monarchy and is improperly called the Salic Law. Philip V also died without male heirs (1322). His brother, Charles IV the Fair, succeeded and left only a daughter. The crown was given to a nephew of Philip IV, who founded the Valois dynasty (1328). But Edward III of England, by his mother Isabella the grandson of Philip the Fair, asserted a claim to the throne. Hence arose the Hundred Years' War.

## XIII

### FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

**Norman Invasion** (1066). — After Canute the Great the conflict of the Saxons and Danes in England became complicated by a new element. The princes of Saxon origin, dispossessed by the Danes, found an asylum with the Normans of France. When Edward the Confessor ascended the throne of Alfred the Great, he invited many of these Normans to his court and bestowed on them the principal bishoprics. The Saxons were jealous and their leader, the powerful Earl Godwin, succeeded in expelling the foreigners. His son Harold, who succeeded to his dignities and influence, conceived the unfortunate idea of visiting William, Duke of Normandy. His host, having him in his power, made him swear that he would aid William to secure the English throne on Edward's death. When Edward died, Harold was elected king by the wittenagemote and repudiated the promise wrung from him by force. William, accusing him of perjury, undertook the conquest of England. He had the sanction of the Holy See, which complained that Peter's Pence was not paid. The invaders disembarked in the south, while Harold in the north was repelling a Norwegian invasion. A few days later the battle of Hastings (1066), in which Harold perished, delivered the country to the Normans. Nevertheless for a long time the Saxons did not resign themselves to their defeat. The Welsh and the Norwegians helped them to resist. In the Isle of Ely they formed the "camp of refuge." Rather than submit many of them became outlaws and lived in the forests, where the Norman lords hunted them like wild beasts.

**Strength of Norman Royalty in England.** — William divided England among his comrades. The secular and ecclesiastical domains of the Saxons were occupied by the conquerors, many of whom had been cowherds or weavers or simple priests on the continent, but now became lords and bishops. Between 1080 and 1086 a register of all the properties occu-

pied was drawn up. This is the famous land-roll of England, called by the Saxons the Doomsday Book. On this land thus divided was established the most regular feudal body of Europe. Six hundred barons had beneath them 60,000 knights. Over all towered the king who appropriated 1462 manors and the principal cities and by exacting the direct oath from even the humblest knights attached every vassal closely to himself.

This fact demands consideration for the whole history of England depends upon this partition, as does French history upon the inverse position occupied by the first Capetians. The English royalty, so strong on the morrow of the conquest, soon became oppressive and forced the barons in self-defence to unite with the burgesses. Thus the nobles saved their own rights only by securing those of their humble allies. In this manner by agreement between the burgher middle class and the nobles English public liberty was founded. Hence the nobility has always been popular in England. Liberty, the dominating sentiment of England, has created its noble institutions. The English have disregarded equality, to which the French sacrifice everything. In France the oppressor was not the petty sovereign who wore the royal crown, but feudalism. Against it the oppressed, both king and people, united, but the chief who directed the battle kept for himself all the profits of victory. Therefore instead of general liberties was developed the absolute authority of the king. Before him villeins and nobles were equally dependent, and hence arose the common sentiment of equality.

**William II** (1087). **Henry I** (1100). **Stephen** (1135). — William the Conqueror died in 1087. William II. Rufus, his second son, succeeded him in England and Robert, the elder son, in Normandy. Robert tried unsuccessfully to take England from his younger brother and then set out on the crusade. He was still absent when William Rufus died while hunting. Their youngest brother, Henry I, Fine Scholar, seized the crown. When Robert attempted to assert his rights, he was beaten at Tenchebray (1106) and Normandy was reunited to England. Louis the Fat was also defeated, who had tried to secure that duchy at least for Guillaume Cliton, Robert's son (1119).

Henry I intended to leave the throne to his daughter, Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V and wife of

Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. He charged his nephew, Stephen of Blois, with protecting the empress, as she was called. Stephen usurped the crown for himself and defeated the Scotch, Matilda's allies, at the battle of the Standard. Afterwards she took him prisoner, but it was agreed that he should reign until his death and that his successor should be Henry of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet, the empress' son.

**Henry II** (1154). — By the renunciation of Matilda, his mother, he received Normandy and Maine. From his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine. Marrying Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis the Young, he acquired Poitiers, Bordeaux, Agen and Limoges, together with suzerainty over Auvergne, Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, La Marche and Périgord. In 1154 he ascended the throne of England at the age of twenty-one, and finally married one of his sons to the heiress of Brittany. This power was formidable, but Henry II frittered it away in quarrels with his clergy and his sons.

The clergy ever since the time of the Roman Empire had possessed the privilege of judging itself. When an ecclesiastic was accused, the secular tribunals could not try the case. The ecclesiastical courts alone could pronounce judgment. In England William the Conqueror had granted to this privilege, called the benefit of the clergy, a very wide extension. Numerous abuses and scandalous immunity from punishment resulted therefrom. Henry II wished to end all this. With the object of awing the clergy, he appointed as archbishop of Canterbury his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, a Saxon by birth, and until then the most brilliant and docile of courtiers. Becket immediately changed character and became austere and inflexible. In a great meeting of bishops, abbots and barons the king had adopted the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), which compelled every priest accused of crime to appear before the ordinary courts of justice, forbade any ecclesiastic to leave the kingdom without the royal permission and intrusted to the king the guardianship and revenues of every vacant bishopric or benefice. Thomas à Becket opposed these statutes and fled to France to avoid the wrath of his former master. Louis VII having reconciled him to Henry, he returned to Canterbury but would make no concessions in the matter of ecclesiastical privileges. The patience of the king was exhausted and he let fall hasty words which four

knights interpreted as a sentence of death. They murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar (1170). This crime aroused such indignation against Henry that he was forced to abolish the Constitutions of Clarendon and do penance on the tomb of the martyr.

He submitted to this humiliation only from fear of a popular uprising and excommunication at the very time when he was at war with his three eldest sons, Henry Duke of Maine and Anjou, Richard Cœur de Lion Duke of Aquitaine and Geoffry Duke of Brittany. Even his fourth son, John Lackland, eventually joined them. Henry II passed his last days in fighting his sons and the king of France who upheld the rebels. In 1171 he conquered the east and south of Ireland.

**Richard** (1189). **John Lackland** (1199). — Richard who succeeded is that Cœur de Lion, or Lion-hearted, whom we have previously seen famous in the third crusade. This violent but brave and chivalrous prince was followed by his brother, John Lackland, a man of many vices and destitute even of courage. His crime in murdering his brother's son cost him Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy and Poitou, and he foolishly renewed his father's quarrel with the Church. Refusing to accept the prelate whom the Pope had appointed archbishop of Canterbury, he was excommunicated and threatened with an invasion, as Innocent III had authorized Philip Augustus to conquer England. He humbled himself before the Holy See, promised tribute and acknowledged himself its vassal. Then he tried to take revenge for all his humiliations by forming against France the coalition which was overthrown at the battle of Bouvines. While his allies were defeated in the north, John himself was vanquished in Poitou. On returning to his island, he found the barons in revolt, and was forced to sign the Magna Charta (1215).

This memorable act is the foundation of English liberty. It guaranteed the privileges of the Church, renewed the limits marked out under Henry I to the rights of relief, of guardianship and marriage, which the kings had abused, promised to impose no tax in the kingdom without the consent of the great council, and lastly, established the famous law of habeas corpus which protected individual liberty and the jury law which assured to the accused a just trial. A commission of twenty-five guardians was charged with super-

vising the execution of this charter and with compelling a reform of abuses. The danger past, John wished to tear up the charter and obtained the Pope's sanction thereto. The barons invited to England Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, who might have become king of the country if after the sudden death of John (1216) the barons had not preferred a child, his son, to the powerful heir of the French crown.

**Henry III** (1216). — The new reign was a long minority. In it we constantly behold weakness, perjury, fits of violence and every attendant circumstance to teach the nation the necessity and the means for restraining by institutions that royal will which was so little sure of itself. Abroad Henry III was defeated by Saint Louis at Taillebourg and Saintes. His brother Richard of Cornwall being elected emperor, played a ridiculous part in Germany and one costly for England. At home popular discontent increased at repeated violations of Magna Charta, at the favor shown to the relatives of Queen Eleanor of Provence, who caused all the offices to be conferred upon them, and at a real invasion of Italian clergy sent by the Pope who monopolized all the ecclesiastical benefices.

**First English Parliament** (1258). — On the eleventh of June, 1258, convened the great national council of Oxford, the first assembly to which the name of Parliament was officially applied. The barons forced the king to intrust the reforms to twenty four of their number, only twelve of whom were appointed by him. These twenty four delegates published the statutes or provisions of Oxford. The king confirmed the Great Charter. The twenty four annually nominated the lord high chancellor, the lord high treasurer, the judges and other public officials and the governors of the castles. Opposition to their decisions was declared a capital crime. Finally Parliament was to be convoked every three years. Henry III protested and appealed to the arbitration of Saint Louis who pronounced in his favor. But the barons did not accept this decision. They attacked the king in arms, having as their leader a grandson of the conqueror of the Albigenses, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. They took prisoners the monarch and his son Edward at the battle of Lewes (1264). Then Leicester, governing in the name of the king whom he held captive, organized the first complete representation of the English nation by the ordinance of 1265, which prescribed the election to Parliament of two knights for each county

and of two citizens or burgesses for each city or borough of the said county.

**Edward I** (1272). — Under this prince the public liberties were respected and the kingdom increased by the acquisition of Wales. In Scotland Edward vanquished in succession the three champions of the independence of that country: John Baliol at Dunbar (1296), William Wallace at Falkirk (1298) and Robert Bruce. But the latter gained the advantage under the reign of the feeble Edward II (1307) and by the great victory of Bannockburn (1314) secured Scottish independence. The despicable Edward II was governed by favorites whom the great lords expelled or sent to the scaffold. He himself was put to death by his wife (1327).

**Progress of English Institutions.** — These convulsions consolidated institutions which were destined after their complete development to prevent the recurrence of disorder. Let us recapitulate these constitutional steps. In 1215 Magna Charta, the Great Charter or declaration of the public rights, was promulgated. In 1258 the statutes of Oxford established regular meetings of the great national council, the guardian of the charter of 1215. In 1264 there entered Parliament representatives of the petty nobility and of the burghers, who were subsequently to form the lower chamber or the Commons, while the barons, the immediate vassals of the king, were to form the upper chamber or the House of Lords. Beginning with 1295 deputies of the counties and cities were regularly and constantly elected. In 1309 Parliament stipulated conditions to the voting of taxes, so that royalty, naturally extravagant, would be kept in check and made to respect the laws. Thus in less than a century through the union of the nobles and the burgher class, England laid those foundations which in modern times have so firmly upheld her fortune and guaranteed her tranquillity.

# XIV

## FIRST PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

### (1328-1380)

**Causes of the Hundred Years' War.** — England and France, the latter strong through the progress of the royal power, the former through that of public liberty, were engaged in a struggle for more than a century. This is the Hundred Years' War, which the rashness and incapacity of the French nobility rendered so glorious for England. As grandson of Philip the Fair, Edward III had claims upon the crown of France, for the Salic Law had not as yet acquired the importance which it assumed later on. But at the accession of Philip of Valois he appeared to renounce them. He even paid him the feudal homage which was due the king of France for the duchy of Guyenne. Nevertheless Edward constantly cherished the hope of supplanting him. He was encouraged therein by the fugitive Robert of Artois, despoiled of the county of Artois, and by the Flemings who, being in need of English wool to feed their manufactures, rebelled under the leadership of the brewer Jacques Arteveld against their count, the friend of France, and recognized Edward as their legitimate king.

**Hostilities in Flanders and Brittany** (1337). The only fact of importance during the first eight years of war was the great naval victory of the English at the battle of the Sluice (1340). Fighting was carried on chiefly in Brittany where Charles de Blois, head of the French party, disputed the ducal crown with Jean de Montfort supported by the English. The death of Jacques Arteveld, killed in a popular tumult, did not take away the Flemish alliance from England, which maintained its superiority in Flanders and Brittany.

**Battle of Crécy** (1346). In 1346 the fighting became more serious. Edward invaded France and penetrated to the heart of Normandy, expecting to march upon Paris. The

lack of provisions forced him to turn northward and approach Flanders. Philip of Valois although commanding 60,000 men could not prevent his passage of the Seine and Somme, but gave battle near Crécy at the head of tired and undisciplined troops. The English army, not half so numerous, was well placed upon a height supplied with cannon which then for the first time were seen in battle, and was covered by a dense line of skilful archers. The French chivalry, thrown at random against this strong position, were riddled with arrows and strewed the field of battle with their dead. Edward though victorious continued his retreat upon Calais, which he captured after a year's siege, and which the English held for two centuries. He obtained at the same time important advantages in Scotland and Brittany. David Bruce was made prisoner at Nevil Cross and Charles de Blois at Roche Derien.

**John the Good** (1350). **Battle of Poitiers** (1356). — At the accession of John the Good, France was already in a sad state. Calais and a great battle had been lost. Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, was intriguing to assert rights to the throne which he claimed to inherit from his mother, Jeanne d'Evreux. The States General convoked in 1355 raised pretensions which recalled and exceeded the Great Charter of England. They pretended to collect the public dues through their agents, to superintend the expenditures and to impose their orders on every one. The nobles refused to submit to the impost and formed a plot in which Charles the Bad was the leader. John arrested many of the conspirators at a banquet at the very table of his own son Charles, and struck off their heads. The English judged the occasion favorable. Edward sent the Duke of Lancaster to Normandy, and the Black Prince to Guyenne. The latter advanced toward the Loire. After devastating the country he retreated, but found his road cut off by King John, who with 50,000 men completely surrounded his little army. But skilful measures taken by the prince upon the hillock of Maupertuis near Poitiers, and the usual rashness of the French nobles gave him a most brilliant victory. The king himself was captured.

**French Attempt at Reforms. The Jacquerie.** — The great disasters of Crécy and Poitiers, caused by the incapacity of kings, generals and nobles, brought about a popular commotion. As the king and the great majority of the lords were

prisoners, the nation took in hand the guidance of public affairs. The States General, convened by the Dauphin Charles, expressed their will through Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants for the Third Estate, through the Bishop of Laon for the clergy, and through the Lord of Vermandois for the nobility. Before granting any subsidy, they demanded the removal and trial of the principal officers of finance and justice, and the establishment of a council, chosen from the three orders, and charged with the direction of the government. The States became bolder still. They established a commission of thirty-six members to superintend everything, and caused the Great Ordinance of Reformation to be issued. Thereby they asserted their right to levy and expend the taxes, to reform justice and control the coinage. Even a mild political reform was dangerous in the face of the victorious English. Moreover this ordinance, accomplished by a few intelligent deputies, was neither the work nor even the desire of France. Not a single arm outside Paris was raised in its support. The revolution seemed only a Parisian riot. When the dauphin tried to escape from the obligations imposed upon him, Étienne Marcel assassinated his two ministers, the marshals of Champagne and Normandy, before his very eyes. Such acts of violence discredited the popular movement, which was furthermore disgraced by the excesses of the mob or the Jacquerie. Finally Marcel, forced to seek other support, was on the point of delivering Paris to Charles the Bad, when the plot was discovered. He was killed and his party fell with him.

**Treaty of Brétigny** (1360). — The dauphin, being rid of Marcel, signed a treaty with Charles the Bad and remained sole master. With the consent of the States he repudiated the disastrous treaty which John, weary of his captivity, had just concluded and agreed to that of Brétigny which was slightly less onerous. Thereby Edward renounced his claim to the crown of France, but received thirteen provinces in direct sovereignty. Dying in 1364, John ended a reign equally fatal in peace or war. The duchy of Burgundy had escheated to the crown, the first ducal house having become extinct. Instead of joining it to the national domain, John alienated it in favor of his fourth son, Philip the Bold. Thus he founded a second ducal house which on two occasions came near destroying the kingdom.

**Charles V** (1364–1380) **and Duguesclin.**— This Charles the Wise rescued France from the abyss of misery. He allowed the foreign invasion to waste itself in the ravaged provinces, and shut up his troops in the strongholds, whence they harassed the enemy and rendered it impossible for them to obtain fresh supplies. Duguesclin, a petty gentleman of Brittany, whom he had taken into his service and whom he afterwards appointed constable of France, by the victory of Cocherel (1364) rid him of Charles the Bad. He also delivered the country from the "free companies," leading them to the succor of the king of Castile, Henry de Transtamara, against his brother, Pedro the Cruel, whom the English were supporting and whom he subsequently overthrew (1369).

In 1369 the Gascons, irritated by the extortions of the Black Prince, appealed against him to Charles V, the feudal suzerain of the duchy of Aquitaine. The king caused the Court of Peers to declare this great fief confiscated. This was a declaration of war. Charles V was ready, but Edward was not. Nevertheless a powerful English army disembarked at Calais. It marched through France as far as Bordeaux, but found itself reduced on the way to 6000 men. When the Prince of Wales died in 1376 and Edward III in 1377, almost the entire fruit of their victories was already lost. Bayonne, Bordeaux and Calais alone remained in the hands of the English.

Charles was equally skilful and equally fortunate against Charles the Bad, from whom he took Montpellier and Evreux. He failed however in the attempt to unite Brittany to the royal domain. Influenced by the memories of his youth, he avoided assembling the States General. Still he strengthened Parliament by permitting it to fill vacancies in its own body. He favored letters which had Froissart, the inimitable chronicler, as their principal representative. He also began the Royal Library, which under him numbered 900 volumes. He died in 1380.

## XV

### SECOND PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

#### (1380–1453)

**Charles VI.** — Internal troubles almost suspended the struggle between France and England for thirty-five years. During the minority of Charles VI his uncles wrangled over the regency, and the people of Paris beat the tax collectors to death. Rouen, Chalons, Reims, Troyes and Orleans joined in a communal movement which started from Flanders, but which was put down by the French nobility at the bloody battle of Roosebec. The Flemish leader, Philip van Arteveld, was there slain. The princes learned no lessons from these events. Squandering of the public funds and disorders of every sort continued. Suddenly the young king lost his reason and was lucid afterwards only at rare intervals. His uncle, the Duke of Burgundy, and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, disputed the control of affairs. The former, surnamed John the Fearless, decided the matter by assassinating his rival.

**The Armagnacs and the Burgundians.**— The Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the new duke of Orleans, headed the faction to which a portion of the nobility adhered and which took his name. The Duke of Burgundy was supported by the cities. A civil war broke out marked by abominable cruelties. John the Fearless flattered Paris and specially the mob whose ferocious passions he allowed full play. The butcher Caboche deluged the city with the blood of the Armagnacs, or of those who were called so. The duke encouraged this hideous demagoguery. However, the shrewd men of the party and the University devised the Cabochian Ordinance for the reform of the kingdom. This sagacious code was of brief continuance. Two years later the Hundred Years' War began again.

**Wicliffe.** — A general effervescence was then agitating Western Europe. Everywhere the people were chafing

against a social order which overwhelmed them with miseries. In the cities the burghers, enriched by their small beginnings in manufactures and commerce, wished to secure their property from the caprice and violence of the great. Some even laid presumptuous hands on the things of the Church.

In 1366 Pope Urban V demanded from England 33,000 marks, arrears of the tribute which John Lackland had promised to the Holy See. Parliament refused payment; and a monk, John Wicliffe, took advantage of the popular indignation to attack in the name of apostolic equality the whole hierarchy of the Church. In the name of the Gospel he also assailed such dogmas, sacraments and rites as were not found expressly stated in the New Testament. His translation of the Bible into English rapidly disseminated those ideas which Lollard, burned at Cologne in 1322, had already taught.

One of Wicliffe's partisans even drew political consequences from his doctrine. John Ball went about through the cities and towns, saying to the poor: —

> "When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Where was then the gentleman?"

Dangerous thoughts were fermenting everywhere. They existed in the minds of those who, about this same time, were exciting the riots of Rouen, Reims, Chalons, Troyes and Paris and the insurrection of the White Caps in Flanders. Thus premonitory signs always herald great storms. The unthinking protests of the fourteenth century against mediæval double feudalism, the secular and the religious, announced the deliberate revolt of Luther and Calvin in the sixteenth in the realm of faith, of Descartes in the seventeenth in philosophy, and of the whole world in the eighteenth in politics.

**Richard II** (1380). — One year after the accession of Richard II, son of the Black Prince, 60,000 men marched to the gates of London, demanding the abolition of serfdom, the liberty to buy and sell in the markets and fairs and, what was more unreasonable, the reduction of rents to a uniform standard. They were put off with fair promises. After they had dispersed, 1500 of them were hanged and everything went on as before.

The young king had three ambitious and greedy uncles.

They stirred up opposition to him. He rid himself of the most turbulent, the Duke of Gloucester, by assassination. Many nobles were slain or exiled, and England bowed her head in terror. Henry of Lancaster, a descendant of a third son of Edward III, and then in exile, organized a vast conspiracy. Richard was deserted by all and deposed by Parliament "for having violated the laws and privileges of the nation." So, thus early, England through her Parliament had already succeeded in forming a people and in resuming the ancient idea of national rights superior to dynastic rights. The next year Richard was assassinated in prison.

**Henry IV. Battle of Agincourt** (1415). **Treaty of Troyes** (1420). — Henry IV devoted his reign of fourteen years to settling the crown securely in his house. On his death-bed he advised his son to recommence the war against France, so as to occupy the turbulent barons. In 1415 Henry V renewed at Agincourt the laurels of Crécy and Poitiers. This defeat, again due to the rashness of the nobility, overturned the Armagnac government. The Burgundians reentered Paris, which they again deluged with blood. After the English archers and men-at-arms had safely placed their booty on the other side of the Strait, they returned to the quarry, pillaging Normandy systematically and capturing its cities one after the other. In 1419 Rouen fell into their hands. The assassination of John the Fearless at the bridge of Montereau also served their interests. This murder, authorized by the dauphin, threw the new duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, into the English party. Henry V, once master of Paris and of the person of Charles VI, caused himself by the treaty of Troyes to be acknowledged as heir to the king, the daughter of whom he married. This lady was to avenge France by transmitting to the son whom she bore to Henry V the imbecility of his French grandfather.

**Charles VII and Joan of Arc.** — Henry and Charles both died in 1422. They were succeeded by two kings in France, the English infant Henry VI at Paris, and the Valois Charles VII south of the Loire.

The little court of the latter, whom the English derisively called king of Bourges, cared only for pleasure and gayety. The constable of Richemont sought in vain to rouse the king from his unworthy occupations. Meanwhile petty defeats chased his armies from Burgundy and Normandy. Bedford, the English regent, managed affairs skilfully and

in 1428 laid siege to Orleans the key of the south. The disgraceful battle of the Herrings completed the discouragement of the French party, and Charles VII was contemplating retreat to the extreme south when Joan of Arc made her appearance.

This peasant girl, born at Domrémy on the frontier of Lorraine, presented herself at court, claiming that it was her mission to deliver Orleans and crown the king. Her virtues, her enthusiasm and her conviction inspired confidence. The most valiant captains threw themselves into Orleans, following in her train. Ten days later the English after several defeats evacuated their camp. Next she won the battle of Patay, where the English commander Talbot was captured, and conducted the king to Reims, where he was crowned. Believing her wonderful mission accomplished, she wished to return home but was dissuaded. In May, 1430, while defending Compiègne, she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who sold their prisoner to the English for 10,000 francs. Tried and condemned for witchcraft, she was burned alive at Rouen on May 30, 1431.

**Success and Reforms of Charles VII.** — This crime marked the close of English good fortune. Affected by French reverses, the Duke of Burgundy remembered that he was a Frenchman and abandoned the English. His defection was profitable for himself, as he obtained several cities and counties, as well as exemption from all homage. Thus he became king in fact in his fiefs. In the following year Paris opened her gates to Charles VII. Transformed by his many misfortunes and ably supported by the Chancellor Juvenal, the silversmith Jacques Cœur, the artilleryman Bureau, and the soldiers Dunois, Lahire and Xaintrailles, he triumphed everywhere. In 1444 the English, through the influence of the Cardinal of Winchester who headed the peace party, concluded a truce of two years with France, and sealed it by the marriage of Henry VI with Margaret of Anjou. At the same time Charles VII put down a rebellion of the nobles, who were alarmed at the progress of his authority, and had the Bastard of Bourbon tied up in a sack and thrown into the water. By the creation of a permanent army, he dealt a death-blow at feudal power. This army comprised fifteen companies of 100 lances each and of free archers. The States of Orleans suggested the idea and voted a perpetual tax of 10,200,000 francs for the pur-

pose. In consequence of this strictly national force, Charles was no longer dependent on the mercenaries and highwaymen who devastated, rather than defended, France.

Soon he found himself strong enough to finish with the English. By the battle of Formigny (1450) he drove them from Normandy, and by that of Castillon (1453) from Guyenne. They retained only Calais. So ended the Hundred Years' War, which had heaped so many calamities upon France. It had strengthened public liberty in England and enforced the dependence upon Parliament of victorious kings who needed money and men for their expeditions. While it continued, the two peoples advanced farther in the different paths which we have seen them enter. Amid the ruins of France royalty was finding absolute power. Despite their triumphs of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt, the English kings learned submission to Parliament and the law.

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# XVI

## SPAIN AND ITALY FROM 1250 TO 1453

**Intermission of the Spanish Crusade. Domestic Troubles.** — The Moors were now crowded upon the Alpujarras as the Christians had formerly been upon the Pyrenees. Instead of continuing the struggle and driving them into the sea, the Spanish kings forgot the conflict which had made their fortune, and yielded to the temptation of meddling in European affairs.

Navarre, which had been unable to increase its territory in the religious wars, looked northward toward France, and gave itself to the Capetians when its heiress married Philip the Fair.

Alphonso X, king of Castile, wished to be emperor of Germany. While he wasted his money in this vain candidacy, the rival houses of Castro, Lara and Haro kept the kingdom in turmoil and even sought aid from the Moors. Threatened with insurrection, the king himself solicited the support of the African Merinides. The nation deposed him and put in his place his second son, Don Sancho, a brave soldier (1282). Nevertheless Alphonso X was surnamed the Wise. He knew astronomy, and published a code wherein he tried to introduce the right of representation, prevalent in the feudal system, but not in Spain.

Sancho availed himself of the ancient law and claimed the succession in preference to his nephews, sons of his deceased elder brother. Therefrom troubles ensued with the king of France, uncle of the dispossessed young princes. The stormy minorities of Ferdinand IV and Alphonso XI saw disorders again in Castile. The latter prince, however, rendered himself illustrious by the great victory of Rio Salado over the Merinide invasion and by the capture of Algiers. After him Pedro the Cruel and his brother, Henry II of Transtamara, disputed the throne. By the aid of Duguesclin Transtamara succeeded, after he had himself stabbed his brother in his tent. Henry III vainly tried to

repress the Castilian nobility, who under John II and Henry IV tyrannized over the country and court. Royalty became independent only about the close of the fifteenth century under Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic, as we shall see later on.

While the energies of Castile were dissipated in civil dissensions, Aragon acquired Roussillon, Cerdagne and the lordship of Montpellier, and interfered in the affairs of the Albigenses. It also gained Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers, which it retained despite the stipulations of the treaty of Anagni, and added Sardinia to its dominions. In 1410 the glorious house of Barcelona became extinct. Its various crowns passed to a prince of Castile, who left two sons: Alphonso V, who became king of the Two Sicilies through his adoption by Joanna of Naples; and John II, who for a time united Navarre and Aragon by poisoning his son-in-law, Don Carlos of Viana. To Ferdinand, the successor of this monster, it was reserved to accomplish the unity and grandeur of Spain by his marriage with Isabella of Castile.

The feudal system never was really established in Castile. Amid the risks of a desperate struggle against the Moors, the nobles and cities, fighting separately, acquired independence and fortified themselves in their castles or behind their walls. Many of these cities obtained fueros, or charters of liberty, and the king merely placed an officer or regidor in them for general supervision. But three distinct classes existed in Castile: the ricos hombres or great landed proprietors; the caballeros or hidalgos, or petty nobles, exempt from imposts on condition of serving on horseback; the pecheros or taxpayers who formed the burgher class. As every one had fought in the Holy War, there were no serfs as in feudal countries and the gulf between the classes was less profound than elsewhere. Beginning with 1169 the deputies of the cities were admitted to the Cortes, the national parliament.

Aragon had more of the feudal system, perhaps because of the former Carlovingian domination in the Marches of Barcelona. The ricos hombres received baronies, which they divided up and sub-enfeoffed. Next were the mesnaderos or lesser vassals, the infanzones or plain gentlemen, and the commoners. These four orders were represented in the Cortes. But Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia had their separate cortes. The royal authority was greatly

hampered by the jurisdiction of the justiza or grand justiciary.

Portugal at the extremity of Europe opened out new ways for herself. John I, head of the house of Avis which succeeded the extinct house of Burgundy, maintained the independence of Portugal against the pretensions of Castile by the victory of Aljubarotta (1385). He then turned the attention of his people toward Africa and in 1415 conquered Ceuta. This expedition taught his youngest son, Henry, that Portugal, shut off from the land by Castile, had no future except toward the sea. He established himself in the village of Sagres on Cape Vincent, summoned mariners and geographers, founded there a naval academy, and at last launched his navigators upon the ocean. In 1417 they discovered Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, where the prince planted vines from Cyprus and sugar-canes from Sicily. Pope Martin V granted him sovereignty over all the lands which should be discovered from the Canary Isles as far as the Indies, with plenary indulgence for whoever should lose their lives in these expeditions. Zeal redoubled. In 1434 Cape Bojador was passed, then Cape Blancho and Cape Verde. The Azores were discovered. They were on the road to the Cape of Good Hope, which the Portuguese Vasco de Gama was to sail round half a century later.

**The Kingdom of Naples under Charles of Anjou** (1265). — In the strife for universal dominion which the chiefs of Christendom, the Pope and the Emperor, had waged, Italy, the theatre and the victim of the struggle, could not attain independence. When the empire and the papacy declined, she seemed at last about to control her own destiny. Such however was not the case. Her old habits continued of intestine discords and of mixing strangers with her quarrels. She repeated the spectacle once presented by the turbulent cities of ancient Greece. She was covered with republics, waging incessant war with each other, and yet she shone with a vivid glow of civilization that was the first revival of letters and arts.

The death of Frederick II (1250) marked the end of the German domination in Italy. But he left a son at Naples, Manfred, who, strong by his talents, his alliance with the podestats of Lombardy and the aid of the Saracens of Lucera at first braved the ill-will of the Pope. Alexander

IV had, it is true, been driven from Rome by Brancaleone, who had restored momentarily the Roman republic.

Urban IV, resolved to extirpate "the race of vipers," had recourse to foreign aid. He bestowed the crown of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, on condition of his doing homage to the Holy See, paying an annual tribute of 8000 ounces of gold and ceding Beneventum. In addition to this Charles swore never to join to this kingdom the imperial crown, Lombardy or Tuscany (1265). The excommunicated Manfred was vanquished and slain, and the Pope's legate caused his body to be thrown into the Garigliano. Conradin, a grandson of Frederick II, came from Germany to claim his paternal inheritance. Beaten and captured at Tagliacozzo, he was beheaded by order of Charles of Anjou, together with his friend Frederick of Austria. With him the glorious house of Suabia became extinct.

The conqueror strengthened his power in the kingdom of Naples by executions. Despite his promises he ruled over most of Italy under the various titles of imperial vicar, senator of Rome and pacificator. He dreamed of a fortune still more vast and meditated restoring for his own benefit the Latin empire of Constantinople, which had recently fallen. After being diverted for a time from this project by the Tunisian crusade (1270) and by the opposition of Gregory X and Nicholas III, he was at last about to put it into execution when the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282) gave Sicily to Peter III, king of Aragon, one of the accomplices in the great conspiracy of which the physician Procida was the head. Then began the punishment of this ambitious and pitiless man. Admiral Roger de Loria burned his fleet. His son Charles the Lame was captured in another naval battle, and the king of France, his ally, was repulsed from Aragon. The treaty of 1288 secured Sicily to a son of the Aragonese. In 1310 Pope Clement V compensated the house of Anjou by placing one of its members upon the throne of Hungary.

**Italian Republics. Guelphs and Ghibellines.** — During this conflict in the south the little states of the north, freed from both the German and the Sicilian domination, were engaged in continual revolutions. The government passed in Lombardy into tyrannies; in Tuscany into democracies; in Venetia into aristocracies; in Romagna into all

these various systems. In 1297 Venice declared that only the noble families of councillors then in office were eligible for the Great Council. This measure was shortly afterward crowned by the completion of the Golden Book, or register of Venetian nobility, and the establishment of the Council of Ten. In 1282 Florence raised the Minor Arts, or inferior trades, almost to the level of the Major Arts by setting up an executive council composed of the chiefs of all the Arts. This was to the disadvantage of the nobles, who could be admitted to public employments only on renouncing their rank. A little later the population was divided into twenty companies, under a like number of gonfaloniers or standard-bearers commanded by one supreme gonfalonier. The majority of the Tuscan cities adopted this organization with little change. So, too, did Genoa. But this was not a source of harmony. Genoa, which disputed Pisa's rights to Corsica and Sardinia, destroyed the military force of the Pisans in the decisive battle of Melloria (1284). The unhappy defeated city was at once attacked by all Tuscany. It resisted for a while and intrusted all power to the too famous Ugolino. When he had perished together with his four children in the Hunger Tower, prostrate Pisa was able to exist only by renouncing every ambition. Florence then controlled all Tuscany, but she turned her arms against her own breast. Under the name of Ghibellines and Guelphs her factions carried on a relentless war. Dante the great Florentine poet, the father of the Italian language, in exile lamented these dissensions and sought everywhere for some power capable of restoring peace to Italy. He found it neither in the papacy, then captive at Avignon, nor in the emperor to whom Italy was simply a source of profit. Henry VII, Louis of Bavaria, John of Bohemia, extorted what they could from the unhappy land.

The tribune Rienzi, filled with classic memories which were then reviving, tried to restore liberty to Rome (1347) and to render her the protectress of Italian independence. He set up a so-called Good State, but this merely ephemeral enthusiasm was powerless to overcome local passions, or the terror caused by the horrible black pest or the Plague of Florence which Boccaccio has described in his *Decameron* (1348). At the instigation of the papal legate he was massacred by that very populace of Rome by whom he had been so often applauded.

**Return of the Papacy to Rome** (1378). **The Principalities.** — The revolution of 1347 warned the papacy of the discontent caused by its absence. It finally returned to Rome in 1378. Stripped of the power and prestige which it had formerly possessed, it was incapable of giving rest to revolutionary Italy. In Florence there were constant troubles between the Major Arts or upper class, led by the Albizzi, and the Minor Arts, led by the Medici. Hostile to both were the ciompi or petty tradesmen. The latter put Michael Lendo, a wool-carder, at their head, who seized the power but was unable to retain it. The commercial rivals, Venice and Genoa, were waging against each other the so-called war of Chiozza, which Venice, at first besieged in her own lagoons, finally terminated by the destruction of the Genoese marine. She also subdued Padua and Vincenza, but did not ruin them as Florence had done to Pisa, destroying it from top to bottom.

In Lombardy skilful leaders took advantage of civil discords and converted the republics into principalities. Thus did Matteo Visconti at Milan, Cane della Scala at Verona and Castruccio Castracani at Lucca. In 1396 Gian Galeozzo Visconti bought from the Emperor Wenceslas the titles of duke of Milan and count of Pavia, with supreme authority over twenty-six Lombard cities. The condottieri, or mercenaries, another scourge of Italy, handed over everything to the first adventurer who was able to lead or pay them. A former peasant, Sforza Attendolo, became a mercenary, entered the service of Philip Marie Visconti, married his daughter and at his death seized the duchy of Milan (1450). Northern Italy was falling under the sword of a mercenary. Florence bowed her head beneath the yardstick of an opulent merchant, Cosmo de Medicis, who supplanted the Albizzi. With the support of that same Sforza, whose banker he was, he established in his city an analogous system, though less despotic and more brilliant than that of Milan. The cry for liberty which the Roman Porcaro lifted in the peninsula in 1453 found no echo.

**The Aragonese at Naples.** — As far as the welfare of Italy was concerned, there was nothing to hope for from the Neapolitan kingdom, itself a prey to endless wars of pretenders. Against the guilty Joanna I, Queen of Naples, Urban VI summoned Charles of Durazzo, the son of the king of Hungary, and offered him the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Joanna

recognized as her successor Duke Louis of the second house of Anjou. Charles, victorious in 1381, smothered Joanna under a mattress. For a time he exercised an important influence over Italy. But when he died in Hungary, the Kingdom of Naples relapsed into anarchy, fought over by the princes of Anjou, Hungary and Aragon. Alphonso V of Aragon, who was adopted by Joanna II, finally prevailed (1442).

**Brilliancy of Letters and Arts.** — Despite her wretched political condition, Italy shone in her letters, arts, manufactures and commerce. Her language, already formed at the court of Frederick II, became fixed under the pen of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. She welcomed the Greek fugitives. Her learned men, Petrarch, Chrysoloras, Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni, gave the signal for the search after manuscripts and the revival of ancient letters. Nicholas V founded the Vatican library; Cosmo de Medicis founded the Medicean library, and had Plato commentated by Marcilio Ficino. Venice had her church of Saint Mark (1071); Pisa her famous cathedral (1063), her Baptistery (1152), her leaning tower (1174), her gallery of the Campo Santo (1278); Florence, her churches of Santa Croce, of Santa Maria Del Fiore, and that wonderful cathedral of Brunelleschi, opposite which Michael Angelo wished to be buried. Cimabue, Giotto, and Masaccio were creating painting.

At the end of the thirteenth century Venice had 35,000 sailors and monopolized the commerce of Egypt, while Genoa controlled that of Asia Minor, the Dardanelles and the Black Sea. Milan was a great industrial city in the middle of a rich country. Florence manufactured 80,000 pieces of cloth a year, and Verona one-fourth as many. Canals fertilized Lombardy. Banks put money in circulation. No other European state was so advanced in civilization, but no country was so divided. Consequently it possessed much wealth to excite the greed of foreigners, but not a citizen or a soldier to defend it.

## XVII

### GERMANY. THE SCANDINAVIAN, SLAVIC AND TURKISH STATES

**(1250–1453)**

**The Interregnum. The House of Hapsburg** (1272).— Instead of employing its forces to organize Germany, the imperial authority had worn itself out in Italy. After the death of Frederick II, the former country endured twenty-three years of anarchy (1250–1273). This is called the Great Interregnum. The throne, disdained by the German princes and sought by such foreign or feeble competitors as William of Holland, Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso X of Castile, was practically vacant. While the supreme authority was thus eclipsed, the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Hungary and the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy, shook off the yoke of imperial suzerainty. The petty nobility and the cities ceased payment of their dues. The lords built donjons which became lairs of bandits. To protect their possessions against violence, the lesser lords formed confederations and so did the cities. About the same time the Hanseatic League came into existence. This confederation had Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick and Dantzic as its headquarters, and its chief counting houses were London, Bruges, Berghen and Novgorod. In the country districts many serfs acquired liberty or sought an asylum in the suburbs of the cities.

The great interregnum ceased with the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg, an impoverished lord who did not seem formidable to the electors (1273). Abandoning Italy which he called the lion's den, he centred his attention upon Germany. He defeated and slew on the Marchfeld (1278) Ottocar II, King of Bohemia, who refused him homage. He annulled many grants made by successors of Frederick II, forbade private wars, made the states of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria and Alsace take an oath to keep the public

peace of the empire. He founded the power of his house by investing his sons, Albert and Rudolph, with the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola.

**Switzerland** (1315).— The Hapsburgs had lands in Switzerland, and their bailiffs were hard upon the mountaineers. In 1307 the cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden united to end this oppression. To this period attaches the heroic legend of William Tell. Albert was assassinated by his nephew at the passage of the Reuss when about to give the confederates battle. Leopold, Duke of Austria, lost the fight at Morgarten (1315), where the Swiss laid the foundations of their independence and of their military renown. The three original cantons were joined by Lucerne, Zurich, Glaris, Zug and Berne (1332–1353). The victories of Sempach (1386) and of Næfels (1388) consolidated Helvetian liberty.

**Powerlessness of the Emperors.**— The German princes who now disposed of the crown desired to give it only to penniless nobles, so that the emperor should not be able to call them to account. For this reason they elected Henry VII of Luxemburg (1308). Louis IV of Bavaria belonged to a stronger house but, excommunicated by Pope John XXII and threatened by the then all powerful king of France, he was on the point of resigning a title which brought him only annoyance. Then the princes, ashamed of the situation forced upon the man of their choice, drew up the Pragmatic Sanction of Frankfort, which declared that the Pope had no rights whatever over the empire or over the emperor. The reign of Charles IV (1346–1378) is remarkable only for the greed of that needy prince, who made money out of everything, "plucking and peddling out the imperial eagle like a huckster at a fair." Nevertheless Germany owes him the Golden Bull, which determined the imperial elective system. It named seven Electors, three of them ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Trèves, and four laymen, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg (1356).

Wenceslas disgraced the imperial throne by ignoble vices, and was deposed in 1400. Under Sigismund the Council of Constance assembled and the Hussite War broke out. The council was convened in 1414 to reform the Church and to terminate the schism which had arisen from the

simultaneous election of two popes, one at Rome and the other at Avignon. It barely attained the second object and failed in the first. It sent to the stake John Huss, rector of the University of Prague. He had attacked the ecclesiastical hierarchy, auricular confession and the use of images in worship. His followers, called the Hussites, revolted under the leadership of a blind general, John Zisca. All Bohemia was aflame and for fifteen years people religiously cut one another's throats!

At the death of Sigismund (1438) the Hapsburgs again ascended the imperial throne, which they occupied until 1806. Albert II died in 1439 while fighting the Ottoman Turks, and his posthumous son Ladislas inherited only Bohemia and Hungary. But Frederick, another Austrian prince of the Styrian branch, succeeded to the empire (1452). He was the last emperor who went to Rome for coronation. However the resonant title did not confer even the shadow of power. The head of the empire had as emperor neither revenues nor domains nor military forces nor judicial authority, except in rare cases. His right to veto the decisions of the Diet was generally a mockery. The Diet, divided into the three colleges of the electors, the princes and the cities, was the real government of Germany. Still it governed as little as possible, and did in reality govern very little the seven or eight hundred states of which the empire was composed.

Hungary, then the bulwark of Europe against the Ottoman Turks, was attached to the German political system. Under the reign of Sigismund it had been united for a brief period to Austria, but became separated therefrom under Ladislaus, king of Poland, who was defeated and slain by the Ottomans at Varna (1444). John Hunyadi, voëvode of Transylvania and regent of the kingdom, for a long time held the Mussulmans in check.

**Union of Calmar** (1397). — Scandinavia comprised the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway. These countries, whence the pagan Northmen had set out, were converted in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Denmark was powerful under Canute the Great, who reigned also over England, and under the two brothers, Canute VI and Waldemar the Victorious (1182–1241) who conquered Holstein and Nordalbingia. Waldemar had large revenues, a fine navy and a numerous army. He published the Code

of Scania. Danish students went in quest of learning to the University of Paris. Later on Sweden in turn became powerful under the dynasty of the Folkungs, who founded Stockholm (1254). Norway suffered from long continued disturbances, due to the elective character of its monarchy which became hereditary only in 1263.

In 1397 under Margaret the Great, daughter of the Danish Waldemar III, it was stipulated by the Union of Calmar that the three northern kingdoms should form a permanent union, each retaining its own legislation, constitution and senate. This union, the condition of their greatness and security, unhappily did not last. After the death of the "Semiramis of the North" (1412), it was weakened by the rebellion of Schleswig and Holstein and was broken in 1448 by Sweden, which then gave itself a king of its own. Denmark and Norway remained united.

**Power of Poland.** — The Slavic states between the Baltic and the Black Sea furnish very little to history before the ninth century. The Poles on the banks of the Vistula and Oder had as their first duke Piast, the founder of a dynasty which reigned for a time under the suzerainty of the German empire. Boreslav I the Brave (922) declared himself independent and assumed the title of king. Boleslav III the Victorious (1102–1138) subdued the Pomeranians. But after him Silesia withdrew. The Knights of the Teutonic Order were called to succor Poland against the Borussi or Prussians, an idolatrous tribe which sacrificed human beings. They established a new state between the Vistula and the Niemen, which became a dangerous enemy. Poland was compelled to cede to it Pomerelia and Dantzic. She indemnified herself under Casimir the Great by the conquest of Red Russia, Volhynia and Podolia and extended her frontiers as far as the Dnieper (1333–1370). Yet under this sagacious prince the pacta conventa took its rise. This was a system of capitulations imposed by the nobility on new kings, and destined to become a source of that anarchy which finally delivered Poland to her enemies. The election to the throne of Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, in 1386, rendered Poland the dominant state of Eastern Europe. From the Knights of the Teutonic Order he seized many provinces, and by the Treaty of Thorn their dominions were reduced to eastern Prussia (1466).

**The Mongols in Russia.** — Russia, which absorbed a

great part of Poland later on, had as yet done little. We have seen how the Northmen pirates led by Rurik entered the service of the powerful city of Novgorod, which they eventually occupied as masters (862). Gradually spreading out, they descended the Dnieper, to seek at Constantinople lucrative service or adventure. In the eleventh century the grand principality of Kief was already a respectable power. In the twelfth the supremacy passed to the grand principality of Vladimir. In the following century Russia was invaded by the Mongols of Genghis Khan, who in 1223 fought a battle in which six Russian princes perished. Baty captured Moscow in 1237 and advanced as far as Novgorod. The grand principality of Kief ceased to exist; that of Vladimir paid tribute. Poland, Silesia, Moravia and Hungary were conquered or devastated. Even the Danube was crossed and for a time all Europe trembled. The Mongols halted at last before the mountains of Bohemia and Austria, but Russia remained under their yoke for two centuries.

**The Ottoman Turks at Constantinople** (1453). — Toward the same period a less noisy but more tenacious invasion was taking place south of the Black Sea. Descending from the Altaï or "Golden Mountains," the Turks had invaded India, Persia, Syria and Asia Minor. Othman, the chief of one of their smaller tribes, obtained possession of Brousa in 1325, and his son Orkhan gained Nicomedia, Nicæa and Gallipoli on the European side of the Dardanelles. Mourad I, endowed the Ottomans with a terrible army by developing the corps of the janissaries. This soldiery was composed of captive Christian youth, who were reared in the Mussulman religion. Special tracts of land were assigned them. Enforced celibacy and life in common gave them some resemblance to a military order. Before directly attacking Constantinople, the sultans outflanked it. Mourad I took Adrianople and attacked the valiant peoples of Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia and Albania. Victor at Cossova, he fell by assassination on the field of battle (1389). His successor, Bayezid I, reaped the fruits of his victory. Macedonia and Bulgaria submitted and Wallachia acknowledged itself tributary.

On the banks of the Danube Bayezid I encountered a European crusade, commanded by Sigismund. Many French knights, and among them John the Fearless, took part.

Those brilliant nobles ruined their cause by their obstinate rashness at the fatal battle of Nicopolis (1396). More efficacious aid reached the Greeks from an unexpected quarter. Tamerlane had restored the empire of Genghis Khan, and ruled from the Ganges to the Don. Assailing the growing Ottoman power, he overthrew and captured Bayezid I at the great battle of Angora (1402). The rapid disappearance of the Mongols enabled the Ottomans to recover. In 1422 Mourad II laid siege to Constantinople but in vain. He failed also in Albania against Scanderbeg, but won the battle of Varna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, was slain (1444). Fortunately the Hungarians and Hunyadi, though sometimes defeated but always in arms, through their repeated efforts checked the conquerors. Moreover the Ottomans could not hurl their whole strength upon Western Europe so long as Constantinople resisted them. Mohammed II resolved to free himself from this determined enemy. He besieged the imperial city with an army of over 200,000 men, an immense artillery and an enormous fleet. His ships he transported overland into the harbor across the isthmus which separates the Golden Horn from the Bosphorus. The Emperor Constantine XIII maintained a heroic though hopeless resistance for fifty-seven days. A final assault, on May 29, 1453, accomplished the fall of the Eastern heir of the Roman Empire.

## XVIII

### SUMMARY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

If now we sum up this history, apparently so confused, we perceive that the ten centuries of the Middle Ages naturally divide into three sections.

From the fifth to the tenth century the Roman Empire crumbles away. The two invasions from the north and the south are accomplished. The new German Empire which Charlemagne attempts to organize is dissolved. We behold everywhere the destruction of the past and the transition to a new social and intellectual condition.

From the tenth to the fourteenth century feudalism has its rise. The crusades take place. The Pope and the Emperor contend for the world. The burgher class is reconstituted. This is the mediæval period, simple in its general outlines, which reaches its fullest flowering in the time of Saint Louis of France, with customs, institutions, arts and even a literature peculiar to itself.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this feudal society descends into an abyss of misery. The decay seems that of approaching death. But death is the condition of life. If the Middle Ages vanish, it is to make way for Modern Times. A little charcoal, saltpetre and sulphur will restore equality on the battlefield, a prophecy of approaching social equality, either under royal omnipotence or under the protection of public liberties. Hence power changes its place. No longer the monopoly of the man of arms or of the noble, it passes first to the kings as later on it will pass to the people. Thought becomes secularized and quits the cloister. The genius of ancient civilization is about to spring forth. Already artists and writers are on the road of the Renaissance, as the Portuguese are on that of the Cape of Good Hope. Audacious voices are heard arguing about obedience and even about faith. The Middle Ages have indeed come to an end since things are becoming new.

But did the Middle Ages wholly die? They bequeathed to Modern Times virile maxims of public and individual rights, which then profited only the lords, but which now profit all. The Middle Ages developed chivalrous ideas, a sentiment of honor, a respect for woman, which still stamp with a peculiar seal those who preserve and practise them. Lastly, mediæval architecture remains the most imposing material manifestation of the religious sentiment, an architecture we can only copy when we wish to erect the fittest houses of prayer.

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# HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES

## I

### PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN FRANCE

**Principal Divisions of Modern History.**—The Middle Ages have been characterized by the predominance of local powers like fiefs and communes, and by the small consideration paid the state. Modern Times until the nineteenth century are characterized by the preponderance of a central power or absolute royalty, and by governmental action substituted for that of individuals and communities. But while the political life of the nations was becoming concentrated in their chiefs, the intellect by an opposite tendency was bursting its bonds and diffusing itself over everything to renew all.

The political revolution will result in the Italian wars and the rivalry through centuries of the houses of France and Austria.

The intellectual movement will cause: a pacific revolution in art, science and letters, or the Renaissance; an economical revolution, or the discovery of the New World and of the route to India, thereby creating a prodigious commerce which will place personal property in the hands of the common people; a religious revolution, or the Reformation of Luther and Calvin, against which fanaticism will excite abominable wars; a philosophic revolution, brought about by Bacon and Descartes and continued in the eighteenth century. The latter will result in a new political and social revolution whose success unhappily will be compromised by blind resistance and criminal violence.

This in its general features is the history of the centuries which compose the period from 1453 to 1848, called Modern

Times. First, then, we have to show how the political institutions of the Middle Ages gave way in the principal states of Europe to a new system of government.

**Louis XI** (1461–1483). **The League of Public Welfare** (1465). — Charles VII had reconquered France from the English. He had also to reconquer it from the nobles. The work was already begun. More than one rebellious noble had been drowned or beheaded or banished. The dauphin himself, the son of Charles, who afterwards became Louis XI, had entered into every plot against his father and had been forced to demand a refuge with the Duke of Burgundy. He was with him when Charles VII died (1461). When this former leader of discontent ascended the throne, it was thought that the good old days of feudalism were returning. Such expectation was quickly undeceived. At first Louis bungled. He dismissed most of the officers whom his father had appointed, increased the perpetual villein tax from 1,800,000 livres to 3,000,000, and notified the University of Paris of the papal prohibition to interfere in the affairs of the king and the city. By other acts he offended the parliaments of Paris and Toulouse. He incensed the ecclesiastics and the nobility, and rendered the great dukes of Brittany and Burgundy his enemies. Five hundred princes and nobles formed the League of Public Welfare against him.

The danger was great. Louis met it with little heroism but with much cleverness. After a show of military activity he shut himself behind the walls of his capital and labored to dissolve the League by offering pensions and lands to those greedy nobles. By a variety of public and private arrangements he promised them each whatever each one desired. As for the public welfare, no one spoke or thought of that.

**Interview of Péronne** (1468). — After the confederates were satisfied and all had returned home, he began systematically to retract everything he had granted. To the Duke of Berri he had ceded Normandy, which it was most important to the king to retain. Inciting insurrections in several Burgundian towns, he thus occupied Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and at the same time purchased the neutrality of the Duke of Brittany by the present of 100,000 crowns. Then he entered Normandy and made himself its master. Meanwhile by seasonable gifts or bribes

of money or office he shrewdly attached to himself some of the most influential persons in France.

Charles the Bold tried to revive the whole feudal system and to make an alliance with Edward IV, king of England. As an English army was preparing to disembark in France, Louis went to the court of Charles to negotiate in person and avert the danger. At that moment a rebellion, which he had previously incited and which he had forgotten to countermand, broke out at Liège. Charles, profoundly incensed, imprisoned his guest in the castle of Péronne. Louis obtained his freedom only by hard concessions and by marching with the duke against Liège. That unhappy city, whose inhabitants fought to the cry of "Long live the king," was given over to sack (1468).

The treaty of Péronne was the last mistake of Louis XI. To his one rival, the Duke of Burgundy, it was the beginning of impossible dreams and enterprises. Louis sent his brother, the Duke of Berri, to the other end of France by giving him Guyenne instead of Champagne. He shut up the cardinal La Balue and the bishop of Verdun for ten years in an iron cage because they had betrayed him. The king of England, allied to the Duke of Burgundy, had a mortal enemy in the Earl of Warwick. Louis reconciled the latter to Margaret of Anjou and furnished him the means of overthrowing Edward IV and restoring Henry VI. Now sure of having isolated Charles the Bold, he convoked at Tours an assembly of notables. He caused this assembly to repudiate the treaty of Péronne. Forthwith he seized Saint Quentin, Montdidier, Amiens and other towns. He set on foot 100,000 men and a powerful artillery (1471).

**Death of the Duke of Guyenne** (1472). — The rage of Charles was raised to frenzy by the death of the Duke of Guyenne or Berri, upon whom rested the hopes of feudalism (1472). Rumors of poison circulated. Charles the Bold openly accused Louis XI of fratricide, and entered the kingdom dealing everywhere fire and blood. At Nesle the entire population was butchered. The inhabitants of Beauvais resisted with a heroism of which the women and especially Jeanne Hachette set the example. Charles was forced to retrace his steps. Moreover ambition called him in another direction. He signed the truce of Senlis.

**Mad Enterprises and Death of Charles the Bold** (1477). — The chief attention of the Duke of Burgundy was now di-

rected toward Germany, Lorraine and Switzerland. He wished to unite his two duchies and his possessions in the Netherlands by the acquisition of the intermediate countries, Lorraine and Alsace. That done, he aimed at conquering Provence and Switzerland and restoring old Lotharingia under the name of Belgian Gaul. He already held Upper Alsace and the county of Ferrette, which the Austrian Archduke Sigismund had pawned to him for money, and he was soliciting from the Emperor Frederick III the title of king. Louis XI, by his activity and his money caused the shipwreck of these ambitious plans. The archduke suddenly paid the duke the 80,000 florins agreed upon as the ransom of Alsace. Hagenbach, the agent of Charles in that country, was seized and beheaded by the inhabitants of Brisach (1474). Lastly the Swiss, whom he had molested, entered Franche-Comté and gained over the Burgundians the battle of Héricourt. While these events were taking place in the south, Charles himself in the north was meeting failure in his attempt to support the archbishop of Cologne against the Pope and the Emperor. Edward IV, who had landed in France at his invitation, concluded the treaty of Pecquigny with Louis XI, who loaded him with money and sent him back to his island.

That he might be free to finish his affairs with Lorraine and Switzerland, the duke signed with the king of France a new treaty at Soleure. A few days later he entered Nancy and conquered Lorraine. The Swiss remained to be dealt with. He made a foolish attack and was completely routed at Granson (1476). Three months later he was again defeated at Morat. Then Lorraine rose in favor of René de Vaudemont, and Charles went to his death in battle under the walls of Nancy (1477).

**Union of the Great Fiefs with the Crown.** — While the mightiest feudal house of France was thus crumbling to ruin on the plains of Lorraine, Louis XI was destroying the others. Many lords were guilty either of plots against the king or of monstrous crimes. Jean V of Armagnac had married his sister and slew whoever opposed him. Besieged and captured in Lectoure, he and his wife were put to death. The Duke of Nemours was beheaded in the market-place. The Duke of Alençon was imprisoned and the constable of Saint Pol also executed. Louis confiscated not only their heads, but their property.

As to the immense possessions left by Charles the Bold, he could obtain only a portion. His disloyal policy forced Mary, the heiress of Burgundy, to marry the Archduke Maximilian. From this marriage, unfortunate for France, arose the enormous power of Charles V, which caused the houses of France and Austria long and bloody struggles. Nevertheless Louis succeeded in incorporating Picardy and part of Burgundy into the royal domain. He even compelled the conditional cession of Franche-Comté. During the preceding year he acquired all the inheritance of the house of Anjou. Thus when he died in 1483 he had rescued from feudalism and added to France, Provence, Maine, Anjou, Roussillon and Cerdagne, Burgundy with the Maçonnais, Charolais, and Auxerrois, Franche-Comté, Artois, half of Picardy, Boulogne, Armagnac, Etampes, Saint Pol and Nemours.

**Administration of Louis XI.** — He rendered tenure of office permanent, established posts, created the parliaments of Grenoble, Bordeaux and Dijon, enlarged opportunity of appeal to the royal tribunal, assured the public tranquillity and the safety of the highways, multiplied fairs and markets, and attracted from Venice, Genoa and Florence artisans who founded at Tours the first manufactures of silk. He encouraged mining industry and entertained the idea of giving France a common system of weights and measures. He delighted in learned men, founded the Universities of Caen and Besançon and favored the introduction of printing. "Everything considered, he was a king." Villon and his councillor Commines are the poet and the prose writer of his reign.

**Charles VIII** (1483). — Charles VIII succeeded, a child of thirteen, feeble in mind and body. His guardian was his eldest sister, Anne of Beaujeu, in shrewdness and decision the worthy daughter of her father. A violent reaction against the late policy made many victims, but the nobles could not overthrow the work of Louis XI. They demanded and obtained the convocation of the States General, but their expectations were disappointed. The deputies, especially those of the Third Estate, would not make themselves the tools of feudal grudges. They reformed some abuses, but left entire power to Anne of Beaujeu, together with guardianship of the king's person, whom they declared of age. This princess continued her father's policy without his cru-

elty. The Duke of Orleans entered into an alliance with the Duke of Brittany and the Archduke Maximilian to overthrow her. He was defeated and captured in what is called the Mad War. The regent won another triumph as to the succession in Brittany. That great fief was almost as formidable as Burgundy. She married its heiress to Charles VIII, and thus paved the way for its union with France. Unfortunately the king broke away from his sister's guardianship in ambition for distant expeditions. Eager to put his dreams into execution, he signed three deplorable treaties. By that of Etaples he continued to Henry VII the pension which his father had paid to Edward IV. By that of Barcelona, he restored Roussillon and Cerdagne to the king of Aragon. Lastly by that of Senlis, still more disastrous, he enabled Maximilian to gain Artois and Franche-Comté. Thus through the folly of her sovereign France receded on three frontiers. It required nearly two centuries and the astuteness of Richelieu and Louis XIV to regain what Charles VIII threw away in pursuit of a dangerous chimera.

## II

### PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN ENGLAND. WAR OF THE ROSES

**Houses of Lancaster and York.** — England had outstripped Europe in her political institutions. Parliament and the jury system gave the English control of the taxes and trial by their peers, the double guarantee of political and civil liberty. The nobles, united with the commoners, did not allow the kings to abandon themselves to their caprices. Then came a civil war of thirty years' duration, which overrode all these pledges of prosperity and opened to royalty the path of absolutism. This was the War of the Roses, originating in the rivalry of the house of Lancaster, or Red Rose, and the house of York, or White Rose.

The house of Lancaster, seated on the throne by the accession of Henry IV, had given England the glorious Henry V and his successor, the feeble and imbecile Henry VI. Under the latter France was lost, and the national pride of the English was greatly wounded by their reverses. They beheld with indignation the truce of 1444, and were incensed at the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou, who as a French princess became the object of their aversion. Richard, Duke of York, thought the moment propitious to assert his claims to the throne. The house of Lancaster descended from the third son of Edward III. The house of York was in the female line descended from the second son, and in the male line from the fourth son. Richard caused the Duke of Suffolk, the king's favorite minister, to be attainted by the House of Commons. The court enabled the accused to escape, but he was overtaken on the high seas by an English vessel, whose crew seized, condemned and beheaded him (1450).

At the same time an Irishman, Jack Cade, stirred up the county of Kent to rebellion. He got together a crowd of 60,000 men, and was master of London for several days. The robberies committed by this mob armed every one

against them, and an amnesty offered by the king brought about their dispersion. Their leader was captured and executed (1459). He was regarded as an agent of the Duke of York.

As the king suffered from a mental trouble, Richard caused himself to be appointed protector (1454). When the monarch on restoration to health tried to take away his powers, he took up arms. He was abetted by the high aristocracy, especially by Warwick, surnamed the king-maker, who was rich enough to feed daily 30,000 persons on his estates. Victorious at Saint Albans (1455), the first battle in that war, and master of the king's person, Richard had Parliament again confer on him the title of protector. After a second battle at Northampton (1460), he was declared legitimate heir to the throne. Margaret protested in the name of her son. Aided by the support of Scotland which she purchased by the cession of Berwick castle, she defeated and slew Richard at Wakefield. The head of the rebel was adorned in derision with a paper crown, and exposed on the walls of York. His youngest son, the Earl of Rutland, aged barely eighteen, was butchered in cold blood. From that time on the massacre of prisoners, the proscription of the vanquished and the confiscation of their goods became the rule with both parties.

**Edward IV** (1460). — Richard of York was avenged by his eldest son, who had himself proclaimed king in London under the name of Edward IV. The Lancastrians gained the second battle of Saint Albans, but suffered that same year (1461) a sanguinary defeat at Towton, southwest of York. Margaret took refuge in Scotland, and fled thence to France where Louis lent her 2000 soldiers on her promise to restore Calais, but the battle of Hexham destroyed her hopes (1463). She herself was able to regain the continent, but Henry VI a prisoner for the third time, was confined in the Tower of London, where he remained seven years.

The new king displeased Warwick, who rebelled, defeated him at Nottingham (1470), and forced him to flee to the Netherlands to his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy. Parliament, docile to the will of the strongest, reëstablished Henry VI.

This triumph of the Lancastrians was brief. Their excesses roused bitter discontent. Edward was able to reappear with a small army, which Charles the Bold had

helped him get together. Warwick fell at Barnet (1471) and Margaret was no more fortunate at Tewksbury. This last action had decisive results. The Prince of Wales murdered, Henry VI dead, Margaret a prisoner, the partisans of the Red Rose killed or exiled, Edward IV remained in peaceable possession of the throne. The rest of his reign was marked by an expedition to France, terminated by the treaty of Pecquigny, and by the trial of his brother Clarence whom he put to death. He died in consequence of his debauches in 1483.

**Richard III** (1483). — His brother Richard of York, Duke of Gloucester, took advantage of the youth of Edward's children to usurp their rights, and smother them in the Tower of London. Horror of his crimes divided his followers. The Duke of Buckingham revolted and invited to England Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, the last scion on the female side of the Lancastrian house. Henry hired 2,000 men in Brittany, landed in Wales and at Bosworth overthrew Richard, who fell fighting bravely (1485).

**Henry VII.** — He united the two Roses by wedding the heiress of York, the daughter of Edward IV. He founded the Tudor dynasty, which reigned until the accession of the Stuarts, 118 years afterward. Though a few plots were formed by such obscure impostors as Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he ruled as absolute master over the remnants of the decimated aristocracy. Eighty persons of royal blood had perished. Nearly one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom through confiscation had become part of the domains of the crown. Thus when the War of the Roses ended English royalty found increased resources at its disposal and fewer enemies to fear.

Henry VII rarely assembled Parliament. The money which he would not ask for fear of making himself dependent, he procured by forced loans or benevolences, and by confiscations, which he multiplied on every sort of pretext. The Star Chamber became a servile tribunal to strike down those whom a jury would not have permitted him to reach. The ruin of the aristocracy was completed by the abolition of the rights of maintenance, whereby the nobles had been able to rally round them a whole army of followers, and of substitution, whereby the nobles had been prevented from alienating or dividing their lands. By the treaties which he concluded, by the voyages which he caused to be under-

taken and by his attention to the shipping, he favored commerce and industry, to which the nation devoted itself with zeal. He paved the way for the union of Scotland and England by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. He died in 1506. Perfidious, rapacious and cruel, without grandeur of mind or action to redeem his vices, he founded like Louis XI in France and Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain an absolute government, which in England became truly great only under Elizabeth.

## III

### PROGRESS OF ROYALTY IN SPAIN

**Abandonment of the Crusade against the Moors.**— The Spanish people had thus far remained almost entirely aloof from European affairs. They had been obliged to wrest their soil foot by foot from the Moors. That task, the first condition of their national existence, was not yet finished. The southern extremity of the peninsula still belonged to the Mussulmans and formed the kingdom of Granada, the last of the nine states into which the caliphate of Cordova had been broken. Thus Spain had lived a life apart throughout the Middle Ages. She had been engrossed in the single undertaking of expelling the Moors, odious both as Mussulmans and as foreigners. This isolation and this perpetual crusade gave her a peculiar character. Nowhere else has religion exercised such ascendency over the mind. It was the sole bond which united the various states of the peninsula.

We have seen however that, forgetting the Moors, the four Christian states had diverted their attention and their forces in different directions: Portugal toward the ocean, Aragon toward Sicily and Italy, Navarre toward France, while Castile was rent by internal discords. Everywhere royalty was in a humiliating position. A spirit of independence reigned in the cities which had their fueros, and among the nobles who defended their privileges of war and brigandage. But the need of uniting for mutual protection against violence made itself felt as early as 1260 in the cities of Aragon, and afterward in those of Castile. The Santa Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood, a confederation of the principal cities, was instituted. This organization became so prosperous that it furnished the king at the siege of Granada 8000 armed men and 6000 beasts of burden.

**Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile** (1469).— In Aragon John II poisoned his son Charles, Prince of Viana, who disputed his claim to the kingdom of

Navarre (1461). The Catalans, rising in revolt, gave themselves in succession to the king of Castile, to Pedro of Portugal and to the house of Anjou. They submitted only after eleven years of war.

In Castile Henry IV rendered himself odious and despicable by his predilection for Bertrand de la Cueva, a greedy and cowardly favorite who disgraced him. The nobles went through the form of deposing the king in effigy in the plain of Avila, and in his place proclaimed Don Alphonso, who died in 1467. Then they forced Henry IV to recognize as princess of the Asturias his sister Isabella, to the prejudice of his own daughter (1468). From many suitors to her hand Isabella chose Ferdinand, the eldest son of the king of Aragon, and married him secretly at Valladolid (1469). It was stipulated in the contract that the government of Castile should remain vested exclusively in her. She took possession at the death of her father (1474) and strengthened her authority by defeating the king of Portugal, who undertook to dispute her rights. Three years afterward Ferdinand, her husband, became king of Aragon (1479).

**Conquest of Granada** (1492). — From that day Spain existed. The firm Isabella and the clever though perfidious Ferdinand toiled vigorously to establish national unity for the benefit of royalty. First of all, they rendered the whole peninsula Christian by destroying the last remnants of Mussulman domination. Granada had more than 200,000 inhabitants. The Moors were promised after the capture of their city (1492) that they should be allowed to remain in the country and enjoy their own laws, property and religion.

**The Inquisition. The Power of Royalty.** — The population of the peninsula then presented a singular mixture of Mussulmans, Jews and Christians. Isabella and Ferdinand decided to bring dissenters to a common religious faith by persuasion, and above all by terror. With this intent they had already instituted that tribunal of melancholy fame, the Holy Office or Inquisition. It was established in Castile about 1480, and in Aragon four years later. Between January and November, 1481, in Seville alone the inquisitors sent to torture 298 Christian proselytes, accused of Judaizing in secret, and 2000 in the provinces of Cadiz and Seville. In 1492 they expelled the Jews of whom 800,000 departed from Spain. In 1499 they deprived the Moors of

the religious liberty which the treaty of Granada had guaranteed. Torquemada, the first grand inquisitor, alone condemned 8800 persons to the flames.

The king controlled the terrible tribunal, for he appointed its chief and the property of the condemned was confiscated to his use. Thus the Inquisition was for Spanish royalty not only a means of ruling the conscience but an instrument of government. Any rebellious or suspicious person could be denounced to the Holy Office. This was a mighty engine. Ferdinand acquired another together with considerable revenues by making himself grand master of the orders of Calatrava, Alcantara and Saint James. He reorganized the Holy Brotherhood, announced himself its protector, that is to say its master, and employed it for the police service of the country at the expense of the barons, whose castles he razed to the ground. In a single year forty-six fortresses were demolished in Galicia. Commissioners were sent into all the provinces, who listened to the complaints of the people and made the nobles tremble.

At the death of Isabella (1504) Ferdinand became regent of Castile. As king of Aragon, he acquired the Two Sicilies. The acquisition of Navarre put him in possession of one of the two gates of the Pyrenees. The other, Roussillon, had been ceded to him by Charles VIII (1493). Already Christopher Columbus had given America to the crown of Castile (1492). This immense heritage reverted on his death in 1516 to his grandson Charles, already master of Austria, the Netherlands and Franche-Comté, whose history we shall trace farther on.

In the absence of the new king, Cardinal Ximenes exercised the power with an energy which forced obedience from the nobles. The communeros, taking alarm too late at the menacing progress of royalty, formed a Holy League, which committed the mistake of demanding the abolition of the pecuniary immunities of the nobility. The aristocracy separated its cause from that of the cities and rallied around the sovereign. The army of the League was routed at Villalar and its leader, Don Juan de Padilla, died on the scaffold (1521). Thus Spanish royalty triumphed over the burgher class as it had triumphed over the nobles, but the nation was about to lose its wealth, its vigor and its honor for the sake of serving the ambition of its masters.

**Progress of Royalty in Portugal.** — In Portugal the same

revolution was accomplished. John II restored alienated property to the royal domain, withdrew from the lords the right of life and death over their vassals, sent the Duke of Braganza to the scaffold and stabbed the Duke of Viseu with his own hand. He transmitted absolute power to his son Manuel the Fortunate (1495), who during twenty years did not assemble the Cortes. Under the latter prince the Portuguese discovered the road to the Cape of Good Hope and the Indies.

Thus throughout all Western Europe royalty became predominant. This condition indicated the approach of great wars. Because the countries of Central Europe remained divided, they were to become the battlefield of royal ambitions.

## IV

### GERMANY AND ITALY FROM 1453 TO 1494

**Frederick III** (1440) **and Maximilian** (1493). — In Germany the house of Austria had just recovered possession of the imperial crown (1438), to which hardly a shadow of authority was attached. Frederick III was not a man to modify this state of affairs, but was content with bare existence. His reign of fifty-three years is marked only by an unfortunate war against Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and by the marriage of his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold and heiress of the Netherlands.

Maximilian endeavored to restore the public peace in Germany. The Diet, which exercised legislative power, prohibited all war between the states. The empire was divided into ten circles, in each of which a military director was charged with maintaining order. This police organization did not succeed, because the German princes had no idea of being checked in their enterprises. They had seized upon the absolute power in their lands, as the kings had done in their kingdoms. The monarchical revolution accomplished in France, England and Spain had also taken place in the empire, but not to the profit of the emperor. In 1502 the seven electors concluded the Electoral Union and decided to convene every year for the purpose of consultation as to the best means of preserving their independence from imperial authority. With another object in view several of the cities had already set up the Hanseatic League. This was the mercantile association of all the cities along the banks of the Rhine and the German coast. It had counting houses in the Netherlands, France, England and even in the heart of Russia, and was prosperous for centuries.

As archduke of Austria and sovereign of the Netherlands, Maximilian acquired by the treaty of Senlis (1493) Artois and Franche-Comté. Then in an erratic manner he

meddled in Italy. The most important event in his reign was the marriage of his son Philip the Fair with Jane the Foolish, daughter of Isabella of Castile and of Ferdinand of Aragon, who brought to the house of Austria as her dowry Spain, Naples and the New World. Maximilian died (1519) during the first throes of the Reformation.

**Italy. Republics Replaced by Principalities.** — In the middle of the twelfth century Italy was the centre of Mediterranean commerce. She had a skilful agricultural system and well developed manufactures. She was rich, luxurious and corrupt, with a passion for arts and letters but no taste for arms. More divided than Germany, she had not even a nominal head like the emperor, nor a body like the Diet which could sometimes speak in her name. Almost universally the republics had been changed into principalities, whose princes reigned as tyrants or magnificent despots. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans caused a momentary panic, and the different states of Italy formed a confederation at Lodi (1454). Men talked of a crusade. Pius II wished "the bell of the Turks" to be rung every morning throughout Christendom. But when the first moment of fright was over, each one went back to his own private interests.

At Milan the condottiere Francesco Sforza, who had succeeded the Visconti in 1450, left the ducal crown to his son, who was assassinated by the nobles (1476). His grandson Giovanni Galeazzo, a child of eight years, fell under the tutelage of his uncle Ludovico il Moro, who for the sake of usurping the power was destined to call in the French and begin the fatal Italian wars. Genoa incessantly disturbed by factions offered itself to Louis XI, who had the wisdom to refuse the fatal gift and transfer it to the Duke of Milan. The Lombards, as the inhabitants of that rich duchy were called, continued to be the bankers of Europe, and their agents were found everywhere in the commercial world.

Venice remained the chief power in northern Italy. No republic could more fully resemble a monarchy. After 1454 its exclusive oligarchy was governed by three state inquisitors, who watched each other and made their own laws. The state existed tranquilly in the lap of pleasure under this strong but pitiless government, whose principal instruments of action were spies and secret accusation. Provedi-

tors kept watch of the generals, who were carefully chosen from among the foreign mercenaries or condottieri, so that she might have nothing to fear from them at home. On the continent she had just subjugated four provinces, while the Turks were ruining her domination in the East. She lost Negropont and Scutari and beheld their swift horsemen threaten her lagoons. In order to save their commerce the Venetians consented to pay tribute to the new masters of Constantinople. When they were taunted with this disgrace, they replied, "We are Venetians first of all, Christians afterward." In Italy the wealth of the "Most Serene Republic" excited the covetousness of the neighboring princes, while her recent acquisitions endangered their security. In 1482 they formed a league against her, but she triumphed over the excommunications of the Pope and over the arms of his allies.

At Florence the Medici had supplanted the Albizzi by relying on the Minor Arts, or the middle class. They were rich bankers with many debtors in the city whom they held attached to their fortune. Cosmo de Medici, the head of this house, was master of Florence until 1464 though he bore no title. He caused commerce, manufactures, arts and letters to thrive, and expended more than $6,000,000 in building palaces, hospitals and libraries, though continuing to live like a private citizen. He was surnamed the "Father of the Country." Liberty no longer existed. The nobles tried to restore it by the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478), and assassinated Guiliano de Medici at the foot of the altar. Lorenzo, his brother who escaped the dagger, punished the murderers. One of the conspirators, Archbishop Salviati, was hanged in his episcopal robes from a window of his palace. Lorenzo, the most illustrious of the Medici, welcomed the Greek fugitives from Constantinople. He had a translation of Plato made, an edition of Homer published, and encouraged artists and learned men. Ghiberti cast for him the doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni, which Michael Angelo deemed "worthy to be the gates of Paradise." In 1490, ruined by his magnificence, he was about to suspend payment. To save him the republic became bankrupt herself.

Under Pietro II, his unworthy successor, a new popular party, the frateschi, demanded public liberty. Its leader, the Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola, wished to restore

to the clergy purity of manners, to the people their ancient institutions, and to letters and the arts the religious sentiment which they had already lost. Beholding the opposition of the young nobles and of the wealthy classes to every reform, he declared that all those gilded vices were about to be chastised by a foreign hand. "O Italy! O Rome! Do penance, for lo, the barbarians are coming like hungry lions!"

The papacy was unable to avert these disasters, because the Holy See was occupied by popes who disgraced the tiara. Thus Sixtus IV busied himself in carving a principality in the Romagna for his nephew, and to attain success had taken part in the conspiracy of the Pazzi. Alexander VI Borgia is the scandal and the sorrow of the Church. His election had been defiled by simony. His pontificate was polluted by debauchery, perfidy and cruelty. He indeed delivered the Holy See from the many turbulent petty lords who infested the neighborhood of Rome, but his weapons for their overthrow were ruse, treason and assassination. His son, Cæsar Borgia, is an infamous example of a man devoured with ambition and destitute of scruples, marching to his goal by any road. To create for himself a state in the Romagna, he waged against the lords of that country the same sort of war that his father had carried on against those of the papal states. No crime troubled him, whether by dagger or poison. More than any other man he contributed to earn for Italy the surname which was then applied to her of the "Poisonous."

At Naples Ferdinand in 1459 had succeeded Alphonso the Magnanimous. He triumphed at Troia over John of Calabria, his Angevine rival, but he seemed desirous of bringing about a new revolution by reviving hatreds instead of effacing them. The harshness of his rule stirred up his barons against him. He deceived them by promises, invited them to a banquet of reconciliation, then had them seized at his very table and put to death. The common people fared no better. Ferdinand claimed the monopoly of all the commerce of the kingdom and crushed the people with taxes. He did not prevent the Ottomans from seizing Otranto and the Venetians from taking Gallipoli and Policastro. The profound contempt which he excited explains how subsequently Charles VIII could drive him from his kingdom of Naples without breaking a lance. All the Italian states from one end of the peninsula to the other were in the same condition.

# V

## THE OTTOMAN TURKS

### (1453-1520)

**Powerful Military Organization of the Ottomans. Mohammed II.** — The Ottomans were apparently the foe whom Italy had most to dread. By the conquest of Constantinople they had definitely established themselves in the great peninsula which separates the Adriatic and Black Seas. Mohammed II was obeyed from Belgrade on the Danube to the Taurus in Asia Minor. But this mighty empire had two classes of enemies. On the west were the various Christian nations, and on the East the Persian schismatics. These two parties by taking turns at fighting the Ottomans were to keep them within bounds. The one checked their progress on the Tigris, and the other along the lower valley of the Danube.

The Ottoman government was like that of all Asiatic peoples despotism tempered by insurrection and assassination. Nevertheless above the Sultan or Padishah was the Koran, whose interpreters, the Sheik ul Islam and the Oulema, often won the ear of the ruler or of the people. The Turkish armies were then stronger than those of the Christians. Their most effective force consisted of 40,000 janissaries, a regular and permanent troop. The Christians had as yet hardly more than the feudal militia. Moreover the sultan could quickly raise 100,000 men from the timariots, or lands given for life on condition of military service. They thoroughly understood the art of fortification and possessed an unequalled artillery. These efficient means of action were put in play for two centuries by ten successive and energetic princes. Above all account must be taken of the religious fanaticism and martial ardor of a race which also saw its victories fruitful in acquisition of lands and wealth. It is not difficult to explain the rapid progress of the Ottomans.

After making Constantinople his capital, Mohammed II undertook the subjugation of Hungary and Austria. But he was hurled back in 1456 by Hunyadi from the walls of Belgrade. He then attacked the remnants of the Greek Empire and seized Athens, Lesbos, the Morea and Trebizond. Christendom ought to have united in one common effort. Pope Pius II demanded it. But the sovereigns were busy about other things. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, who was most endangered, and Frederick III, emperor of Germany, were warring against each other. Corvinus did at least force the Turks to a halt on the Danube. But the Albanian Scanderbeg, Prince of Epirus, was their one persistent enemy. During twenty-three years he fought them without repose and gained more than twenty battles. His death in 1468 and the fall of Croïa, his capital, delivered Albania into their hands. Two years afterward they wrested Negropont from the Venetians. Also they triumphed over the Tartar Ouzoun Hassan, who had just founded in Persia the dynasty of the White Sheep, and was stirred up against them by Pope Paul II.

Fortunately the Moldavians on the lower Danube, the Albanians and some Greek mountaineers compelled Mohammed II to divide his forces. Although he had sworn to feed his horse with oats on the altar of Saint Peter's in Rome, he could undertake no serious enterprise against Italy. The surprise of Otranto by his fleet was hardly more than a bold and sudden raid by sea (1480). When his horsemen came and burned villages within sight of Venice, that republic took alarm. She sued for peace, ceded Scutari on the coast of the Adriatic and promised an annual tribute. Mohammed II was heading a great expedition, the object of which was known only to himself, when death overtook him in 1481 at the age of fifty-three.

**Bayezid II** (1481) **and Selim I the Ferocious** (1512). — His son, Bayezid II, was a scholar rather than a soldier. Moreover he was forced to consult prudence, inasmuch as his brother Zizim after an unsuccessful rebellion had escaped as a fugitive to the Knights of Rhodes. By them he had been delivered into the hands of Pope Alexander VI. As long as Zizim was with the Christians, he was a constant menace to his brother. Yet despite his pacific inclination, it was necessary to keep the janissaries busy and somehow win their favor. So Bayezid sent them to conquer Bosnia,

Croatia and Moldavia on the left bank of the Danube where the Ottomans already possessed Wallachia. The soldiers became discontented with their indolent sultan and placed his son Selim on the throne. At once the movement of conquest resumed its course. The new monarch attacked Persia, beginning the religious war by the massacre of 40,000 Shiite Mussulmans who inhabited his states. A bloody battle near Tauris was indecisive, but he soon subjugated the provinces of Diarbekir, Ourfa and Mossoul, which extended the Turkish Empire as far as the Tigris (1518). Syria belonged to the Mamelukes of Egypt. Selim attacked them. He defeated them at Aleppo, at Gaza and finally on the banks of the Nile, where the Copts and fellahs, downtrodden by the Mamelukes, welcomed him as a liberator. Moutawakkel, caliph of Cairo, confided to him the Standard of the Prophet and resigned the religious authority into his hands. The Arab tribes in their turn submitted. The scherif of Mecca came to offer the conqueror the keys of the Kaaba. Thus the sultan became the Commander of the Faithful, the spiritual as well as the temporal chief of the Mussulmans.

By this conquest the road to the East by way of Egypt was closed to Europeans. This was the death-blow of Venice. Master of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, Selim also held in its western basin the strong fortress of Algiers, which the pirate Horouk, surnamed Barbarossa, had wrested from Spain and placed under his protection in return for the title of Bey (1518). From that time until 1830 Algiers was a nest of pirates who preyed upon European commerce. Abominable cruelties accompanied the conquests of Selim and earned for him the surname of the Ferocious. He died in 1520 and had for his successor Souleïman the Magnificent, the worthy rival of his illustrious contemporaries Charles V and Francis I.

## VI

### WARS IN ITALY. CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII

**Consequences of the Political Revolution in European Wars.** — One general fact had been evolved during the second half of the fifteenth century. It was that society in all the states had reverted to a form of government, lost since the Roman Empire and based upon the absolute power of kings. This is the political side of the revolution in progress. It was to affect the arts, sciences and literatures, and even for a part of Europe the beliefs, at the same time that it modified institutions. The inevitable consequence of this first transformation, which places the peoples with their wealth and forces at the disposal of their sovereigns, will be to imbue the kings with the desire of aggrandizing their dominions. Thus European wars are about to follow feudal wars, just as kings have followed nobles. France, the first ready, is also the first in the endeavor to issue from her frontiers.

**Expedition of Charles VIII into Italy** (1494). — The prudent Louis XI had been careful not to assert the rights which the house of Anjou had bequeathed him over the kingdom of Naples. His son, Charles VIII, revived these claims with ambitious projects. Not to be hampered in the execution of plans which he thought would carry him from Naples to Constantinople, and from Constantinople to Jerusalem, he abandoned Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, and Franche-Comté, Charolais and Artois to Maximilian. He crossed the Alps at Mount Ginevra and was well received at Turin and in the duchy of Milan, where Ludovico il Moro then needed his support against the Neapolitans. He forced Pietro de Medici to deliver to him Sarzana and Pietra Santa, the two fortresses of the Apennines, and arrived without encountering any obstacle at Florence, which he entered as a conqueror. But when he demanded a war contribution, the inhabitants threatened a riot and he withdrew, though still holding Pisa and Siena.

At Rome the cardinals and nobles, who had been harshly treated by Alexander VI, opened the gates to the French. The Pope took refuge in the castle of San Angelo. Charles trained his cannon on the ancient fortress and demanded the son of the pontiff, Cæsar Borgia, as hostage. Also he demanded that Zizim, the brother of Sultan Bayezid II, who was then with the Pope, should be surrendered to him, thinking this prisoner would advance his ultimate plans in the East. A few days later the former captive escaped. The latter was given up, but soon afterward died, perhaps from poison. At San Germano, Ferdinand II, king of Naples, wished to fight but his soldiers deserted and Charles entered the capital without breaking a lance (1495). There he had himself crowned King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem. He speedily alienated all parties.

While he gave himself up to festivity, in his rear Venice formed a league against him, which included Ludovico il Moro, Pope Alexander VI, Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henry VII of England. Forty thousand men lay in wait for him at the foot of the Apennines. Warned by Commines, he hastily marched northward, leaving in the south 11,000 men. The battle of Fornovo reopened his road to the Alps, but Italy was lost and no fruit remained from this brilliant expedition.

Italy freed from the foreigner returned to her domestic quarrels. Ludovico implored the aid of the Emperor Maximilian, who suffered a ridiculous defeat before Leghorn. In the Romagna civil war continued between the Pope and the barons, in Tuscany between Pisa and Florence, in Florence itself between the partisans and the enemies of Savonarola. The latter perished at the stake (1498), but his death did not restore harmony.

**Louis XII** (1498). **Conquest of Milan and Naples.** — Louis XII, grandson of a brother of Charles VI, succeeded his cousin, whose widow he married to prevent her carrying Brittany to another house. He inherited not only the claims of Charles VIII to Naples, but also those of his grandmother, Valentine Visconti, to Milanese territory which had been usurped by the Sforza. Cajoling or bribing the neutrality or support of Cæsar Borgia, Venice and Florence, he sent Trivulcio, an Italian mercenary, to conquer Milan. Ludovico il Moro lost, regained and again lost the city, but was finally betrayed by his troops and was

confined in France in the castle of Loches. Master of Milan, Louis sought to acquire the kingdom of Naples without striking a blow. Therefore he shared it in advance with Ferdinand the Catholic. He reserved for himself the title of King, together with the Abruzzi, Terra di Lavoro, and the capital. Ferdinand asked nothing but Apulia and Calabria. The unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, finding himself betrayed by the Spaniard Gonsalvo of Cordona, placed himself at the mercy of the king of France, who offered him a retreat on the banks of the Loire. But the conquest made, disputes soon arose between the Spaniards and the French. Perfidious negotiations gave Gonsalvo time to bring up his troops. The French generals were everywhere defeated and their forces again evacuated the kingdom (1504).

To retain at least the Milanese territory, Louis XII signed the disastrous treaty of Blois. His claims to Naples he renounced in favor of Prince Charles, the sovereign of the Netherlands, who was destined to become Charles V of Germany. It was stipulated that Charles should wed Madame Claude, the daughter of the king. The dowry of the bride was to be Burgundy and Brittany. Public opinion cried out against this dangerous marriage, so Louis assembled the States General. They declared that the two provinces were inalienable, and implored the king to betroth his daughter to his presumptive heir, Francis, Duke of Angoulême.

**League of Cambrai** (1508). **The Holy League** (1511). — Julius II. succeeded Alexander VI. This warlike Pope undertook to expel from Italy those whom he called barbarians. He also aimed at humbling Venice and at rendering the Holy See the dominating power of the peninsula. First he managed to unite every one against Venice. Louis XII wished to recover from that republic the places formerly acquired from the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand the Catholic claimed from it several maritime cities of the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor Maximilian was desirous of extending his sway in Friuli. All the jealousies and desires coalesced therefore in 1508, at Cambrai.

At Anagdello Louis gained over the Venetians a victory which permitted his allies to fill their hands with Venetian booty. Thereupon the Pope promptly turned this league against his successful confederate, and formed the Holy

League to expel the French from Italy. Setting an example, in person he stormed the cities and entered them through the breach. Louis assembled at Pisa a council to depose him. Julius convoked another council at the Lateran, which excommunicated the king, and drew into alliance all the Catholic powers, even including the Swiss, upon whom Louis was lavishing his money.

**Invasion of France** (1513). **Treaties of Peace** (1514). — At first France was victorious, thanks to the talents of the youthful Gaston de Foix, who drove the Swiss back to their mountains, captured Brescia from the Venetians and defeated all the allies at Ravenna. But he was slain in that last battle. Under his successor, La Palisse, the French retreated to the Alps. Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico il Moro, reëntered Milan. Then France was invaded from three sides. Ferdinand the Catholic threatened French Navarre. The English and Germans routed the French cavalry at the battle of Spurs. Lastly, the Swiss penetrated as far as Dijon, and their withdrawal was purchased by payment in gold. The only ally of France was James IV, king of Scotland. He shared her evil fortune and was defeated and slain at Flodden Field by the English. Louis begged a truce from his enemies. He disavowed the council of Pisa, and persuaded Henry VIII to return to his island, promising a pension of 100,000 crowns for ten years. Thus, after fifteen years of war, after immense loss of blood and money, France was no farther advanced than when the reign of Charles VIII began. Louis died on January 1, 1515. His domestic administration had been superior to his foreign policy. He created two parliaments, one at Provence and another in Normandy, suppressed the use of Latin in criminal procedure, stopped pillage by soldiers, and caused commerce and agriculture to thrive. So he has been surnamed the Father of his People.

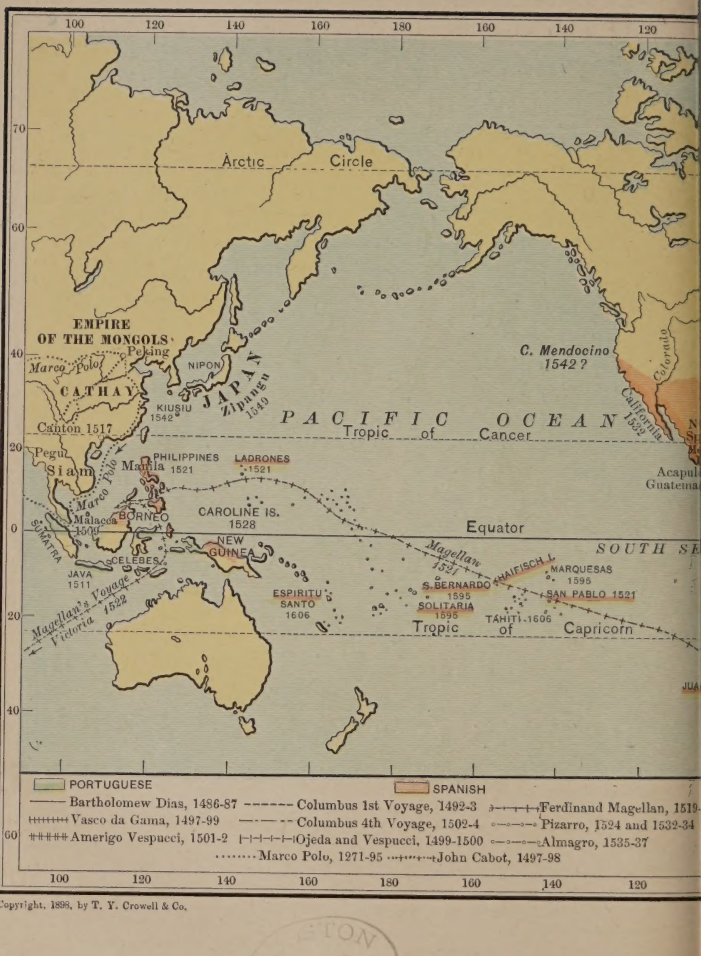
## VII

### THE ECONOMICAL REVOLUTION

**Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope** (1497). — The end of the Middle Ages is marked, not only by the destruction of hitherto prevalent political forms, but also by the simultaneous revolution in commercial affairs, consequent upon the discovery of America and of the passage to the Indies around the Cape of Good Hope.

Up to that time, commerce had followed the routes marked out by the Greeks and the Romans. The products of the East reached Europe by the Red Sea and Egypt, or through Persia and the Black Sea. But the peoples who bordered on the Atlantic had long been turning their gaze toward the mysterious expanse of its unknown waters. They had become familiar with its tempests and had gained confidence in the compass. The Normans had been the first to enter upon the path of maritime discoveries along the western coast of Africa. There the Portuguese, more advantageously situated, followed and outstripped them. In 1472 they crossed the equator. In 1486 Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape of Storms, which King John II more wisely named the Cape of Good Hope. In fact, Vasco da Gama soon sailed round the African continent and reached Calicut on the Malabar coast (1498). Later on Camoens in his *Lusiad* painted this heroic expedition. At Calicut Alvarez Cabral founded the first European establishment in the Indies. On the way thither he had been cast upon the coast of Brazil.

**Colonial Empire of the Portuguese.** — The true creator of the Portuguese colonies was Albuquerque. By the capture of Socotora and Ormuz, he closed the ancient routes of Indian commerce to the Mussulmans and to Venice. He gave to Portuguese India its capital by taking possession of Goa (1510). He conquered Malacca and secured the alliance of the kings of Siam and Pegu and the possession of the Molucca Islands. While preparing one expedition

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against Egypt and another against Arabia, where he wished to destroy Mecca and Medina, he was arrested by an unmerited disgrace (1515). The conquest continued under John de Castro, who seized Cambaye. Japan was discovered in 1542, and a trading station set up opposite Canton in the island of Sanciam. Goa was the centre of Portuguese domination. The other principal points in their empire were Mozambique, Sofala and Melinda on the African coast, whence they obtained gold-dust and ivory; Muscat and Ormuz, on the Persian Gulf, whither came the products of Central Asia; Diu, on the coast of Malabar; Negapatam, on that of Coromandel; Malacca, in the peninsula of the same name, which threw into their hands the commerce of the countries of Indo-China; and the Moluccas, where they occupied Ternate and Timor, and whence they exported spices. Their trading stations on the western coast of Africa and on the Congo were of no importance until after the establishment of the slave trade. For a long time, the only colonists whom Brazil received were criminals and deported Jews.

**Christopher Columbus. Colonial Empire of the Spaniards.** —The discovery of America had taken place earlier, in 1492. The Genoese navigator, Christopher Columbus, engrossed with the idea that India must extend far toward the west as a counterbalance to the European continent, hoped to reach its furthest shore by directing his course westward across the Atlantic. Rebuffed as a visionary by the Senate of Genoa and by the king of Portugal, as well as for a time by the court of Spain, he succeeded in obtaining from Isabella three small vessels. After sailing for two months he landed on October 11, 1492, in Guanahani, one of the Lucaya Islands, which he named San Salvador. Only during his third voyage in 1849 did he touch the continent, without knowing it, and on the fourth in 1502 discovered the coast of Columbia. He still believed that he had reached the shores of India. Hence was derived the name, West Indies, which long prevailed. The name America refers to Amerigo Vespucci, who merely enjoyed the inferior distinction of landing on the mainland before Columbus.

The route once found, discoveries followed each other in rapid succession. In 1513 Balboa traversed the Isthmus of Panama and caught sight of the Great Ocean. In 1518 Grijalva discovered Mexico, of which Fernando Cortés effected

the conquest (1519–1521). In 1520 Magellan reached the strait to which his name has been given between South America and Tierra del Fuego. He traversed the Pacific Ocean, where he died, and his comrades returned to Spain by way of the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope. They were the first to make the circuit of the globe. The adventurers, Almagro and Pizarro, gave to the crown of Spain Peru and Chili. Others founded on the opposite coast Buenos Ayres, at the mouth of the Plata. In 1534 Cartier discovered Canada for France.

The Portuguese colonies rapidly declined. They were only a line of trading posts along the coasts of Africa and Hindustan, without power of resistance, because few Portuguese settled there. The Spanish colonies, which in the beginning aimed not so much at commerce as at the development of the mines, attracted on the contrary many Spaniards to the New World, and formed in America a compact domination, divided into the two governments of Mexico and Lima. At the present day Mexico and South America are dominated by Spanish blood, while Brazil is Portuguese.

**Results.** — These discoveries threw open to the industrious activity of the men of the West both a New World and also that East where so much idle wealth was locked up. They changed the course and form of trade. For land commerce, which hitherto had held first rank, maritime commerce was about to be substituted. As a result the cities of the interior were to decline and those on the coast to expand. Moreover commercial importance passed from the countries bathed by the Mediterranean to the countries situated on the Atlantic, from the Italians to the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and later on from these latter to the Dutch and the English. Not only did these peoples grow rich, but they were enriched in a peculiar manner. The mines of Mexico and Peru threw into European circulation an enormous mass of specie. Industry, commerce and agriculture developed on receiving the capital which they required in order to thrive. "The third part of the kingdom of France," says a writer of the sixteenth century, "was put under cultivation in the course of a few years." All this created a new power in personal wealth which fell into the hands of the burgher class, and which in after centuries was to battle with the landed wealth still remaining in the hands of the lords.

By means of the posting stations which Louis XI had organized, and the canals with locks which Venice began to construct in 1481, communication became more rapid and more easy. When to the letters of exchange, devised by the Jews in the Middle Ages for the purpose of saving their fortunes from their persecutors, were added the deposit and credit banks, instituted by the Hanse, the Lombards and the Tuscans, it came to pass that capital circulated as easily as produce. We have already seen a banker, Cosmo de Medici, become a prince. Lastly, the system of insurance, practised first at Barcelona and Florence, and later on at Bruges, began the great system of guarantees which at the present day gives to commerce such audacity and security. Thus labor was making for itself a place in the new society. Through it, by means of order, economy and intelligence, the descendants of the slaves of antiquity and of the serfs of the Middle Ages became the leaders of the industrial world and masters of money, and were one day to find themselves the equals of the ancient masters of the land.

## VIII

### THE REVOLUTION IN ARTS AND LETTERS, OR THE RENAISSANCE

**The Invention of Printing.**—The ardor which impelled men of action to abandon beaten paths and rush into unexplored ways was shared by men of learning. They also aspired after another world. They sought it, not in front but in the rear. Like Columbus, they thought they were only travelling toward the old land, but on their route thither they, like him, found a new one.

Weary of the vain disputes of scholasticism and the quibbles of a school which its barbarous Latin speech rendered obscure, they threw themselves toward the half-extinguished lights of antiquity. They ransacked monastic libraries, those storehouses of old books. The discovery of a Greek or Latin manuscript, or of an antique statue, caused the joy of a victory. But only a few men would have profited by the new spirit, which reviving antiquity was breathing upon the world, had not an invention appeared by means of which the treasures, otherwise reserved to a small number, could become the domain of all. Guttenberg created printing by devising movable characters. As early as 1455, the first printed book made its appearance. This was a Bible. The new art spread rapidly throughout all Christian Europe, and the price of books marvellously decreased. In 1500 Aldus Manutius at Venice placed on sale a whole collection of ancient authors at about fifty cents the volume. A single bookseller of Paris, Josse Bade, published as many as 400 works, the majority in folio. In 1529, the *Colloquia* of Erasmus was printed in an edition of 24,000 copies. Thus eager were people to learn, "for they began to perceive that they had been living in mental slavery as well as in bodily servitude."

The ancients wrote upon parchment or papyrus, both materials of great cost, the Chinese upon silk, the Arabs of Damascus upon cotton, the Spanish Arabs upon a paper

made from flax and hemp. Thus the printers, at the very beginning of their labors, had at their disposal a low-priced product which could receive the imprint of the characters.

**Renaissance of Letters.** — Italy eagerly seized upon the new invention. Before the year 1470, there were already printers at Rome, Venice and Milan. Everywhere schools, libraries and universities were founded. The ancient authors were published and translated. Not only the Fathers of the Church were published to uphold the faith, but also the orators, historians and philosophers. Thereby faith was exposed to peril, for thus were opened to the mind new horizons where reason was to seek and find its domain. Pope Julius II was not always surrounded by captains and diplomats. Quite as many learned men and artists were to be seen at his side. "Polite letters," he said, "are the silver of plebeians, the gold of nobles, the diamonds of princes." The day on which the Laocoon was discovered in the Baths of Titus, he caused the bells of all the churches in Rome to be rung. Leo X paid 500 sequins for five manuscript volumes of Titus Livius, and was the friend as well as the patron of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

At that period only three countries thought and produced. Italy was foremost with Ariosto, Machiavelli, Guicciardini and all her artistic geniuses. France came second, with Marot, Rabelais, Calvin, Amyot, Montaigne and a host of learned men or jurisconsults whose fame still endures, like Cujas, Pithou, Godefroy and Dumoulin. Germany stood third, with Ulric von Hutten, the cobbler-poet Hans Sachs and the Ciceronians, with Luther and his Latin writings at the head. The Netherlands presented Erasmus, a hardy thinker but timid-hearted man, whose Latin works enjoyed an immense success. As for England, she was healing the wounds inflicted by the War of the Roses. As for Spain, her eyes were turned far less upon antiquity than toward America and her mines, toward Italy and the Netherlands, where the bands of Charles V so loved to indulge in war and pillage.

**Renaissance of Arts.** — Italy was their natural cradle, since there the finest remains of ancient art were to be found. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Brunelleschi substituted the rounded for the pointed arch, and for the tortured lines of the florid Gothic, the straight line of the Greek temples or the elegant curve of the Roman dome. For

Julius II Bramante constructed Saint Peter's at Rome, which Michael Angelo crowned with the immense cupola, the idea of which he had derived from the Pantheon of Agrippa. The sculptors of Florence and Rome were unable to excel their classic rivals, but Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Titian far surpassed their most illustrious predecessors and created painting, which with music has remained the distinctive modern art.

In the field of the arts, Italy in the sixteenth century was the teacher of the nations. France followed her close behind. Her architects reared many chateaux and palaces, the Louvre, the Tuileries, Fontainebleau, Blois and Chambord, where elegance and grace are blended with strength. Two French sculptors are still famous, Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon. Germany had but two painters, Albert Dürer and Holbein. Engraving, recently invented, multiplied the masterpieces of the artists, just as printing had popularized masterpieces in literature, and Palestrina began the great school of music.

**Renaissance in Science.** — Science was still hesitating between the dreams of the Middle Ages and the stern reason which guides it at the present day. Men did not know that the physical world is subject to changeless laws. They continued to believe in capricious powers, in magicians and sorcerers, whom they burned by thousands. At Würzburg 158 persons were sent to the stake in the course of two years (1527–1528). But Italy had several geometers, and as early as 1507 the Pole, Copernicus, discovered the truth concerning the planetary system.

Thus, while the navigators were opening new worlds to human activity and through artists and learned men modern genius was acquiring fresh vigor from the ancients, science was assigning its place to the sun and to the earth and the planets their parts in the universe. Is it a marvel that the century which beheld these mighty results of audacity and intelligence should have abandoned itself to the resistless power of thought?

# IX

## THE REVOLUTION IN CREEDS, OR THE REFORMATION

**The Clergy in the Sixteenth Century.** — By its reverence for the two antiquities, the sacred and profane, which had just been as it were rediscovered, the literature of the sixteenth century led to the religious Reformation, whose true character was a mixture of the reasoning spirit borrowed from the pagans, and of theological ardor derived from the Bible and the Fathers. The prime author of this revolution was the clergy itself. What was there in common between the Church of the early days, poor, humble, ardent, and the opulent, lordly, indolent Church of Leo X, who lived like a gentleman of the Renaissance, with huntsmen, artists and poets, rather than with theologians? And of those bishop-princes who had armies, and of those monks who were so vicious and so ignorant, what was not said? For a long time the most devout had been demanding the reform of the Church in its head and its members. "I see," said Cardinal Julian to Pope Eugenius IV, "that the axe is laid to the root; the tree leans, and instead of propping it up, we are hurling it to the earth." Bossuet himself recognized the necessity of a reform.

**Luther** (1517). — The strife began with the pamphlets of Erasmus and Hutten. It became serious only when Luther had drawn the theologians after him into the lists. This son of a Saxon miner of Eisleben was an Augustinian monk. He became the most esteemed doctor of the University of Wittenberg. During a journey to Rome he beheld the disorders of the Church. The scandal of indulgences, whence Leo X sought money for the completion of Saint Peter's, led him to examine the very principles of this doctrine. Finding the system of indulgences contrary to the teachings of the primitive Church, he fought against it. The Dominican Tetzel was the broker of these spiritual wares in Germany. Luther nailed to the doors of the church in Wittenberg ninety-five propositions concerning

indulgences. Tetzel replied by 110 counter propositions. The battle had begun.

At first Leo X would see in it nothing but a quarrel between monks and sent to Germany the legate Cajetano to bring them to their senses. Luther appealed from the legate to the Pope, then from the Pope to a future council. Finally, rejecting even the authority of councils, or of all human utterances as opposed to the Word of God, as set forth in the Gospels and as he understood it, he admitted no other law for the believer than the very text of Scripture.

Thus Luther "plunged into schism." The Roman Catholic faith was nourished from the two sources of Scripture and tradition. He denied the latter source. Retaining the former, he admitted no mediator between him and the sacred text to interpret the latter and solve its difficulties. He beheld in the Scriptures neither the authority of the Pope, nor sacraments, nor monastic vows. Hence he rejected them. The Church on becoming organized had taught that even a society of believers is impossible unless its members think that they are bound to add to the merits of their faith those of their works. Luther, an ardent monk, and a theologian reared in the spirit of Saint Paul and Saint Augustine, did not hesitate before the formidable problem of grace. In his book *On Christian Liberty*, addressed to the Pope in 1520, he immolated the free will of man, and grace became the essential principle of faith. Calvin hence deduced later the doctrine of predestination. Leo X excommunicated the bold innovator, who nevertheless was simply looking backward, and returning to the apostolic age. Luther returning blow for blow publicly burned the papal bull (1520). He was protected by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. When Charles V in order to win over the Catholics cited him to appear before the Diet of Worms, he boldly presented himself. He was so well defended that the Church did not dare seize him as it had formerly seized John Huss and send him to the stake. The elector prudently had him carried off and kept under guard at the Castle of the Wartburg, whence Luther stirred up all Germany by his pamphlets.

As a matter of fact, the reformer was serving well the interests of the princes. He restored to their hands the direction of religious affairs. The secularization of church property tempted their greed. In 1525 the Grand Master of

the Teutonic Order declared himself the Hereditary Duke of Prussia. Already the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Zell, and a great number of imperial cities, had embraced the Reformation and at the same time seized the ecclesiastical domains situated in their territories.

The people wished to have its share in this immense booty. In Suabia and Thuringia the peasants rose, not to hasten the reform in the Church, but to accomplish that of society, wherein they meant to establish absolute equality and community of goods. Luther himself preached against them a war of extermination and those wretched persons perished by thousands (1525).

This savage demagogy, which appeared again with the Anabaptists of Munster, frightened every one, but especially the Catholics. The Diet of Spires forbade the propagation of the new doctrines (1529). The followers of the Reformation protested against this decree in the name of liberty of conscience, and hence received the name of Protestants. In the following year, they published at Augsburg a confession of their belief which has remained the creed and the bond of all Luther's followers (1530).

Thanks to Francis I and to Souleïman, the emperor was occupied in defending himself on all his frontiers. He shrank from creating for himself a new enemy in the heart of the empire by attacking the Reformers. He avoided such risk until after the battle of Crespy and the death of the king of France. The victory of Mühlberg (1547) seemed to place Germany at his discretion. In order to impose religious peace he promulgated the Interim at Augsburg, which displeased both parties and reduced the German princes to the powerlessness of French or English nobles. The supreme power of Charles V was overthrown by the alliance of the Protestants with the king of France, Henry II. Maurice of Saxony came near capturing the emperor at Innsbruck (1551), and the peace of Augsburg granted the Reformers entire liberty of conscience (1555).

**The Lutheran Reformation in the Scandinavian States.** — At that period the new doctrines had already triumphed through almost all Northern Europe. Gustavus Vasa, who had delivered Sweden from the Danish domination, welcomed them as a means of humbling the episcopal aristocracy and of raising himself to absolute power.

In Denmark on the contrary the revolution was effected in the interests of the secular aristocracy, which suppressed the States General, held royalty in tutelage for 120 years and bowed the people under a harsh subjection.

**The Reformation in Switzerland. Zwingli** (1517). **Calvin** (1536). — In Switzerland the Reformation was born as early as in Germany. In 1517 Zwingli declared that the Gospel was the only rule of faith. The evangelical religion spread in German Switzerland, except in the original cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, which remained faithful to the ancient faith. The war, which broke out in 1531, and in which Zwingli perished, was favorable to the Catholics. Each canton still remained sovereign as to regulating its worship, but the evangelical doctrine was expelled from the common possessions. This was a defeat for Protestantism. On the other hand, it acquired Geneva, which had long been discontented with its bishop, its temporal sovereign, and was divided between the so-called parties of the Mamelukes and the Huguenots. Thanks to the support of Berne, the Huguenot party carried the day and maintained the independence of the city against Savoy (1536).

At this juncture Calvin arrived. He was a Frenchman from Noyon, who had just published a remarkable book, *The Christian Institutes*, wherein he condemned everything which did not seem to him prescribed by the Gospel, while Luther, less audacious, allowed everything to subsist which did not appear to him positively contrary to it. His eloquence, the austerity of his life and his radical doctrines gave him in Geneva an authority which he used to convert that joyous city into a sombre cloister, where every frivolous word or deed was punished as a crime. A poet was beheaded for his verses. Michael Servetus was burned for having thought otherwise concerning the Trinity than did the spiritual director. But none the less, Geneva became the citadel, and as it were the sanctuary of the Calvinistic Reformation.

**The Reformation in the Netherlands, France, Scotland and England.** — The seventeen provinces of the Low Countries formed a federated state under the direction of an Austrian or a Spanish governor. Each had its own constitution and its assembly. These free institutions, the independent spirit of the population and its nearness to Germany favored the propagation in that country of Luther's Reformation. Charles V stifled it by the horrors of a spe-

cial inquisition, which punished with death more than 30,000 persons. But Lutheranism gave way to Calvinism, which had come from Switzerland by way of Alsace, or from England, during the reign of Edward VI, and which spread rapidly throughout the Dutch provinces.

Protestantism was not established in France until comparatively late. The Sorbonne refuted the new doctrines and the law suppressed them by force. Moreover there had been fewer abuses among the Gallican clergy, as they had possessed little wealth or power. Though many provincial nobles regretted the domains formerly ceded to the Church by their fathers, though more independent doctrines gratified their feudal inclinations, and though desires for political enfranchisement were mingled with desires for religious liberty, yet the inhabitants of the great cities remained strongly Catholic. In France a foothold was gained, not by Lutheranism, but by Calvinism. Francis I, who supported the Protestants in Germany, did not tolerate them in his own kingdom. He had the Lutherans burned before his eyes and approved the horrible massacre of the Vaudois. Henry II, by the edict of Chateaubriand, decreed the same death penalty against heretics. He even had two magistrates, suspected of heresy, arrested in open Parliament; and one of them, Anne Dubourg, was burned at the stake. Persecution was destined, as always, to bring about plots and a frightful struggle.

It was Calvinism which won the day in Scotland. Marie of Guise, the widow of James V, left the management of affairs to Cardinal Beaton, who defended Catholicism by extremely rigorous measures, but was assassinated (1546). The Reformation took possession of all Scotland, where Knox, who was summoned from Geneva, established the Presbyterian system.

In England the Reformation was not the work of the people, but of a despot, who found the country disposed for this revolution by the memories of Wicliffe and the Lollards. Being smitten with Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII asked Pope Clement VII to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. As the pontiff hesitated, he made his own Parliament pronounce the divorce. On being excommunicated, he proclaimed himself the head of the Anglican Church (1534), suppressed the monastic orders, and confiscated the property of the convents (1539). Though

Henry VIII separated himself from the Holy See, he claimed that he remained orthodox. He retained the title of Defender of the Faith, which the Pope had bestowed upon him for writing a book against Luther. Without discrimination, he punished with death the man who denied the Real Presence in the Eucharist, and the man who denied the religious supremacy of the king. Very many sentences of death were pronounced. Spoliation followed murder. The nation, which through love of repose had abandoned its political liberty after the War of the Roses, beheld its money, its blood, its very beliefs, sacrificed to a tyrant. But by publishing an English translation of the sacred Scriptures, Henry unwittingly favored the spirit of investigation, which caused many sects to spring forth in England and paved the way for the revolution of 1648. Under Edward VI this "beheaded Catholicism," as the Reformation of Henry VIII was called, gave way to Protestantism pure and simple (1547).

A Catholic reaction set in after the death of the latter prince (1553). Earl Warwick placed upon the throne Lady Jane Grey. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII, caused this ten days' queen to be beheaded, then married Philip II, king of Spain, and reconciled England with the Holy See. This restoration was marked by numerous executions. Between February, 1555, and September, 1558, 400 reformers perished, 290 of whom were burned at the stake. Drawn by Philip into the war against France, Mary lost Calais, and only survived this disaster by a few months (1558). She often said that if her body were opened, the word Calais would be found written upon her heart. The Anglican Church, as it exists to-day, was finally constituted in 1562 by Queen Elizabeth, the successor of Mary.

**Character of the Three Reformed Churches.** — Thus in less than half a century, Switzerland, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, half of Germany and a part of France had separated themselves from Catholicism. As the principle of reform was free examination, it had already produced many sects, whose number was destined to be still further increased. However, three great systems were dominant: Lutheranism in the north of Germany and the Scandinavian States; Calvinism in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Scotland; and Anglicanism in England. Their common dogma was justification.

Of the three systems, Calvinism differed most from Roman Catholicism. It regarded the Lord's Supper as a simple, commemorative rite. The Lutherans admitted the Real Presence, but not transubstantiation. The Anglicans were Calvinistic in dogma, and Roman Catholic in liturgy. Their Church, with its archbishops, bishops, and its numerous revenues, differed from the Catholic Church mainly in the simplicity of costume, in the cold austerity of its worship, in the employment of the vernacular language, and in the marriage of its priests. Subject to royal supremacy, its existence was intimately bound up with the maintenance of the monarchy; and the clergy in England was, as it has been in the Catholic countries, the firmest support of royalty. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland was democratic, like all Calvinistic churches, and its clergy were equal. Puritans were later to declare every Christian a priest, if he has the inspiration. The Lutheran countries retained the episcopal form. Their bishops had neither wealth nor liberty, as the prince had inherited nearly all the spiritual power which had been wrested from the Pope, and drew up the creeds. "Luther," said Melancthon, "has placed on our heads a yoke of iron, instead of a yoke of wood."

**Consequences of the Reformation.** — The religious revolution at first strengthened the political revolution, since it added to the civil rights of princes the right to control the conscience. The Calvinistic communities, however, recognized spiritual power as vested only in the assembly of the faithful.

As to the effect on general civilization, this insurrection of the investigating spirit was at first of small advantage to the progress of public reason. In Germany all utterance was bent upon theology. As in the palmy days of scholasticism, men neglected classic literature to occupy themselves only with barren and insolvable questions. The Renaissance died in consequence. Painters and poets disappeared before the iconoclastic rage of the one party and the theological vagaries of the other.

Luther and Calvin, the former of whom intrusted to the princes the spiritual power, and the latter of whom burned Michael Servetus and taught predestination, are not directly the fathers of modern liberty. But on the field, where man toils and sows, a harvest which he does not expect springs up. The denial of the Pope's absolute authority in the

spiritual order inevitably ended in the denial of the absolute authority of kings in the philosophical and social order. Luther and Calvin unwittingly led to Bacon and Descartes, and Bacon and Descartes as unconsciously led to Locke and Mirabeau.

# X

## THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION

**Reforms at the Papal Court and in the Church. The Jesuits.** — The papacy had in a few years lost half of its empire. Roused by this solemn warning, it began a work of internal reformation which did honor to four great Popes — Paul III, Paul IV, Pius V and Sixtus V. The tribunal of the Rota, the penitentiary, the Roman chancellery, were better organized. A new Inquisition, whose superior tribunal sat at Rome, was instituted in 1542 to search out and punish, at home and abroad, all attacks upon the faith. Neither rank nor dignity could protect from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who set to work with such energy that the roads leading from Italy to Switzerland and Germany were thronged with fugitives. The Congregation of the Index permitted no book to be printed until after it had been examined and revised. As individuals were executed, likewise books were burned. These means, obstinately pursued, were successful. Roman Catholicism was saved in the peninsula, but at what a price! The subjection of the Italians to the house of Austria had suppressed political life. The measures taken to prevent or extirpate heresy suppressed literary life. Men ceased to think and art declined like letters.

The Inquisition was considered only a measure of defence. In order to attack, the Holy See multiplied the militia which fought in its name. First the ancient monastic orders were reformed: in 1522 the Camaldules; in 1525 the Franciscans, whence sprang the Capucins. Then new orders were created, as the Theatines in 1524 and the Barnabites in 1530. In 1540 the Jesuits were established, whose statutes reveal one of the strongest political conceptions which has ever existed. In addition to the ordinary vows, the Jesuits swore absolute obedience to the Holy See. Instead of shutting themselves up in the recesses of a convent, they lived in the midst of society, so they might there grasp all the means

of influence. They travelled over the world to keep believers in the faith, or convert heretics and barbarians, and they sought to control the education of the young. When their founder, Ignatius Loyola, died in 1556, the society already numbered fourteen provinces, 100 colleges, and 1000 members. Spain and Italy were under their influence, and their missionaries were traversing Brazil, India, Japan and Ethiopia.

**Council of Trent** (1545–1563). — Thus fortified, the Church could repudiate those ideas of conciliation which had repeatedly arisen, but which the Protestant princes had rejected lest they should be compelled to restore the ecclesiastical property. The Council of Trent proclaimed the inflexibility of the Catholic doctrines. Convoked in 1545 by Paul III and presided over by his legates, it was subscribed to by eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, thirty-nine procurators of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders. The Italian prelates were in the majority, generally two to one. As the voting was by individuals and not by nations, they were the masters of the council. The ambassadors of the Catholic powers were present at the deliberations.

Transferred from Trent to Bologna in 1546, restored to Trent in 1551, the council dispersed in 1552, at the approach of the Lutherans under Maurice of Saxony. Its sessions were interrupted for ten years, while Paul IV with the help of France, was trying to overthrow the Spanish rule in Italy. When the sword of the Duke of Alva had terminated this conflict to the advantage of Spain, Pius IV abandoned the temporal cause of Italian independence. He was recompensed in spiritual matters by the last decrees of the Council of Trent, which instead of following the Fathers of Constance and Basle and setting itself above the Pope, humbled itself before his authority.

The pontiff remained sole judge of the changes to be made in discipline, supreme interpreter of the canons, undisputed head of the bishops, infallible in matters of faith, but nevertheless without possessing the personal infallibility (*se solo*) which Pius IX extorted from the council of 1870. Thus Rome could console herself for the final loss of a part of Europe, as she beheld her power doubled in the Catholic nations of the south, which pressed religiously about her.

The Pope also, in his quality of king, was his own master. Pius V celebrated in the victory of Lepanto, won by Don John of Austria over the Ottomans, a sort of revival of the crusades. Gregory XIII attached his name to the useful reform of the calendar. Sixtus V restored order in the papal states, displaying therein the inflexibility of Louis XI. He cleared the Roman country of the hordes of brigands, improved the finances, enlarged and adorned his capital, whose population rose to 100,000 souls, built the Vatican Library and annexed to it a printing-office, for the publication of sacred books and of the writings of the Fathers.

Thus reform in the temporal administration of the pontifical states and reform in the bosom of the Church resulted from the efforts of Catholicism, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and caused its subsequent greatness. When discipline was revived and the scandal of the worldly life of prelates was repressed, the religious spirit reawoke. Asceticism and consecration again appeared.

At Rome something more was hoped for than this restoration of Catholicism to its diminished empire. The image of Gregory VII had passed before the eyes of his successors, and the regenerated Church had resumed the ambition of her great pontiffs. Democratic in the first centuries, aristocratic in the Middle Ages, with her powerful bishops, who in case of need, threatened the Pope with excommunication, and with her councils which enforced her will, she had followed the tendency of the civil power, and through the necessities of her own defence had culminated in absolute royalty.

Unfortunately for her, this constitution of sacerdotal royalty took place at the moment when the temporal monarchies were too strong to humble themselves under any authority whatever. The decisions of the Council of Trent as to matters of discipline, were not received in France, not even in Spain, and the Catholic sovereigns appropriated to themselves a portion of the prerogatives which the Protestant princes had obtained by force. But when the authority of these monarchs yielded under the pressure of a new political revolution, ultramontanism in the nineteenth century resumed the work of the sixteenth. It was too late, for though the struggle was to be conducted this time with greater concentration, the force of the Church was less, and the spirit of the world ran in other channels.

## XI

### FURTHER WARS IN ITALY. FRANCIS I, CHARLES V AND SOULEÏMAN

**The Victory of Marignano** (1515). — The successor of Louis XII was Francis I. Young, ardent and warlike, he commenced his reign by an invasion of the Milanese territory. He crossed the Alps by the Neck of Argentière and at Marignano attacked 30,000 Swiss, whom he overthrew in the "Battle of the Giants." The Swiss were disgusted with these Italian wars. They returned to their mountains, where they signed the "perpetual peace" which assured their alliance with France until the French Revolution. To arrest the young conqueror, Pope Leo X made haste to sign a treaty, to the cost of the Church of France, but to the mutual profit of the Pope and the king. The Concordat of 1516 suppressed the ecclesiastical elections which had been recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, and gave the king the direct appointment of the bishops and of the beneficed clergy. To the Pope it assigned the annates, or first year revenues of vacant sees. In this partition the pontiff left the spiritual share to the prince and took the temporal share for himself.

**Power of Charles V.** — By a series of fortunate marriages, a rival and dangerous power had been formed over against France. In 1516 Charles of Austria took possession of Spain, where Ferdinand the Catholic had just died. He found himself master of Austria, the Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples, Sicily, Spain and America. Francis I, still elated by the victory of Marignano, did not fear the master of so many divided states. Instead of trying to dismember this monstrous power before it could consolidate, he concluded with Charles the treaty of Noyon, which permitted his youthful antagonist at his leisure to gather together all his crowns (1516).

This friendship was broken three years later, when the imperial throne became vacant through the death of Maxi-

milian. Charles and Francis became competitors for it. The electors deemed those candidates too powerful and chose Frederick the Wise. He declined the honor, but advised the choice of Charles, since that prince was more interested than any one else in defending Germany against the Ottomans, who were daily becoming more menacing. So Charles of Austria became the Emperor Charles V. His power aided by his astuteness threatened the independence of the other states.

France accepted the task of resisting the new Charlemagne. The forces of the two adversaries were really less unequal than they seemed. France formed a compact and in a degree a homogeneous whole which it was difficult to crush. Her resources were controlled by a royal house which encountered resistance nowhere at home. By the Concordat Francis I had just placed the clergy under his hand. The feudal aristocracy was already in his power, and he boasted of being a king free from tutelage. Charles V, on the contrary, met opposition on every side: in Spain, from the comuneros; in Flanders, from the burghers; in Germany, from the princes and later on from the Protestants. In Austria he had to combat the then terrible Ottomans. Besides, he found it very difficult to concentrate in one direction all his instruments of action, then scattered through so many countries.

First of all the rivals sought allies. Francis I at the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, only succeeded in wounding the self-love of Henry VIII, king of England, whom he eclipsed in elegant luxury and knightly accomplishments. Charles, less pretentious, gained Wolsey, the prime minister of Henry, by promising him the tiara, and thus secured the English alliance for himself. Pope Leo X also declared for the man who seemed able to arrest the fermenting reformation in Germany.

Francis began hostilities by just complaints against the emperor, for not having executed one of the principal clauses of the treaty of Noyon in the restitution of French Navarre. Six thousand men invaded that country, and the Duke of Bouillon attacked Luxemburg. But the French were defeated in Castile, and the Imperialists would have taken Mezières, had not Bayard thrown himself into the place (1521). In Italy Lautrec was left without resources, and forced to submit to his Swiss mercenaries, who demanded

money, discharge, or battle. So he was completely routed at Bicoque (1522). The loss of the Milanese entailed the defection of Venice and Genoa. In that same year, Charles V placed his preceptor, Adrian VI, on the pontifical throne.

**Battle of Pavia** (1525). **Treaties of Madrid** (1526) **and of Cambrai** (1529). — The very existence of France was then imperilled by the treason of the constable of Bourbon, the last of the great feudal lords, whom injustice had driven into the camp of Charles V. He vanquished the incapable Bonnivet at Biagrasso where Bayard was slain (1524), and led the Imperialists into Provence. However the peasants rose and compelled them to retreat in disorder. The French, the king at their head, rushed in pursuit and attacked them at Pavia. The artillery was accomplishing marvels, when Francis I, charging with his cavalry, placed himself in front of his own fire. The battle was lost and the king himself was captured (1525).

Europe was roused and showed herself unwilling to allow the destruction of France. Italy, menaced in her independence, and Henry VIII, who was overshadowed by the glory of Charles V, and whose minister, Wolsey, had been twice tricked by the emperor in his hopes of the promised papal tiara, formed a league against the victor. Meanwhile Francis I, impatient to escape from captivity, signed the disastrous treaty of Madrid (1526), whereby he ceded to Charles the province of Burgundy, renounced Milan, Naples and Genoa, with the suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, reëstablished Bourbon in his possessions, and promised to wed the sister of the emperor, the queen dowager of Portugal.

Once free, he caused the deputies of Burgundy in the assembly of Cognac to declare that the king had no right to alienate a national province. The emperor treated Francis as a perjurer and the latter accused him of lying. The two princes challenged each other to single combat and the war again began. Italy was the first victim. Bourbon threw upon it an army of fanatical Lutherans, whose leader, George Frondsberg, wished to hang the Pope with a golden chain. Bourbon was killed under the walls of Rome, but his horde captured the city and avenged him by abominable rapine and most odious cruelty (1527). Lautrec, who had reconquered Milan, marched upon Naples. The defection of the Genoese fleet made the expedition a failure. The

general died of the pest, and the defeat at Landriano drove the French from Italy once more. Then Charles V made his appearance there as a master. He forced the dukes of Ferrara, Milan and Mantua to acknowledge themselves vassals of the empire; Savoy and Montferrat to renounce the French alliance; Pope Clement VII to crown him king of Italy and emperor (1529). France even signed the treaty of Cambrai, less harsh but hardly less humiliating than that of Madrid.

**Alliances of Francis I. Successes of Souleïman.** — Francis paved the way for revenge by negotiations which showed that the religious spirit, a main characteristic of the Middle Ages, was yielding to the political spirit, the sole inspiration of governments in modern times. He entered into alliance with the Protestants of Germany, with Souleïman, the Ottoman sultan, and later on with the Swedish and Danish reformers. Souleïman (1520–1566), as a friend of the arts, a protector of letters and the author of the code entitled the Khanounnamé, deserved his triple surname of the Conqueror, the Magnificent and the Legislator. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary. In 1522 he wrested Rhodes from the Knights of Saint John, despite their heroic resistance through five months under their Grand Master, Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Souleïman passed the Danube with 200,000 men, and destroyed the Hungarian army on the fatal field of Mohacz (1526), where perished Louis II, the last of the Jagellons. The crown of Hungary fell to Ferdinand of Austria. Souleïman supported against this brother of Charles V, a Magyar claimant, John Zapoli. All Hungary was ravaged, Buda itself fell into his power and he marched through Austria to the very walls of Vienna, which repelled twenty assaults. To cause this reverse to be forgotten the sultan, with his own hands crowned his vassal king of Hungary in Buda.

Two years later he appeared again in Austria at the head of 300,000 men. Fortunately Gratz, a small fortress in Styria, delayed him for a month. During the siege of this town he received the first embassy of Francis I. He intended to invade Germany, but Charles V had had time to collect 150,000 combatants. Lutherans and Catholics joined hands against the crescent, and Francis I dared not aid his formidable ally by a diversion on the Rhine or in Italy. No general battle was fought. At the end of six

weeks the sultan learned that a Spanish fleet had just entered the Dardanelles and was threatening Constantinople, so he withdrew (1532). Meanwhile the Turkish navy was being developed under the celebrated Khaireddin Barbarossa. This corsair, now become the admiral of the Ottoman fleets, scoured the Mediterranean with 100 vessels. While in Asia the sultan was taking Tauris and Bagdad from the Persians, he seized Tunis, which became a lair whence pirates devastated the whole Spanish and Italian coast. Charles V sent two expeditions against them. In the first with 400 vessels commanded by Doria he took possession of La Gouletta at the entrance of the Gulf of Tunis, and freed 22,000 captives (1535). Less fortunate six years later at Algiers, he beheld his fleet dispersed by a tempest, and could scarcely save its pitiable remnants. The emperor afforded more effectual protection to the commerce of Christian peoples by ceding the island of Malta to the Knights of Rhodes, who for a long time repressed the pirates. While Charles V played the part of Defender of Christianity, Francis I seemed to be its enemy. The very year of the expedition to Tunis, he signed with Souleïman the first of those treaties called capitulations.

**New War between Charles V and Francis I.** — Charles V provoked a new war with France by causing an agent of the French king to be put to death in Constantinople. His second invasion of Provence was no more successful than the first. He found the country systematically devastated by Montmorency, who refused to give battle, and was forced to a disastrous retreat (1536).

Then Francis I cited him before Parliament as a traitorous vassal, since he still held the fiefs of Flanders and Artois. A desperate struggle seemed begun, but a grand victory won by Souleïman at Essek over the Austrians, and the ravages of Barbarossa rendered the emperor more pacific. Francis I was content with having conquered Piedmont, so through the mediation of the Pope, he signed at Nice, a truce of ten years with his rival (1538). The two sovereigns appeared reconciled. In 1540, Ghent revolted, and Francis offered Charles a free pass through France on his way to subjugate it. The emperor accepted and promised to restore Milan. Hardly had he arrived in Flanders when he retracted his promise, and furthermore caused the murder of two French envoys who were on their way to

Turkey. This assassination and the failure of Charles at Algiers decided Francis I to again take up arms. His fleet, united to that of Barbarossa, captured Nice, and the Duke of Enghien won the splendid victory of Cérisoles (1544). But in the north Charles V penetrated as far as Chateau Thierry, fifteen leagues from Paris, and his ally, the king of England, laid siege to Boulogne. Famine and disease stopped the Imperialists who signed the peace of Crespy (1544) on terms of mutual restitution. Henry VIII continued the war and took Boulogne, but gave it back on payment of 2,000,000 francs at the treaty of Ardres (1546).

**Abdication of Charles V** (1556). — Francis died in 1547. His death left Charles V apparently free to restore the empire of Charlemagne. Souleïman was at that time chiefly absorbed in wars in Asia against the Persians, and the Hungarians seemed capable of checking the Ottomans on the Danube. The Protestants already formed a powerful body in Germany, which the emperor wished to crush before France could send them support. He defeated them at Muhlberg (1547) through the treachery of Maurice of Saxony, and dictated the Interim of Augsburg, which displeased everybody. Henry II, the new king of France, took advantage of the general discontent to declare himself the protector of German liberties. He entered Lorraine, took possession of the Three Bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun (1551), while the Protestants surprised the emperor and forced him to flee to Italy. By the compromise of Passau Charles accorded them freedom of conscience (1552), and turned against France, his ancient enemy, to avenge this humiliation. His good fortune deserted him before Metz. Then weary of so many fruitless struggles, he renounced the crown of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands in favor of his son Philip II (1556). Next he abdicated the imperial throne in favor of his brother Archduke Ferdinand, already king of the Romans. From that day forth the house of Austria separated into two branches, and the vast dominion of Charles V was henceforth divided (1556).

**Continuation of the Struggle between the Houses of France and Austria** (1558–1559). — Thus the integrity of France had not been broken, and Charles V had failed in realizing his dream of a universal monarchy. Germany also preserved her liberties, or in other words her divisions. Italy alone found herself in the hands of the Spaniards, who were

quartered at Naples and Milan. An energetic Pope, Paul IV, undertook to expel them. He counted upon the aid of France for success. So the war continued. One French army was sent towards the Netherlands and another towards Italy. They intended to leave to Philip nothing but Spain.

The Duke of Guise was already marching upon Naples when he was recalled to France by the defeat of Saint Quentin. The bold captain struck a great blow. Unexpectedly in the dead of winter he besieged Calais and captured it in a week (1558). The Spaniards were still on the Somme, and a defeat of the Marshal of Thermes at Gravelines destroyed all hope of their prompt expulsion. Moreover Italy was at their mercy, and the plan of the Pope became impossible of execution. Henry negotiated the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis by which France restored to the Duke of Savoy his states minus a few cities, Siena to the Medici, and Corsica to the Genoese; but she retained the Three Bishoprics, and on payment of 500,000 crowns, the city of Calais (1559).

Thus the Spanish domination was strengthened in northern and southern Italy. The still existing Italian princes possessed hardly more than the shadow of independence. The French kings had thrown France into these wars, hoping to conquer Naples and Milan, but instead had given them to Spain. Their royal rivalries had engrossed the attention and the forces of the sovereigns for forty years. Meanwhile the Reformation had spread over half of Europe. The peace of Chateau Cambrésis ended the Italian wars only to permit the kings of France and Spain to begin, with the aid of the Pope and the Catholic clergy, the religious wars.

# XII

## THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

### (1559-1598)

**Philip II.** — The rehabilitated Church could now make war with arguments. She required also an arm wherewith to do battle with the sword. For this end she possessed, in the sixteenth century, Philip II, the son of Charles V and his successor in Spain, and in the seventeenth the heir of his German possessions, Ferdinand of Austria.

Philip II, whom the Protestants call the Demon of the South, was master of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and Milan in Italy; of Flanders, Artois, Franche-Comté, Roussillon in France; of the Netherlands at the mouth of the Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine; of Tunis Oran, Cape Verd and the Canary Isles in Africa; of Mexico, Peru, Chili and the Antilles in America; and lastly of the Philippine Islands in Oceanica. He had seaports without number, a powerful fleet, the best disciplined troops and the most skilful generals in Europe, and the inexhaustible treasures of the New World. He increased this domination still further in 1581 by the acquisition of Portugal and her immense colonial empire. The sun never set upon his states. It was a common saying then, "When Spain moves, the earth trembles."

All this power did not satisfy his ambition. As a Catholic he hated the Protestants; as an absolute king he feared them. Both from self-interest and conviction he declared himself the armed leader of Catholicism, which was able out of gratitude, to raise him to the supreme power in Western Europe. This was the thought of his whole life. He recoiled before no means which might crush the hostile principle. To this struggle he consecrated rare talents. Therein he expended all his military forces. He lavished all his gold to foment assassination in Holland, conspiracy in England and civil war in France. We shall see with what success.

**Character of This Period.** — When the French and Spanish kings signed the peace of Chateau Cambrésis (1559), they purposed to introduce into their government the new spirit which animated the Church, and to wage a pitiless war against heresy. The one undertook to stifle the Reformation in France; the other sought to prevent its birth in Italy and Spain and to crush it in the Netherlands and England. When Henry II died, his three sons, the last of the Valois, carried on his plans. At first they required only the advice of Spain. The oldest, Francis II, reigned less than a year and a half (1559–1560). The second, Charles IX, died at the age of twenty-four (1574). The third, Henry III (1574–1589), who alone attained full manhood, always remained in a sort of minority, whence he emerged only in fits of passion. Hence this Valois line was incapable of conducting in France the great battle of creeds.

But at their side or confronting them, there were persons more strongly tempered for good or ill. Such were Catherine de Medici, their mother, unscrupulous and astute; the Guises, uncles of Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, who organized the Catholics into a party when they saw the Protestants forming a faction around their rivals, the princes of the house of Bourbon; the general Condé; Coligny, who, from a moral point of view, was the superior of them all; in the Netherlands, William the Silent, the Prince of Orange; in England Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII, who, during the reign of her sister Mary, was the hope of the English Protestants.

In the war, many diverging interests were about to engage. The Dutch desired liberty, England her independence, the cities of France their ancient communal rights, and provincial feudalism its former privileges. But the religious form, which was that of the times, covered all. When we survey the whole from the heights of the Vatican or the Escurial, we recognize the fact that the chief aim pursued in Western Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century was the triumph of the Church, as constituted by the Council of Trent, and the triumph of the king of Spain, her military chief.

**France the Principal Battlefield of the Two Parties. The First War** (1562–1563). — The contract, entered into by the two kings at Chateau Cambrésis, had immediately been put into execution. In France, Anne Dubourg was burned at

the stake, and the edict of Écouen threatened the Protestants with death. In Spain Philip II had autos-da-fé celebrated in his presence, in order to show the provincial governors that they must grant no mercy to heretics. At Naples and Milan all suspected persons perished. Even the archbishop of Toledo was persecuted for his opinions. Sanguinary edicts spread the terror to the Netherlands, where the creation of new bishoprics notified the population of a stricter surveillance. This declaration of war against heresy was answered as early as 1559, by acts of the English Parliament, which recognized Elizabeth as the supreme head of the Anglican Church; by the secularization of all the bishoprics of Brandenburg; and by the suppression of the religious and military Order of the Sword Bearers of Livonia. Thus did the Reformation consolidate and extend from the Irish Sea to the recesses of the Baltic, despite the thunders of Rome and the threats of two mighty kings.

It even tried to win France by the plot of Amboise, which came near success, and which the Guises defeated by shedding rivers of blood (1560). In vain did a great magistrate, L'Hôpital, preach moderation and tolerance to those furious men who listened only to their passions. The massacre of Protestants at Vassy (1562) inaugurated a war which only ended thirty-six years later. During this time France was the principal battlefield of the two parties. The atrocious character of the war was evident from the very beginning of hostilities. As soon as Philip II learned that the sword had been drawn, he sent to the south, to Montluc, "the Catholic butcher," 3000 of his best soldiers and directed others from the Netherlands upon Paris. At the same time the German Protestants gave 7000 men to Condé, to whom Elizabeth also despatched reënforcements and money. The defeat of this prince at Dreux and the death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated before Orleans, restored influence to the advocates of peace. Catherine de Medici granted to the Protestants the edict of Amboise (1563). Its principal clauses will be found again in the last edict of pacification, that of Nantes, a proof of the uselessness of those thirty-six years of murder, ravage and conflagration.

**Success of Catholicism in the Netherlands and in France** (1564–1568). **The Blood Tribunal** (1567). — The edict of Amboise irritated Spain and Rome. Pius V, who had been

grand inquisitor before he became Pope, reproached Catherine for her weakness. During a journey which she made in the south Philip II sent to meet her at Bayonne the most pitiless of his lieutenants, the Duke of Alva, who informed the queen of the policy of his master, which consisted in ridding himself of hostile leaders by assassination. This doubtless was the germ whence the subsequent massacre of Saint Bartholomew developed. The Jesuits were spreading everywhere and were everywhere, preparing the way for a mortal combat with heresy. This time it was in the Netherlands that the fire broke out and thence spread to France.

The Spaniards poured into the Netherlands. They introduced the despotic spirit among a people whose municipal life had always been very strong. The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent was the signal for insurrection. The nobles, threatened with the loss of their religious and political liberty, bound themselves by the Compromise of Breda (1546) to lend each other mutual aid in obtaining the redress of their grievances. The people among whom the Reformation had already made great progress flung themselves with the blind fury of mobs upon the churches, broke the images of the saints, overthrew the altars and burned the pulpits. Shocked at these demagogical excesses the nobles held aloof, and the revolt, thus isolated, calmed down at once. But Philip decided to make an example. He sent to the Low Countries the Duke of Alva, who instituted the Tribunal of Blood. Eighteen thousand persons perished on the scaffold, among whom were the counts Horn and Egmont. Thirty thousand persons were stripped of their property, 100,000 emigrated, and a ruinous tax destroyed the fortunes of those who remained.

These events found their echo in France, where the second civil war broke out (1567), marked by the battle of Saint Denis. Then came the third civil war (1568), where Italians hired by Pius V, Spaniards despatched by the Duke of Alva, and Catholic Germans fought against the Protestants of all countries. At Jarnac Condé was slain, and at Moncontour Coligny was defeated.

Thus the victory remained with the Catholics. In France, Catherine resolved to sign the Peace of Saint Germain (1570) that she might gain time to devise "something else." In the Netherlands the Catholic triumph was apparently com-

plete, and preparations were carried on for an invasion of England, where since 1563 Spanish gold had been cleverly employed to keep up the agitation. In Spain every attempt to escape from religious and political tyranny was mercilessly repressed. The wrath of the king hung over all. He drove his son to suicide, his wife to death and the Moors of the Alpujarras to revolt. He established the Inquisition in the Spanish colonies, and from one end to the other of his dominions silence and terror reigned. During this period Catholicism suffered only one serious check, when the errors and the fall of Mary Stuart (1568) assured the victory in Scotland to the followers of the Reformation.

**Dispersion of the Forces of Spain. Victory of Lepanto** (1571). — Meanwhile the forces of Spain were being dispersed in all directions. Much money was expended and many soldiers were employed. In Andalusia they fought the Moors who supported by England resisted until 1571. On the Mediterranean they fought the Ottomans, whose progress continued and who conquered Cyprus in 1570. In the Netherlands they fought the Gueux or "beggars," who along the coast and at the mouth of the rivers intercepted the Spanish vessels, prevented the provisioning of the strongholds and thus inspired uneasiness in one party and hope in the other. At Naples, at Milan, on the coast of Africa, in the colonies, in Mexico, in Peru, everywhere, strong garrisons were required and Spain drained herself of men to maintain her domination of the world.

The only honorable war carried on was that against the Ottomans, but it was ruinous. Thus in 1558 a squadron and army sent against Tlemcen were destroyed. In the following year 15,000 soldiers on 200 vessels tried to capture Tripoli and suffered a frightful disaster. Four years later, the fleet of Naples was overwhelmed by a tempest. In 1565 Souleïman, who had already wrested Rhodes from the Knights, besieged them in Malta, but was repulsed by their Grand Master, La Valette. These efforts of the Ottomans to render themselves masters of the whole Mediterranean forced Philip II to direct a large proportion of his resources against them. After the loss of Cyprus he got together 300 ships manned by 80,000 soldiers and rowers, and his natural brother, Don Juan of Austria, won the famous but useless victory of Lepanto (1571). "When we take a kingdom from you," said Sultan Selim to the Venetian ambassador, "we

deprive you of an arm. When you disperse our fleet, you merely shave our beard, which does not hinder its growing again." In fact he equipped immediately 250 vessels.

**Catholic Conspiracies in England and in France.** — Such expenditure of men and money rendered Philip unable to interfere in the affairs of France and England except by plots. The victory of Lepanto encouraged the Catholics. The Duke of Norfolk vainly tried to overthrow Elizabeth and enthrone Mary Stuart, while Catherine de Medici sought to annihilate the Calvinist party by the massacre of Saint Bartholomew.

When Darnley, the husband of Mary Stuart, was murdered by the Earl of Bothwell (1567) and the queen married the assassin, all Scotland rose against her. Mary took refuge with Elizabeth, who treated her as a prisoner (1568). The expiation of such injustice began almost immediately, and England thenceforth was constantly agitated by Catholic plots to deliver the captive. Philip pensioned the English Catholics, who had fled to the continent. He threw open to their priests the seminaries of Flanders, so as to hold the British coast under the perpetual menace of an invasion more formidable than that of an army of soldiers. In 1569 the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth. Thereupon many lords got together a little army, which had as its standard a picture of Jesus Christ with his five bleeding wounds. In the following year a fresh rebellion was repressed like the first. A third unsuccessful attempt was made in 1572 by the Duke of Norfolk, to whom Mary Stuart had promised her hand, but who was defeated and mounted the scaffold.

Thus in England Protestantism made a victorious defence. In France it seemed on the point of perishing. After the peace of Saint Germain Admiral Coligny gained great influence over the mind of the king, the young Charles IX. He wished to lead the French Protestants against the Spaniards in the Netherlands, and thus by one stroke end the civil wars in France, and commence a national war against the foreigner. The execution of this sagacious plan was in preparation, when a professional assassin in the pay of the house of Guise severely wounded the admiral. The king was finally persuaded to order a general massacre of the Protestants on Saint Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572. The unsuspecting victims were butchered

by thousands. For this abominable crime the king received warm congratulations from the courts of Rome and Spain. "Be fully assured," Philip II wrote, "that in furthering thus the affairs of God, you are furthering your own still more." This is the countersign of that atrocious and odious policy which masked political ambition under the guise of piety.

**Progress of Protestantism** (1572–1587). — Protestantism, mutilated and bleeding, rose up stronger than ever. Despite the loss of its most experienced captains and most valiant soldiers, the Calvinist party rushed to arms after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and at the peace of La Rochelle enforced the recognition of its right to liberty of conscience. That political crime of August 24 was therefore as always happens useless. When Henry III, a man of distinguished ability, but of corrupt heart, succeeded Charles IX in 1574, he found himself face to face with three parties which he was incapable of controlling: the politicians, headed by his youngest brother, François d'Alençon; the Calvinist, who recognized as their leader Henry of Béarn, king of Navarre; and the enthusiastic Catholics, whom Henry of Guise organized into the faction of the league, and who opposed both the king and the Huguenots. Unimportant wars and treaties carry us to the year 1584, when the Duke of Alençon died. As Henry III had no son, Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Protestants, became heir presumptive to the crown. In the war of the three Henrys he consecrated his rights by the brilliant victory of Coutras (1587). Thus it seemed that the religious wars in France were on the point of elevating a heretic to the throne of Saint Louis, in spite of the excommunication of the Pope, who had declared Henry of Navarre unworthy to succeed to the crown.

In the Netherlands, there was likewise Protestant success. After having long carried on a piratical war which effected nothing, the Gueux undertook war on land which might lead to some result. In 1572 they seized Briel, and the two provinces of Holland and Zealand immediately took up arms.

Supported by the Protestants of Germany, England and France, aided by the nature of their country intersected by canals, above all commanded by William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who was surnamed the Silent despite his elo-

quence and who understood quite as well as Coligny, his father-in-law, how to extort advantage even from reverses, the insurgents defended themselves with success. Violence having failed, Philip wished to try mildness and replaced the Duke of Alva. But the army, left without pay and without provisions, sacked the principal cities. The general irritation gave rise to the confederation of Ghent (1576), which united for a time all the Netherlands against the Spanish rule.

Unfortunately this union could not long be maintained between the ten Walloon provinces, or modern Belgium, which were manufacturing and Catholic, and the seven Batavian provinces, or modern Holland, which were commercial and Calvinistic. Opposition of interests and beliefs was bound to bring about opposition of political views. In 1579 in fact the Walloons, by the treaty of Mæstricht, recognized Philip II as their king. On the other hand the northern provinces made a closer union at Utrecht, and constituted themselves a republic, with William of Orange as stadtholder or governor general. Two years later the States General of The Hague, the federal capital of the United Provinces, solemnly separated themselves from the crown of Spain, and declared that Philip II had forfeited all authority in the Netherlands.

The king set a price on the head of William the Silent. A rascal, who wished to earn this reward, murdered the stadtholder (1584), but the liberty of the United Provinces no longer hung upon the life of one man. The Dutch understood how to defend their independence, even against the skilful Farnese Duke of Parma. They were also aided by England, which in 1585 sent them 6000 men, and by France, whither the duke was twice obliged to go to the succor of the League, and where in his second journey he died. Thus the war undertaken by the Catholics in the Netherlands resulted in the establishment of a new people among the nations.

England and Spain had not yet grappled in hand to hand combat. But Elizabeth was sending to all the enemies of Philip II arms, soldiers and money, and by means of bold corsairs was carrying on a disastrous war against Spanish commerce. Drake in 1577 pillaged the cities on the coast of Chili and Peru, captured many ships, and after making the circuit of the globe returned at the end of three years

with immense booty. Cavendish in 1585 devastated the Spanish establishments for the second time, while the Dutch laid waste those of Portugal, which had become a province of Spain. The king could not revenge himself, because his two enemies then had no trading posts or commerce, and there were no vulnerable points outside their territory where he could strike them. Thus against Elizabeth he saw no weapon but conspiracy. The cruel situation created for English Catholics by the queen rendered this easy. In one year 200 persons were beheaded, for the Protestants practised toleration no more than their adversaries, and on both sides they defended heaven by torture or assassination. A final attempt to kill the queen of England decided her to send Mary Stuart to the scaffold (1587). With the head of the niece of the Guises fell all the hopes of a Catholic restoration in Great Britain.

**Defeat of Spain and of Ultramontanism** (1588–1598). — The Ultramontane party, vanquished in the Netherlands and in England and menaced in France, resolved upon a supreme effort. As early as 1584 the Guises had treated with Philip II and infused fresh life into the League. He himself exhausted all the resources of his states to organize an army and a fleet strong enough to bring back the Netherlands and England, and after them France, to the Catholic faith, and subject them to the law of Spain. On June 3, 1588, the invincible Armada issued from the Tagus. It was to land in England an army of 50,000 men. Storms and the English and Flemish sailors with their fire-ships got the better of this arrogant expedition. The plan, over which Philip II had toiled for five years and upon which he had meditated for eighteen, was utterly shipwrecked in the space of a few days.

At the moment when Philip believed that his Armada was carrying him back victorious to London, Guise, his best ally, was making a triumphal entry into Paris, whence the king escaped as a fugitive. But the Spanish fleet once destroyed, Henry III began to hope again. He enticed Henry of Guise to Blois, where he had him murdered. Then joining the heretic king of Navarre, he returned to lay siege to his capital. A monk assassinated him in his camp (1589).

The Huguenot Henry of Navarre was immediately proclaimed king of France as Henry IV. Though many Cath-

olics abandoned him, 7000 English, 10,000 Dutch and 12,000 Germans came to his help, which permitted him to hold his own against the Spaniards and Italians who had hastened to the aid of the League. The battles of Arques and of Ivry confirmed his fortune and his renown (1590). Twice the Duke of Parma endeavored to capture Paris and Rouen (1591). But demagogic excesses, the general lassitude, and the imprudence of Philip II, who demanded of the States General of 1593 the crown of France for his daughter Isabella, the promised bride of an Austrian archduke, rallied the politicians around Henry IV. Soon afterward he abjured Protestantism at Saint Denis, "because Paris was well worth a mass," and was generally accepted as king (1593).

The League had no longer any reason to exist. It retarded but could not prevent the triumph of the Béarnese. Brissac sold him Paris when he expelled the Spanish garrison. A few months later papal absolution consecrated his rights even in the eyes of the leaguers. The chiefs were then compelled to acknowledge him. The Duke of Guise yielded, as did Villars, Brancas and Mayenne, but all made him pay for their submission. A brief war with Spain, signalized by the battle of Fontaine Française and the siege of Amiens, brought about the peace of Vervins, which reëstablished the boundaries of the two kingdoms, on the footing of the treaty of Chateau Cambrésis. Three weeks earlier Henry IV had assured peace at home by signing the edict of Nantes, which guaranteed the Protestants liberty of conscience, freedom of worship in their castles and in a great number of cities, equal representation in the parliaments of the south, and places of surety. Lastly, they were accorded the right of assembling by deputies, every three years, to present their complaints to the government (1598). Thus they constituted a state within the state.

## XIII

### RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN WESTERN EUROPE

**Decline and Ruin of Spain.** — There is no greater moral lesson in history than that afforded by the reign of Philip II. That man, for the sake of ruling the human will and conscience, devoted to his ambition apparently inexhaustible resources, and an energy that flinched at nothing. Everything seemed legitimate to his mind, devoured by a double fanaticism, at once political and religious. In the task which the Pope and the king pursued in common, the Church was far more the instrument than the end, for Catholic restoration was to result in the consolidation of Spanish supremacy. And when to attain his object Philip II had shed torrents of blood, he found that he had slain neither heresy nor popular liberty, but had destroyed Spain. Everything was perishing in the peninsula. Commerce and industry, which had been cruelly attacked by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, were still further affected by the monopolies which the government set up. Agriculture was succumbing under the periodical ravages of the flocks of the Mesta. The population, decimated by war and emigration, was also diminished by the multiplication of convents. For all these reasons labor decreased and the country was forced to purchase abroad what it could no longer produce. Thus the gold of America traversed Spain without rendering it fruitful and flowed rapidly towards the productive nations. This explains the astonishing fact that the possessor of the richest deposits of metals in the world was twice obliged (1575 and 1596) to suspend payment, and that he left a debt of over $200,000,000. Men had not yet learned that real wealth does not exist in the gold which represents it, but in the labor which creates it.

Philip II died in 1598, four months after the edict of Nantes and the treaty of Vervins. He had witnessed the crumbling of all his plans and the strengthening of his two

great adversaries, Henry IV and Elizabeth, on the thrones which they had gloriously reconquered or preserved. A century later the Marquis de Torcy said: "Spain is a body without a soul." We have seen that Italy shared the fate of Spain.

**Prosperity of England and Holland.** — The perils from internal conspiracies and foreign war, which England had just escaped, permitted Elizabeth to finish the work of the Tudors by constituting the most absolute royalty which ever existed in the land. As head of the Church she persecuted the Non-Conformists with cruelty. In order that she might more effectively reach their adversaries, the Anglicans delivered over to her the public liberties. The jury was nearly suppressed. In Parliament not a voice dared raise itself against the ministers. "In the trials for high treason which were instituted on the slightest pretext, the courts of justice differed little from regular caverns of assassins." This is what the War of the Roses, the Reformation and religious hatreds had made of free England. Beneath this despotism a revolution was in secret preparation, which was to break out against the second successor of Elizabeth.

At least she had developed all the sources of national wealth for her country by favoring commerce and the marine; by the creation of the Exchange in London; by the colonization of Virginia, whence were brought the potato and tobacco; by the immigration into England of the Flemish who fled from Spanish tyranny, and caused their adopted country to profit by their industrial and commercial skill. Under Queen Elizabeth lived one of the greatest dramatic poets of the world, Shakespeare, and a philosopher, Bacon, who brought about a salutary revolution in the sciences by effecting the final adoption of the experimental method.

The Dutch, while defending against Philip II their half-submerged land, had already become the carriers of the ocean and the harvesters of the sea. They bartered their tons of herrings for tons of gold, by provisioning with salted viands the Catholic countries where the practice of fasting rendered such food a necessity. In a single year the fishermen turned into the treasury 5,000,000 florins as their share of the taxes. Moreover they carried on an enormous commission trade, taking merchandise where it was cheap and transporting it where it was needed. Philip II closed

Lisbon to them. Therefore they sought their Oriental wares at the places of production, and by the conquest of the Moluccas laid the foundations of a colonial empire which the great East India Company, organized in 1602, developed and strengthened. The two provinces of Holland and Zealand alone possessed 70,000 sailors, through whose hands the entire commerce of Spain and Portugal was destined to pass.

**Reorganization of France by Henry IV** (1598–1610). — Henry IV, by the treaty of Vervins and the edict of Nantes, gave France peace at home and abroad. The country's wounds remained to be healed. The finances were in the most deplorable state. The public debt amounted perhaps to 1,300,000,000 francs and the income was barely 30,000,000 a year. Henry IV chose for superintendent of the finances the soldier Sully, the faithful comrade of his fortunes. This energetic and devoted minister made the revenue farmers disgorge. He himself verified the product of the imposts and fixed them at only a proper amount. In less than a dozen years, although the taxes had been reduced by 4,000,000, the public service was assured, 147,000,000 of debts had been paid, 8,000,000 worth of domains redeemed, and a surplus of 20,000,000 placed in reserve in the vaults of the Bastile.

"Tillage and pasturage," said Sully, "are the two breasts which nourish France. They are the real mines and treasures of Peru." Therefore he decreed the draining of marshes, prohibited the destruction of the forests and permitted the free exportation of grain. Tax collectors were forbidden to seize the beasts or instruments of tillage. And lastly, Olivier de Serres, a great scientific agriculturist, popularized by his works the true maxims of rural culture and economy. Sully despised manufactures, but the king, who was less exclusive, had 50,000 mulberry trees planted and revived the factories of Lyons, Nîmes and Tours, which Francis I had established. He founded factories for glass and pottery at Nevers and Paris, concluded treaties of commerce with Holland and England, restored to France the monopoly of commerce in the East, and had Champlain build the city of Quebec in Canada (1608).

Henry IV longed to restore peace to Europe as he had restored it to France. He conceived the plan of a grand confederation of European states, with a diet to settle in-

ternational differences. With this aim in view, he was about to begin a war with Austria and had already taken the field with 40,000 men, to determine the succession of Cleves and Juliers, when the dagger of Ravaillac saved Austria (1610).

Such were the results of the formidable enterprise directed by the papacy and Spain against the modern spirit which was awakening. The independence of Europe was saved. Toleration had won its first victory and liberty of the mind could begin. A new state, the United Provinces, was about to treat on terms of equality with the most glorious kings. An ancient state, England, had received the revelation of her future greatness. France was placed by a great prince at the head of Europe. Spain, in conclusion, fell from the hands of Philip II, exhausted and agonizing; and the Roman Inquisition made of Italy for three centuries the land of the dead.

# XIV

## THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, OR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

### (1618-1648)

**Preliminaries of the Thirty Years' War** (1555–1618). — The struggle of ultramontanism against the Reformation, after the Catholic restoration effected by the Council of Trent and the papacy, broke out first in Western Europe. Vanquished in France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland, and constrained to submit to the edict of toleration proclaimed at Nantes in 1598, ultramontanism attempted twenty years later to regain Germany and the countries of the North. The first war had lasted thirty-six years and covered with ruins all the lands situated between the Pyrenees and the North Sea. The second lasted thirty years (1618–1648) and extended its ravages from the Danube to the Scheldt, from the shores of the Po to those of the Baltic, destroying cities, ruining nations, decimating the population and bringing back barbarism. Men employed two-thirds of a century in murdering each other in the name of the God of charity and love.

When Charles V, fallen from the height of his hopes, resolved to abdicate, he first promulgated the peace of Augsburg. This could be only a truce, because it contained an ecclesiastical reservation which forbade any holder of a benefice on becoming a Protestant to retain any church property which he had formerly held. Moreover Lutheranism had split up into a multitude of sects which interpreted differently the question of grace. The universities of Jena, Wittenberg and Leipzig excommunicated each other in turn, and in the midst of this confusion the Duke of Saxony, a temporal sovereign, arrogated the right of dictating a creed and of expelling or imprisoning all infringers thereof. In 1580 the followers of the Reforma-

tion in Saxony and Brandenburg signed a "formula of concord," to which the three electors and a great number of princes and cities gave their adhesion, but which other states of northern Germany rejected. In conclusion, the separation was so profound between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, that the former allowed the Catholics to deprive of his electorate Gebhard von Truchsess, archbishop of Cologne, who had become a Calvinist (1583). These quarrels permitted the Catholics to regain ground, thanks to the cleverness of the Jesuits, who from Bavaria, their headquarters in Germany, extended their action to a distance. They caused the Protestants of Aix-la-Chapelle to be expelled, the republic of Donauwerth to be degraded from its rank as an imperial city, and prevented a reformer from becoming bishop of Strasburg. Thus the plan of a Catholic restoration was being carried out in Germany.

The uneasy Protestants drew together and formed the Evangelical Union (1608). To this their adversaries opposed the Catholic League, the direction of which Austria under feeble princes abandoned to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria.

The succession to Cleves, Berg and Juliers (1609) came near setting Europe aflame. Two Protestant heirs presented themselves, the Duke of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg. When the emperor sequestered the duchies, the Protestants complained and Henry IV was about to uphold them when he died by assassination (1610). The contention was prolonged. Neuburg became Catholic; Brandenburg, Calvinist. The Spaniards entered the country from one side and the Dutch from the other. At that moment the policy of Austria was changed by the accession of Ferdinand II, an energetic prince, who blew up with gunpowder the heretical churches in his states and on one occasion burned 10,000 Bibles.

**Palatine Period** (1618–1625). — The Bohemians, whose privileges he had violated, rose in revolt and chose Frederick, the elector palatine, son-in-law of the king of England, as their king (1618). Thus, just a century after the outbreak of the Reformation, began a struggle which repeated in Central Europe what we have already seen in the west; namely, a political war under the mask of a war for religion. Ferdinand II in fact was determined to make ultramontanism triumph, but like Philip II,

he intended it to redound to his personal profit and to render Germany an Austrian province.

Frederick was a Calvinist. Hence the Lutherans deserted him, while the Spaniards on the contrary made common cause with the Austrians and their allies. When the battle of White Mountain, won by the forces of the League, delivered Bohemia to Ferdinand II, he committed abominable cruelties. Two centuries later the country still showed the effects of this sanguinary restoration of Catholicism.

The proscribed Bohemians were formed into an army by Count von Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick. They long held in check the Bavarian General Tilly and the Spaniards of the Netherlands who had come to his help.

**Danish Period** (1625–1629). — The Protestant princes had time to penetrate the designs of Ferdinand and call in the kings of the North, whom the defeat of the German Reformers would leave exposed to the blows of Austria. Christian IV, king of Denmark, was the first to enter the lists (1625) and occupied the country between the Elbe and the Weser. While in that direction he was arresting the forces of the Catholic League, in his rear an adventurer called Wallenstein was bringing to the emperor, who had no army, 50,000 men and later 100,000, who lived by pillage and whose leader reserved for himself the absolute command. Routed by Tilly at Lutter, and threatened by Wallenstein with being cut off from Holstein, the Danish king retreated to his peninsula and signed the peace of Lubeck (1629). Then northern Germany, despoiled by the edict of restitution and occupied by 100,000 imperialists, bowed its head before the Austrian power. Wallenstein said openly "that no more princes or electors were needed in Germany; that everything there ought to be subject to a single king, as in France and Spain." Thus what Prussia has done in our day, Austria believed herself on the point of accomplishing.

Fortunately, the French Cardinal Richelieu thwarted this plan. He sent secret emissaries to arouse the jealousy and the courage of the princes. At the Diet of Ratisbon, he persuaded them to demand the recall of Wallenstein, who was crushing Germany with his requisitions and to refuse the title of King of the Romans to the son of Ferdinand II. At the same time, he induced Poland and Sweden to con-

clude a peace, so that the king of the latter, already so renowned under the name of Gustavus Adolphus, might be free to hasten to the succor of the Reformers.

**Swedish Period** (1630–1635). — That great captain took alarm when he saw Catholicism and the Austrians obtaining a foothold on the shores of the Baltic. He disembarked in Pomerania (1630) with 16,000 admirably disciplined men. France could not join him in offensive alliance. But at least she promised him an annual subsidy of 400,000 crowns. When he had conquered Pomerania, he made his way into Saxony, defeated Tilly at Leipzig (1631), and expelled all the Catholic or Spanish garrisons from Franconia, Suabia, the Upper Rhine and the Palatinate, while the Elector of Saxony invaded Lusatia and Bohemia. Having thus separated the Imperialists and the Spaniards, he entered Bavaria and forced the passage of the Lech, where Tilly was slain. But the emperor had recalled Wallenstein, who rapidly formed another army, flung himself upon Saxony and forced Gustavus to come to its defence. The Swedish king won at Lutzen his last victory, and died in his triumph (1632). Skilful generals, his pupils, took his place at the head of the armies. The chancellor Oxenstiern succeeded him in the council. Ferdinand made their task easier by assassinating Wallenstein of whose ambition he was afraid (1634). But that same year the defeat of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Nordlingen deprived Sweden of all her German allies except the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassél; and Richelieu considered it necessary to set the armies of France in motion at last.

**French Period** (1635–1648). — At first he was unfortunate. The Spaniards crossed the Somme and took possession of Corbie. The court and Paris had a moment of terror. But Richelieu averted the danger, reconquered Corbie and imposed victory upon his generals under pain of death. La Meilleraye and Châtillon captured Arras (1640). Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, bought by Richelieu, conquered Alsace, and dying shortly afterward, bequeathed his army and his conquest to France. D'Harcourt won three victories in Piedmont, which was then the ally of the Spaniards. The king himself marched to take possession of Perpignan, which is still French. In order to give Spain occupation at home, Richelieu encouraged revolts in Catalonia and Portugal. The Swedish generals Banner and Torstenson

completed the French successes in the west by victories in Brandenburg, Silesia and Saxony. Guébriant, triumphant at Wolfenbuttel and at Kempen (1641–1642), was effecting his junction with the Swedes, so as to hurl their combined forces upon exhausted Austria, when Richelieu died (1643). His death emboldened the Spaniards, who invaded France. Condé routed them at Rocroi (1643), at Fribourg (1644), at Nordlingen (1645) and lastly at Lens (1648). Thus the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia was compelled.

## XV

### RESULTS OF THE RELIGIOUS WARS IN CENTRAL EUROPE

**Peace of Westphalia** (1648). — Negotiations for peace had been begun in 1641, but were not seriously undertaken until 1644 in two cities of Westphalia. At the last moment Spain withdrew hoping to profit by the troubles of the Fronde, which were then breaking out in France, and to regain Cerdagne, Roussillon and Artois, which she had lost. The other states signed the treaty in October, 1648.

**Advantages won by the Protestants. Religious Independence of the German States.** — Austria had tried to stifle the religious liberties of Germany. Since she was vanquished, whatever she had wished to overthrow still existed. The princes enjoyed full liberty of conscience. Their subjects possessed it only under many restrictions; for in each state one religion dominated, either Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. No other religious organizations were recognized. These three obtained equality of rights. As to the possession of ecclesiastical property and the exercise of worship, everything was restored in Germany to the condition of 1624, except in the Palatinate, which was set back to the year 1618. Thus the territorial acquisitions and conversions, effected since the peace of Augsburg in 1555, were recognized. In order to indemnify the Protestant princes, many bishoprics and abbeys were secularized. It was a cardinal, Richelieu, who brought about this treaty. It was another cardinal, Mazarin, who signed it. Two princes of the Church had been the instruments to defeat ultramontanism and the papacy. It was a proof that politics were no longer based upon creeds, and that temporal interests must henceforth depend solely on themselves.

**Political Independence of the German States.** — When Wallenstein was pressing upon Germany with his immense army and when Ferdinand II was distributing to his kinsmen the spoils of the princes, one might have thought that

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the dream of Otho the Great, of Frederick Barbarossa and of Charles V was being realized, and that the unity of the empire was assured under the absolute authority of the emperor. France and the Swedes dispelled this dream. The German princes and states were assured the right of suffrage in the diet on questions of alliance, war, treaty and new laws. They were confirmed in the full and entire exercise of sovereignty in their territory. They had also the right to ally themselves with foreign powers, provided, as said a restriction, that it was not against the emperor or the empire. Thus the imperial authority was only a title and Germany henceforth formed not a state, but a confederation.

For a long time Switzerland and Holland had been foreign to the empire. This separation in fact was formally recognized.

**Acquisitions of Sweden and France.** — The victors lacked moderation. Sweden caused such territories to be ceded her as placed in her hands the mouths of the three great German rivers, the Oder, Elbe and Weser. These were useless acquisitions, because she could not keep them. They were dangerous acquisitions, because tempting her to interfere in continental wars, whereby she was to lose her good fortune. France retained Pignerol in Piedmont, that is to say, a door open upon Italy; also Alsace, a precious possession, and beyond the Rhine Vieux Brisach and Philipsburg, where she had the right to keep a garrison. Moreover by forcing recognition of the right of the German states to contract alliance with foreign powers, she always had the means of purchasing support among those indigent princes. Thus the French had on the west, like the Swedes on the north, an offensive position. Germany, divided into four or five hundred states, Lutheran and Catholic, monarchical and republican, secular and ecclesiastical, was of necessity to become the theatre of every intrigue and the battle-ground of Europe. Such, from the same causes, her divisions and anarchy, had been the condition of Italy at the beginning of modern times.

If the Bourbons had not inherited the ambition of the Hapsburgs and stirred up against themselves the same coalitions, the peace of Westphalia would have constituted the grandeur of France and the political liberty of Europe.

## XVI

### RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN. COMPLETION OF MONARCHICAL FRANCE

(1610–1661)

**Minority of Louis XIII** (1610–1617). — While the papacy, the chief power of the Middle Ages, was growing weaker, royalty, the chief power of modern times, was growing stronger. Richelieu had the genius to continue the work of Louis XI, of Francis I and of Henry IV; but his ministry was preceded by fourteen troubled years which came near reversing their gains. The feeble regent, Marie de Medici, abandoned both the foreign and domestic policy of Henry IV. Her favorite Concini alienated the nobles, who revolted in order to force her to purchase their submission by offices and pensions. Then, to disguise their covetousness as a desire for the public welfare, they exacted the convocation of the States General, the last which was convoked before the French Revolution. At this assembly the Third Estate or the Commons showed a remarkable appreciation of the needs of the country. The nobility displayed its insulting contempt for the people, and the court its disdain for reforms. A second rebellion headed by Condé was appeased by bribes to the leaders. Finally Concini was killed and his wife, Eleanor Galigaï, burned alive on accusation of having bewitched the queen mother by magic spells.

Louis XIII and his favorite, the Duke de Luynes, governed no better. The nobles now rebelled in behalf of the mother against the son. A more serious war broke out in 1621. Incensed by the order to restore the ecclesiastical property which some of the reformers had seized, the Protestants revolted. They planned to found in the marshes of Aunis a French Holland, of which La Rochelle was to be the Amsterdam. De Luynes, who had appointed himself Constable of France, laid siege to Montauban. He failed

and was himself carried off by a malignant fever. The king succeeded the following year in expelling Soubise from the Isle of Ré and the Protestants sued for peace. The treaty of Montpellier confirmed the edict of Nantes, granted them La Rochelle and Montauban as cities of refuge, but forbade their holding any public meeting without the king's authorization.

**Richelieu humbles the Protestants and the High Nobility.** — Richelieu was raised to the ministry (1624) by the reviving influence of Marie de Medici. He resumed the grand policy of Louis XI and Henry IV. His twofold object was at home to destroy the power of the nobility and the independence of the Protestants, and abroad to humble the house of Austria. Like Louis XI he began too eagerly, but moderated his pace in time and attacked his different enemies in succession. Two treaties with the Protestants and Spain enabled him to turn all his forces against the nobles, whom he smote with terrible sentences. Marshal d'Ornano was thrown into the Bastile; the Count de Chalais was beheaded as a conspirator; Bouteville, Montmorency and the Marquis de Beuvron were executed for duelling. At the same time the terrible cardinal deprived the nobles of the high dignities which gave them too much influence. The office of constable was abolished and that of grand admiral was brought in.

These acts of severity made the nobles pause. Richelieu found himself free to end with the French Protestants who were upheld by England, although by marrying Henrietta of France to the English king, Charles I, he had flattered himself that he could prevent any such alliance. La Rochelle was besieged. An immense dike closed the port to the English fleets. After the most heroic resistance, when out of 30,000 inhabitants only 5000 remained, this capital of French Protestantism opened its gates (1628). The peace of Alais left to the Protestants the civil guarantees and the religious liberty which the edict of Nantes had given them, but their strongholds were dismantled. They ceased to form a state within the state, and the political unity of France was definitely reëstablished. "You will see," said Marshal de Bassompierre, "that we shall be fools enough to capture La Rochelle."

The nobles were fully aware that royalty, no longer disquieted by the Protestants, would so act as to rid itself of

future anxiety on the score of the grandees. Richelieu in fact was obliged all his life to stifle their plots. No sooner was La Rochelle subdued than they formed about the king a cabal led by Marie de Medici, who did not find her former confessor, Richelieu, sufficiently docile. When common rumor reported him fallen in disgrace, a final interview with Louis XIII restored to him all his influence. The victims of that "Day of Dupes" were Marshal de Marillac, beheaded for extortion, and Marie de Medici, who retired into exile at Brussels (1631). After the king's mother, the king's brother Gaston d'Orleans incited to rebellion the Duke de Montmorency, whom he basely abandoned, and who on being made prisoner at the battle of Castelnaudary, died on the scaffold (1632). Another civil war undertaken by the Count of Soissons, a member of the house of Condé, suddenly ended with the death of that prince, who was slain at the battle of La Marfée (1641). The final conspiracy, that of Cinq Mars, might have succeeded, had not that favorite of Louis XIII ruined himself by signing a treaty with Spain. Cinq Mars was executed, together with De Thou, his too faithful friend (1642).

The great minister died during the following year. At home he had overcome every obstacle to the royal authority. Without equalling Sully, he had introduced some order into the finances. He had destroyed many feudal fortresses, and by the creation of intendants (1635) had diminished the hitherto excessive authority of the provincial governors. Abroad his services had been still more illustrious, as we have seen in the history of the Thirty Years' War.

**Mazarin and the Fronde.** — On the death of Louis XIII, France had again to undergo the reign of a minor. Louis XIV was only five years of age. His mother, Anne of Austria, made Parliament intrust her with the regency contrary to the late king's will, which gave the power to a council. The regent confided the authority to Mazarin, a shrewd and supple minded Italian, obstinate rather than great. Sent as papal nuncio to France, he had been distinguished by Richelieu, who caused his nomination as a cardinal.

A reaction against the severe government of Richelieu immediately set in. Pensions, honors and privileges were lavished by the "Good Queen," but they did not restrain

the great lords, some of whom formed the cabal of "the Consequential Persons." The regent, or rather Mazarin, perceived the danger in time. Beaufort was sent to the Bastile, and Vendome, Duchess de Chevreuse, and the rest "to their country houses."

The finances were in extreme disorder. Mazarin had neither financial instinct nor the necessary degree of self-sacrifice. To obtain money two unpopular edicts were issued. Mazarin demanded from the sovereign courts their salaries for four years as a loan. This time the Parliament flew into a rage and undertook to play the part which the English Parliament had just assumed as reformer of the state. It proposed for the royal sanction twenty-seven articles, which forbade the collection of taxes until they had been verified and registered, abolished the office of the intendants, and prohibited any servant of the king being detained in durance for more than twenty-four hours without examination. Just then Condé won the victory of Lens. Mazarin, emboldened by this great success, had three councillors, Charton, Blancmesnil and Broussel, arrested during the *Te Deum* (1648). Immediately the people rose; 200 barricades were constructed, and the court in order to gain time sanctioned the demands of Parliament. At that moment the treaty of Westphalia was being signed.

When peace was concluded with Austria, the regent summoned Condé to her presence. Immediately the parliament party began raising troops. They were joined by many of the intriguing and covetous nobles. The soul of the movement was Paul de Gondi, afterwards archbishop of Paris and later on Cardinal de Retz, who boasted of having studied the art of plotting in Sallust and Plutarch, and who had himself written the conspiracy of Fiesco. He flattered himself that he could force the court to appoint him as successor of Richelieu by creating himself a party among the people, as though the people already had a part to play. He was a talker and made adroit use of the Duke of Beaufort, grandson of Henry IV, a popular man despite his emptiness of mind, who was called the king of the markets but who could not be anything more. After a short war in which the insurgents were constantly beaten, peace was signed at Ruel (1649).

This is the famous war of the Fronde, so called from a child's game. The haughty Condé, who had won the

victory for the court, rendered himself unendurable to the queen and to Mazarin who had him arrested. The provincial nobility took up arms in favor of the rebellious prince, and Turenne, drawn into rebellion by his passion for the Duchess de Longueville, was vanquished at Rethel by the royal troops. Thus Mazarin was triumphant, when Paul de Gondi, incensed at failing to obtain the cardinal's hat which had been promised him, rekindled the war of the Fronde. Mazarin was obliged to flee to Liège (1651). Fortunately Turenne returned to his allegiance and saved the king by his skill at Bléneau and at the battle of the Faubourg Saint Antoine (1652). Condé was compelled to flee to Flanders and entered the Spanish service. The Fronde was ended (1653). Two years afterwards, when Parliament wished to oppose the registration of several edicts, the young king, booted and whip in hand on his way from the chase, entered the hall and forbade that assembly to continue its deliberations.

**Treaty of the Pyrenees** (1659). — Peace being established at home, war abroad was prosecuted with energy. Turenne forced the Spanish lines before Arras (1654) and then won the battle of the Downs, which opened to him the Netherlands (1658). Several months later Mazarin signed the treaty of the Pyrenees (1659). Spain renounced Roussillon, Cerdagne and Artois. The Infanta Maria Theresa married Louis XIV, renouncing all claims on the crown of Spain, but Mazarin so managed matters that the renunciation should be void. In the preceding year he had concluded with many German princes the league of the Rhine, which Napoleon renewed a century and a half afterwards, though without greater profit to France.

Mazarin died in 1661. His administration without being grand had been clever. His financial management, disastrous for the treasury, had been lucrative for him and his friends. Nevertheless he left royalty free from all domestic obstacles, and France glorious in politics and arms, and even in letters and arts. Corneille, Descartes, Pascal and Pousin had long before begun what is called the century of Louis XIV.

# XVII

## ENGLAND FROM 1603 TO 1674

**Europe in 1661.** — Thus France was entering upon the most brilliant reign of her old monarchy. Meanwhile the two defeated powers of the religious wars, Spain and Austria, were dressing their wounds: the former listlessly, for she remained thirty-five years under a moribund king; the latter with the energy which Hungarian turbulence and the nearness of the Ottomans imposed, yet without either brilliancy or grandeur because of the insignificance of her princes. In Eastern Europe other ambitions were in motion, the Swedes against the Danes, the Russians against the Poles. From the midst of these contentions the Elector of Brandenburg was trying to reap a harvest. The Turks from time to time were making terrible invasions, the last threats of an exhausted and declining power. The attention of mankind was not as yet seriously attracted in that direction, but was already fixed upon Louis XIV.

On examining the history of England during the Thirty Years' War we shall perceive that to the humiliation of the house of Austria in its Spanish and imperial branches corresponds the political abasement of Great Britain during the same period, condemned to civil war or impotency by the secret or avowed Catholicism of its kings.

**Accession of the Stuarts.** — James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart and great-grandson of Henry VIII, succeeded Elizabeth in 1603. He wore the two crowns without as yet uniting the two states in one. He abandoned the Protestant policy which in the preceding reign had saved England. He refused to coöperate in the projects of Henry IV, sought alliance with Spain and remained almost indifferent to the ruin of his son-in-law, the elector palatine. Nevertheless he upheld Anglicanism against the Catholics, who formed the Gunpowder Plot (1615), and against the Non-Conformists, whom he persecuted without pity. "No bishop, no king," said he with reason. Elizabeth had bequeathed

to him absolute power. But a firm and glorious hand is required to exercise unfettered authority and under a vain and feeble prince Parliament was no longer docile. In vain did James send five deputies to the Tower in 1614. The Commons refused subsidies. In order to obtain money which his extravagance rendered necessary, he had recourse to the most shameful traffic, put the court offices and judicial functions up at auction, created and sold titles, and then wasted the riches shamefully acquired upon greedy favorites, of whom the most notorious was George Villiers, Marquis of Buckingham.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out, James took advantage of the perils which Protestantism in Germany was incurring to summon a new Parliament. But the Commons granted subsidies only on condition that justice should be done to the nation's grievances. The old spirit of liberty, repressed by the Tudors, was awakening. The king again dissolved the assembly (1622). Allured by the bait of a rich dowry, he sought for his son the hand of an infanta of Spain. This was a fresh outrage to the keenest feelings of the English people, but the plan failed, thanks to the folly of Buckingham. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII, was almost as unpopular, because it placed a Catholic princess upon the throne of England. James I died in 1625. He published the *True Law of Free Monarchy* wherein he expounded the divine right of kings. The Anglican clergy, in its canons of 1608 erecting this right into a dogma, made absolute obedience to the reigning prince an article of faith. Thus the alliance of the altar and the throne against the public liberties was everywhere ratified, even in the heart of the Reformation.

**Charles I** (1625–1649). — Charles I, a prince of sedate and pure character, thus found himself from childhood imbued with the principles of despotism. His wife showed the Catholics a preference which wounded the nation. Buckingham, who had contrived to remain the favorite of the son as he had been the favorite of the father, retained an influence which diminished the respect of the country for the king. The struggle with the Commons immediately began afresh. This assembly was composed of the younger sons of the nobility and of citizens of the middle class, who, having grown rich under Elizabeth and James, filled all the

liberal professions. It was the practice to vote the customs duties for the whole duration of the reign. The lower Chamber granted them only for one year and Charles in anger dismissed the assembly. The Parliament of 1626 went still farther. It impeached Buckingham and was immediately prorogued. In the hope of acquiring some popularity Buckingham persuaded Charles I to support the Protestants of France and conducted a fleet to the rescue of La Rochelle. The expedition failed through the incapacity of the general (1627).

This check encouraged the Commons, who forced the king to give his sanction to the Petition of Right and addressed to him two remonstrances, one against the illegal collection of the customs duties, the other against his favorite, who was described as the author of the public wretchedness. The king again prorogued Parliament, and John Felton, a fanatic, assassinated Buckingham (1628). Charles then called to the ministry Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, and decided to govern without a Parliament, that is to say, contrary to the spirit of the British constitution.

But without Parliament there were no subsidies, and consequently no means of taking part in the great events which were agitating Europe. This inaction discredited the English government in the eyes of its own subjects. The enormous fines imposed upon opponents and the cruelty of Laud toward the dissenters, as in torturing Leighton and Prynne, intensified the general discontent. The prevailing sentiment was manifest in the intense sympathy shown John Hampden when he opposed the tax of ship-money by legal resistance (1636). Scotland had been attacked in its Presbyterian polity by Laud. It protested by an insurrection at Edinburgh (1637), and formed the political and religious league of the Covenant (1638), against which the English army led by Strafford refused to fight (1640).

After eleven years without the Chambers, the king confessed himself vanquished and convoked a fourth Parliament. It refused the least subsidy until justice should be done to the complaints of the nation, and was speedily prorogued. Compelled by necessity the king assembled a fifth Parliament (1640), which is famous in history as the Long Parliament. Exceeding its original purpose, it took charge of the taxes and of the judicial authority, abolished extraordinary tribunals, proclaimed its own peri-

odical character, and impeached of high crimes the Earl of Strafford, whose head fell upon the block (1641). Meanwhile a formidable insurrection broke out among the Irish, who slew 40,000 Protestants. When the king asked for means to reduce the rebels, Parliament replied by bitter remonstrances, and voted the militia bill, which put the army under its own control. Charles endeavored to arrest the leaders of the opposition in the very midst of the assembly. Failing in his purpose he quitted London to begin the civil war (1642).

**The Civil War** (1642–1647). — Parliament held the capital, the great cities, the seaports and the fleet. The king was followed by most of the nobility, who were better trained to arms than the burgher militia. In the northern and western counties the Royalists or Cavaliers were in the majority. The Parliamentarians or Roundheads predominated in the east; the centre and the southeast, which were the richest sections, were close together, and formed a sort of belt round London. At first the king had the advantage. From Nottingham, where he had raised his standard, he marched upon London. The Parliamentarians, defeated at Edge Hill and Worcester (1642), redoubled their energy. Hampden raised a regiment of infantry among his tenants, friends and neighbors. Oliver Cromwell, then beginning to emerge from obscurity, formed in the eastern counties from the sons of farmers and small landed proprietors select squadrons, who opposed religious enthusiasm to the sentiments of honor which animated the Cavaliers. The Parliamentarians, victorious at Newbury, allied themselves with the Scotch by a solemn covenant.

Parliament was composed of various parties. The chief were Presbyterians, who though abolishing grades in the Church wished to preserve them in the state, and the Independents, who rejected both the peerage and the episcopacy, both the temporal and religious sovereignty of the king. Around the latter were the numerous sects derived from Puritanism, such as Levellers, Anabaptists and Millenarians. Their leaders were clever men. Ablest of all was Oliver Cromwell, an ambitious and sphinx-like genius, a politician and an enthusiast. With his squadrons surnamed Ironsides, he won the battle of Marston Moor in 1644 and then that of Newbury, which saved the revolution. These successes helped the Independents, although a minority in Parlia-

ment, to pass the self-denying ordinance which excluded the deputies from public affairs. This was equivalent to handing over the army to the Independents. Cromwell then prosecuted the war with vigor. The king's last army was crushed at Naseby (1645), while his lieutenant Montrose was beaten by the Scotch Covenanters. The disheartened king withdrew through weariness to the camp of the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament for 400,000 pounds sterling (1647).

**Execution of Charles I** (1649). — The Presbyterians would gladly have treated with their captive. Supported by the army, Cromwell "purged" Parliament of the Presbyterian deputies, and the Independents cited the king before a court of justice, which sent him to the scaffold (January 30, 1649). His bloody death caused his acts of violence and perfidy to be forgotten. It revived the monarchical creed of England and royalty again became popular on the day when the head of the king rolled from under the axe of the executioner.

**The Commonwealth of England** (1649–1660). **Cromwell.** — The Republic was proclaimed. Catholic Ireland and Scotland, who remembered that the Stuarts were of Scottish race, protested against the revolution which had been accomplished. Cromwell subdued the former by an atrocious war. By the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, he forced the latter to recognize the authority of the Parliament of London (1651). The new government announced its foreign policy by the daring but sagacious Navigation Act. Thereby it prohibited the entrance into English ports of all vessels laden with merchandise, not produced on the soil or by the people whose flag the vessel bore. This act remained in force until January 1, 1850. In consequence England was forced to develop her manufactures and her marine. To the Dutch, "the teamsters of the sea," this measure meant ruin, and they declared war but were defeated.

The country was tired of the Long Parliament, now called the Rump. One day Cromwell went to the hall of session, announced to the deputies that God was no longer with them, and had them driven out by his soldiers, who fastened to the door this notice, "House to let" (1653). But some time later he formed another Parliament, which he declared convoked in the name of the Holy Spirit and which he soon dissolved. Then he had himself proclaimed Lord Protector. He was king without the name. He employed his power

for the welfare and greatness of his country. At home he ensured order and developed commerce and industry. Abroad he beheld his alliance entreated by Spain and sought by France. Blake, his admiral, thrice defeated the Dutch and forced them to abandon hope of provisioning the English market. The Spaniards lost their galleons as well as Jamaica and Dunkirk. The Barbary States were chastised; the Pope was threatened with hearing "the English cannon thunder at the Castle of San Angelo" if his persecution of the Reformed Party did not cease. Thus Cromwell resumed the rôle which the Stuarts had abandoned and which Louis XIV was about to abandon, of defender of Protestant interests. Unfortunately for England he retained power only five years (1658). His son Richard succeeded, but could not replace him and abdicated after a few months. England relapsed into anarchy. The clever General Monk paved the way for the return of monarchy. He dissolved the Rump Parliament, which had again assembled, formed a Parliament devoted to himself, and the combined Tories and Whigs recalled the Stuarts without conditions (1660).

It was an error to declare that twenty years of revolution had passed over England in vain, and to believe that the ancient order of things could be reëstablished unchanged. That mistake was soon to render necessary a second revolution. Moreover the despotism of the Tudors was not according to the ancient order of things, for the oldest thing in England was public liberty, which had been temporarily eclipsed by the fatigue of thirty years' warfare during the struggle of the Roses. Then had come the Reformation which had engrossed all minds, and the war with Philip II, when the very existence of England had been at stake. Confronted by such perils, the country had allowed the authority of its kings to increase. But now that Spain was dying and France no longer threatening and the religious questions definitely settled, England wished to reënter her ancient path.

**Charles II** (1660–1685). — Charles II seemed at first to understand the state of the popular mind. He remained faithful to Anglican Protestantism and permitted the Parliament to enjoy its ancient prerogatives. But frivolous and debauched, he soon found himself forced through need of money to make himself dependent upon the Commons

for the sake of receiving subsidies, or upon some foreign power for the purpose of obtaining therefrom a pension. His choice was quickly made. The spectacle of France and of her king revived in him the despotic instincts of his fathers. The dread of Parliament, of its remonstrances and its complaints, threw him into the arms of Louis XIV. He sold to him Mardick and Dunkirk, two of Cromwell's conquests (1662). After the triple alliance of The Hague (1666), which his people imposed upon him that they might arrest France in the Netherlands, he sold himself. Louis paid him a pension of 2,000,000 francs until his death.

But the fear of anarchy, which in 1660 had prostrated England at the feet of Charles II, had vanished. Little by little, there had been formed in the heart of the nation and in Parliament an opposition, which in 1674 was strong enough to extort the Test Bill. This bill was the prelude to the second and imminent revolution. Let us pause for a time at this point in the history of Charles II. Under him during the first part of the reign of Louis XIV, England counted no more in continental affairs than did Spain or the empire. Later on we shall trace the events which will hurl the Stuarts from the throne and give to Great Britain the leadership in the opposition to France.

## XVIII

### LOUIS XIV FROM 1661 TO 1685

**Colbert.** — After the death of Mazarin Louis XIV announced his intention of governing without any prime minister. This sovereign, then aged twenty-four, throughout his after life kept the pledge which he had taken to exercise manfully his royal trade. His was not a great intellect, and yet despite his faults he was a great king. At least during the first half of his reign, he practised the chief art of sovereigns, which is to understand how to choose good depositaries of their power.

Colbert, intrusted from 1661 to 1683 with the finances, agriculture, commerce, manufactures and the navy, caused all these branches of the national activity to prosper. The period of his ministry is the most glorious in the reign of Louis XIV, for he moderated the king's ambition and developed the national forces. He found a debt of 430,000,000 francs, the revenues expended two years in advance, and the treasury receiving only 35,000,000 out of the 84,000,000 of annual taxes. He severely investigated cases of fraud, reduced such taxes as were imposed only on the humbler classes, but increased the indirect imposts which every one paid. Every year he drew up a sort of national budget, and raised the net revenue of the treasury to 89,000,000. He encouraged industry by subsidies, and protected it by tariffs which imposed heavy duties upon similar products from abroad.

In order to facilitate business and transportation internal customs-duties were abolished in many provinces, highways were repaired or created, and the canal of Languedoc was constructed between the ocean and the Mediterranean. He organized the five great commercial companies of the East Indies, the West Indies, the Levant, Senegal and the North, which competed with the merchants of London and Amsterdam; and he encouraged the merchant marine by bounties. The military marine developed such vigorous life that in

1692 it became possible to equip more than 300 vessels of all sizes. Thanks to the Maritime Inscription, which furnished 70,000 mariners, the recruiting of the crews was ensured. The port of Rochefort was created, that of Dunkirk was bought back from the English, Brest and Toulon were enlarged, and a magnificent colonial empire, founded in the Antilles and in North America, would have delivered that continent to French influence had men understood how to carry out the plans of the great minister.

**Louvois.** — At the same time Louvois was organizing the army, which he compelled to wear a uniform. He created the companies of grenadiers and hussar corps, and introduced the bayonet. He founded the artillery schools of Douai, Metz and Strasburg, organized thirty regiments of militia which the communes equipped, and companies of cadets, in which originated the school of Saint Cyr and the Polytechnique. Furthermore he subjected even officers of noble birth to strict discipline. A great engineer and patriotic citizen, Vauban, fortified the frontiers.

**War with Flanders** (1667). — Louis XIV, dazzled by the forces which two clever ministers placed at his disposal, conducted himself arrogantly toward all the foreign powers. He exacted from the Pope and from the king of Spain ample satisfaction for insults to the French ambassadors, chastised the corsairs of Tunis and Algiers, and, abandoning the policy of Francis I, sent 6000 men to aid the emperor against the Ottomans, and thus made himself ostensibly the protector of the empire. At the death of Philip IV, availing himself of the right of devolution in force in Brabant, he claimed to inherit the Spanish Netherlands through his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest sister of the new king of Spain, Charles II. Holland and England were at first neutral. Spain thus left alone could not defend herself. The French armies in three months' time captured the strongholds of western Flanders, and in seventeen days in the depth of winter overran all Franche-Comté (1668). Then the maritime powers took the alarm. Holland, England and Sweden concluded the triple alliance of The Hague. As the king lacked audacity on the one day when it was most essential, he signed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which left him only a dozen such towns as Charleroy, Douai, Tournay, Oudenarde and Lille (1668).

**The War with Holland** (1672). — Four years of peace

were employed in preparing a terrible storm against a little country, Holland. Colbert, who wished to develop the maritime commerce of France, grew anxious at the 15,000 merchant vessels of the Dutch. Moreover, when he imposed exorbitant duties on their cloths, they retaliated by onerous duties on French wines and brandies. Therefore Colbert did not oppose a war which seemed likely to rid French commerce of a formidable rival. Louvois desired war to render himself necessary. Louis XIV declared it that he might humble those republicans who had just placed a check on his good fortune. Thereby he abandoned the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu, which was the protection of small states and of Protestantism and opposition to useless conquests. Louis XIV, however, was far more the successor of Philip II than the heir of Henry IV and of the great cardinal.

Having subsidized Sweden and England, he suddenly deluged (1672) Holland with 100,000 men commanded by Turenne and Condé. The Rhine was passed. All the strongholds opened their gates and the French encamped at four leagues' distance from Amsterdam. But the delays of Louis XIV saved the Dutch. They deposed and murdered their Grand Pensioner, Jan de Witt, put in his place as stadtholder William of Orange, who opened the locks, flooded the country and forced the invaders to retreat before the inundation. At the same time he formed a formidable coalition against Louis. Spain, the emperor, many German princes, and even England, though her king was pensioned by Louis, joined Holland.

France made headway everywhere. The king in person subjugated Franche-Comté (1674). Turenne by an admirable campaign drove the imperialists out of Alsace; but was killed himself the following year. Condé after the bloody battle of Senef no longer commanded an army, and Luxembourg and Crequi were poor substitutes for the two great generals. Meanwhile the invasion of France, on the north by the Spaniards, and on the east by the imperialists, was repulsed. Duquesne and d'Estrées defeated the fleets of Holland and ravaged her colonies. His abandonment by England decided Louis to accept the treaty of Nimeguen which awarded him Franche-Comté with fourteen Flemish strongholds, and forced Denmark and Brandenburg to restore all the conquests which they had made from Sweden. Thus

France emerged greater than before from a struggle with all Europe. The French northern and eastern frontiers became farther from Paris. But this proudest period of the reign was also the point of departure for the calamities which were soon to follow. The war with Holland had directed against France the coalitions which France had formerly organized against Austria, and had founded the good fortune of William of Orange, who a few years afterwards became king of England.

**Revocation of the Edict of Nantes** (1685). — Thus that war was a first mistake. Other similar mistakes were sure to follow, for after the death of Colbert in 1683 the hard and narrow influence of Louvois and of Madame de Maintenon was no longer counteracted. "If it hath not pleased God," said Henry IV, in the preamble to the edict of Nantes, "to permit His Holy Name to be adored by all our subjects in one and the same form of religion, let it at least be adored with the same intent . . .; and pray ye unto the Divine Goodness that He may make men understand that in the observance of this ordinance exists the principal foundation of their union, tranquillity and repose, and of the re-establishment of this State in its pristine splendor." These glowing words had worthily inaugurated the new era which Richelieu and Mazarin continued abroad by their Protestant alliances, and at home by their respect for religious liberty.

But Louis XIV, intoxicated with his omnipotence and led astray by the fatal counsels of a party, which during three centuries had ruined every cause which it defended, undertook to repudiate the toleration of Henry IV as he had repudiated his diplomacy. As he allowed in his kingdom but one will, his own, and but one law, that of the absolute prince, so he wished that there should be but one religion, Catholicism. To convert the Protestants he first sent into the cantons where they were numerous booted missionaries or the dragonades. In 1685 he officially revoked the edict of Nantes. The Reformers were bound to undergo conversion or to leave the kingdom. Their children were taken from them by force to be reared in the Catholic Church. They had furnished to French industries its most skilful workmen. Two or three hundred thousand quitted the kingdom, among whom were 9000 sailors, 12,000 soldiers, and 600 officers. One suburb of London was peopled by

these refugees. Berlin and Brandenburg welcomed great numbers. Foreigners became possessed of the secrets of the French manufactures. Among the learned men who during the last century and a half have been the honor of Holland, Germany, England and even of Italy, there are many descendants of the exiles of Louis XIV.

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# XIX

## THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

### (1688)

**Awakening of Liberal Ideas in England** (1673–1679). — The reply of the Protestant powers to the revocation of the edict of Nantes was the English revolution, which hurled from the throne the Catholic James II and placed thereon the Calvinist William III.

Charles II had hired himself out to Louis XIV, but England had not ratified the bargain. In 1668 she forced her king to join the Swedes and Dutch in rescuing the Spanish Netherlands. Again in 1674 she compelled him to renounce the French alliance, and then by opposing France to bring about the peace of Nimeguen. The king, defeated on a political question, was defeated again on a question of religion. He was suspected of favoring Catholicism. Therefore Parliament voted the Test Bill, which obliged officials to declare under oath that they did not believe in transubstantiation. Thus public employment was closed to Catholics and their exclusion lasted until 1829. The Popish plot, imagined by the wretched Titus Oates, and the memory of the fire of London in 1666 which had been attributed to the Catholics, provoked extremely rigorous measures. Eight Jesuits were hanged. Viscount Stafford was beheaded in spite of his seventy years, and the Duke of York, the king's brother, who had abjured Protestantism, was threatened with deprivation of his rights to the crown. In order to restrain the royal despotism the Whigs or liberals who controlled Parliament passed the famous bill of habeas corpus in 1679, which confirmed the law of personal security written in Magna Charta, and so often violated. Every prisoner must be examined by the judge within twenty-four hours after his arrest, and released or set at liberty under bail if the proofs were insufficient.

**Catholic and Absolutist Reaction. James II** (1685). —

Thus Parliament at the same time repressed the dissenters and the court. The English were peacefully effecting their internal revolution when the violent put everything in peril. The Puritans rose in Scotland. They were crushed and a new Test Bill imposed upon the Scotch passive obedience to the king. At London a conspiracy to prevent the Duke of York from succeeding his brother led to the execution of many Whig chiefs and to the exile of others. Thus the liberal party was defeated. So James II quietly took possession of the throne in 1685, the year when the edict of Nantes was revoked. His nephew Monmouth and the Duke of Argyle tried hard to overthrow him, but both perished after the defeat of Sedgemoor, and the odious Jeffries sent many of their partisans to the block. If the Anglican clergy and those among the aristocracy who were called Tories or conservatives were disposed to pardon the Stuarts for their despotism, they had no intention of allowing royalty by right divine, a *deo rex*, a *rege lex*, to bring back Catholicism which surely would demand restitution of the immense church property which they had seized. When James sent to the Vatican a solemn embassy to reconcile England with the Roman Church, the archbishop of Canterbury protested. He was thrown into the tower with six of his suffragans.

**Fall of James II** (1688). **Declaration of Rights. William III** (1689). — These acts of violence together with the birth in 1688 of a Prince of Wales whose mother was an Italian Catholic, and whose rights of inheritance would precede those of the Calvinist William of Orange, the son-in-law of James II, made the stadtholder of Holland accede to the propositions of the Whigs. James deserted by all fled to France, and Parliament proclaimed William III king. It first made him sign the Declaration of Rights, which substituted royalty by consent for royalty by divine right, and which contained nearly all the guarantees of a free government: the periodical convocation of Parliament, the voting of taxes, laws made by the joint consent of the Chambers and the king, and the right of petition. A few months later Locke, one of those whom James II had persecuted, set forth the theory of the revolution of 1688, by recognizing national sovereignty and liberty as the sole legitimate and durable principles of a government.

**A New Political Right.** — Thus a new right, that of the

people, arose in modern society in opposition to the absolute right of kings, and humanity entered upon a new stage of its journey. Feudalism had been an advance over Carlovingian barbarism. Royalty had been likewise an advance over mediæval feudalism. After having constituted the modern nations, developed commerce and industry, favored the blossoming of the arts and letters, royalty undertook to render its absolute right eternal, and demanded of the Catholic Church to aid it in maintaining itself therein. England had the good fortune, thanks to her insular position and to her traditions, to grasp the principle which was destined to be that of the future. To her wisdom she already owes two centuries of tranquillity amid the ruins which have been crumbling around her.

# XX

## COALITIONS AGAINST FRANCE

### (1688–1714)

**Formation of the League of Augsburg** (1686). — In the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth, France took in hand the defence of Protestantism and of the general liberties of Europe against the Hapsburgs of Madrid and of Vienna and against the ultramontanism of the Vatican. But with Louis XIV she threatened the conscience of the adherents of the Reformation and the independence of states. England took up the rôle which France was abandoning and grew mighty in it, as had done Henry IV and Richelieu.

While the Protestants who had been expelled from France carried in all directions their resentment against Louis, he wantonly braved Europe by aggressions made in time of peace. By duplicity he gained possession of twenty cities, among which was Strasburg (1681). He treated the Pope with arrogance and compelled the Doge of Genoa to come and humble himself at Versailles. He bought Casal in Italy so as to dominate the valley of the Po, claimed a part of the Palatinate as the dowry of his sister-in-law, opposed the installation of the archbishop of Cologne, and occupied Bonn, Neuss and Kaiserwerth. The Powers, rendered uneasy by such ambition, formed as early as 1686 the League of Augsburg which England joined in 1689.

**War of the League of Augsburg** (1689–1697). — Louis directed his first blows against William. He gave James II a magnificent reception, and furnished him with a fleet and army, which landed in Ireland but lost the battle of the Boyne. Tourville, forced by the king's orders to attack ninety-nine vessels with forty-four, suffered the disaster of La Hogue (1692). Thenceforth the sea belonged to the English and French commerce was at their mercy despite the exploits of bold captains like Jean Bart. On land the

French maintained the advantage. Luxemburg beat the allies at Fleurus, and Neerwinden. Catinat occupied Piedmont and assured its possession by the victories of Staffarde and La Marsaille. But France was exhausting herself in an unequal struggle. "Half of the kingdom," wrote Vauban, "lives on the alms of the other half." Moreover Charles II of Spain was dying. The Spanish succession was at last about to be thrown open, and Europe needed repose in order to prepare herself for this event. Hoping to obtain peace, Louis instigated dissensions among his enemies. The desertion of the Duke of Savoy, to whom his states and even Pignerol were restored, induced the allies to sign the treaty of Ryswick (1697). Louis XIV recognized William III as king of England, restored to the empire with the exception of Alsace whatever had been awarded him, put the Duke of Lorraine again in possession of his duchy, but kept the west of San Domingo, Landau and Sarrelouis.

**War of the Spanish Succession** (1701–1714). — At Madrid the elder branch of the house of Austria was about to become extinct. France, Austria and Bavaria each disputed the inheritance of Charles II. Louis XIV asserted the rights of his wife, Maria Theresa, the eldest child of Philip IV. Leopold I had married her younger sister, Margarita. The Elector of Bavaria laid claim in the name of his minor son, the grandson of this same Margarita. The first plan for the partition of the Spanish monarchy, favorably entertained by William, was rejected by Charles II who preferred the boy Duke of Bavaria. That youth died. France and Austria being thus left as the only claimants, Charles by a will bequeathed his estates to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, in the hope of preserving the integrity of his monarchy.

Europe was alarmed at this added greatness of the French Bourbons. Louis XIV alarmed it still more by preserving for the new king, Philip V, his rights of eventual succession to the crown of Saint Louis. Such succession would have rëestablished to the advantage of France the enormous power of Charles V. Louis posted French garrisons in the Spanish Netherlands to the great consternation of Holland. Then on the death of James II he recognized his son as king of England, thereby openly violating the treaty of Ryswick (1701). A new league was soon concluded at The

Hague between England and the United Provinces. Prussia, the empire, Portugal and even the Duke of Savoy, the father-in-law of Philip V, successively joined it (1701–1703). Three superior men, Heinsius, Grand Pensioner of Holland, Marlborough, leader of the Whig party in England, a clever diplomat and great general, and Prince Eugene, a Frenchman who had emigrated to Austria, guided the coalition. France had Chamillart to replace Colbert and Louvois. Fortunately her generals, except the incapable Villeroi, were better than her ministers.

Austria began hostilities by reverses. Eugene was defeated at Luzzara by the Duke of Vendôme (1702), as was another imperial army at Friedlingen and at Hochstedt by Villars. But Marlborough landed in the Netherlands, and the Archduke Charles in Portugal. The Duke of Savoy deserted France and the Camisards rose in the Cevennes. The loss of the second terrible battle of Hochstedt or Blenheim drove the French out of Germany (1704). The battle of Ramillies gave the Netherlands to the allies; that of Turin gave them Milan and the kingdom of Naples (1706). Toulon was menaced (1707). To arrest the enemy in the Netherlands Louis XIV collected another magnificent army. It was put to rout at Oudenarde. Lille surrendered after two months of siege (1708). The winter of 1709 added its rigors to the French disasters and Louis sued for peace. The allies required that he should himself expel his grandson from Spain. He preferred to continue the fight. Villars had still 100,000 men. They were defeated at Malplaquet.

In the meantime Vendôme secured the throne of Spain to Philip V by the victory of Villaviciosa (1710), and the Archduke Charles, the candidate of the allies, became emperor of Germany by the death of his brother (1711). The European balance of power would have been disturbed in a much more threatening manner by his uniting to the imperial crown the crowns of Naples and Spain, than by Philip V at Madrid. Thus England had no more interest in this war. The Whigs who wished to continue it fell from power, and the Tory ministry that replaced them entered upon negotiations with France. Several months later the imperial army was beaten at Denain by Villars. This glorious victory hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed at Utrecht, by England, Portugal, Savoy, Prussia and Holland (1713).

**Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt** (1713–1714). — Louis accepted the succession as established in England by the revolution of 1683, ceded to the English the island of Newfoundland, pledged himself to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk and agreed that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one and the same head. Holland obtained the right of placing garrisons in most of the strongholds of the Spanish Netherlands so as to prevent their falling into the hands of France. The Duke of Savoy received Sicily with the title of king. The Elector of Brandenburg was recognized as king of Prussia, having just purchased that title from the emperor. The latter, left alone, continued the war, but the capture of Landau and Freiburg induced him to sign the treaty of Rastadt (1714) by which he acquired some of the foreign possessions of Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, Milan and the fortresses of Tuscany.

France made many sacrifices but Spain, no longer distracted by her Netherlands, became her natural ally instead of being as for two centuries her constant enemy. This change meant security on the southern French frontier and hence greater strength in the northeast. Louis XIV died shortly afterwards (1715). He had reigned seventy-two years.

**Louis XIV the Personification of Monarchy by Divine Right.** — He left the kingdom without commerce, without manufactures, drained of men and money, with a public debt which would amount at the present day to $1,600,000,000. Thus the setting of that long reign did not fulfil the promise of its dawn. The acquisition of two provinces, Flanders and Franche-Comté, and of several cities, Strasburg, Landau and Dunkirk, was a small compensation for the frightful misery which France endured and which she might have been spared, had Louis remained faithful to the policy of Henry IV and of Richelieu. Moreover she had declined in just the same degree as others had risen. Spain had not recovered her strength. Austria still remained feeble. But two youthful royal houses, Sardinia and Prussia, formed in Italy and Germany the cornerstones of mighty edifices whose proportions could not as yet be described, and England already grasped the rôle, which she was to retain for a century and a half, of the preponderant power in Europe by virtue of her commerce, her navy, her colonies and her gold.

By the matchless brilliancy of his court, his magnificent festivals, his sumptuous buildings, his taste for arts and letters; by his lofty bearing, the dignity which he showed in everything, the serene confidence which he cherished in his rights and his superior intelligence, Louis was the most majestic incarnation of royalty. To him is attributed the saying: "I am the state." In consequence of the energetic centralization which placed all France at Versailles, and Versailles in the study of the prince, the saying was true. He firmly believed, and others believed with him, that the property as well as the lives of his subjects belonged to him; that he was their intelligence, their will, their spring of action; that is to say, that 20,000,000 of men lived in him and for him. But his errors, his vices, were sacred also, like those of the gods of Olympus whose images filled his palaces. At need the judiciary served his passions, the army his caprices, the public treasury his pleasures, and debauchery became a royal institution which conferred on the mistresses of the king rank at court.

Such a government might suit the Orient which knows only force and submits to it with resignation. It could not last in our Western world where humanity has come to consciousness of itself and of its lofty rights. By developing manufactures and commerce and consequently the fortunes of his people, and by favoring arts and letters or in other words the development of the mind, Louis himself paved the way for the formation of two new powers which were destined, first to undermine, then to overthrow his system.

# XXI

## ARTS, LETTERS AND SCIENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

**Letters and Arts in France.** — The sixteenth century effected religious reform. The eighteenth was to effect political reform. Placed between these two revolutionary ages, the seventeenth was and has stood forth, especially in France, as the great literary epoch. The generations which live in stormy times rise higher and descend lower, but never reach that calm beauty which is the reflection of a peaceful yet fertile age, where art is its own end and its own recompense. Long before Louis XIV took the government in hand and reigned by himself (1661), France had already reaped half of the literary glory which the seventeenth century had in store. Many of her great writers had produced their masterpieces and nearly all were in full possession of their talent. The *Cid* was acted in 1636, and the *Discourse on Method* appeared in 1637.

Thus the magnificent harvest, then garnered by French intellect, germinated and fructified of itself. When under Henry IV and Richelieu, calm succeeded to the sterile agitation of religious struggles, intellectual questions took the precedence over those of war; and when several great men appeared, all the higher society followed them. People discussed a beautiful verse as formerly they had discussed a handsome gun. They would even have lost themselves in the mental refinements and elaborate subtleties of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, had it not been for the manly accents of Corneille and of his heroes, the supreme good sense of Molière, Boileau and La Fontaine, the biblical eloquence of Bossuet, the energy of Pascal and the penetrating grace of Racine. On that roll of honor let us also place the names of Madame de Sévigné for her *Letters*, of La Rochefoucauld for his *Maxims*, of La Bruyère for his *Characters*, of Fénelon for his *Télémaque*, of Saint Simon for his formidable *Memoirs* and of Bourdaloue for his *Sermons*.

Such learned men as Casaubon, Scaliger, Saumaise, du Cange, Baluze and the Benedictines illumined the confusion of our origin and gave us a better acquaintance with antiquity. Bayle continued the traditions of Rabelais and of Montaigne. Descartes was the great revolutionist of the time, demanding that the mind should banish all preëxisting ideas, so as to be free from all prejudice and all error and thus admit only such truths as evidence should invincibly force upon the reason. Through prudence Descartes veiled the eyes of his contemporaries to the consequences of his *Method*, yet that method became the essential condition of philosophical progress. It is the law of science and it will become the law of the world.

At that time France possessed four painters of high rank: Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, and at some distance from them Lebrun; one admirable sculptor, Puget; the talented architects, Mansart and Perrault; and a clever musician, Lulli.

**Letters and Arts in Other Countries.** —In Italy there was literary as well as political decline. In Spain appeared Lope de Vega and Calderon. The *Don Quixote* of Cervantes belongs in date and subject to another century when men still thought of the Middle Ages, even though only with ridicule. Then England boasted her glorious literary age with Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Addison. Germany was passing through her age of iron. The Reformation, which had fallen into the hands of princes as Italian Catholicism had into the hands of the Jesuits, seems to have arrested thought.

The Dutch Grotius and the Swede Puffendorf settled the rights of peace and war according to the principles of humanity and justice. The English Hobbes, a pensioner of Charles II, maintained in his *Leviathan* that war was the natural state of humanity and that men needed a good despot to keep them from cutting each other's throats. This was the theory of absolute power according to philosophy, as Bossuet had expounded it according to religion. This doctrine was happily refuted by another philosopher, Locke, in his essay on *Civil Government*. Therein the councillor of William III demonstrated that civil society is subjected to the established power not otherwise than by the consent of the community. "The community," said he, "can set up whatever government it sees fit. That govern-

ment in order to conform to reason must fulfil two conditions: the first is, that the power of making the laws, binding upon the subjects as well as upon the monarch, ought to be separated from the power which executes them; the second is that no one shall be required to pay taxes without his consent, given personally or by his representatives." "Equality," he said, in another place, "is the equal right which each man has to liberty, so that no one is subjected to the will or authority of another." This treatise appeared in 1690, just a century before the French Revolution, of which Locke is one of the precursors. What is the necessity of common consent, established as a principle of all political society, but the recognition of the sovereignty of the nation! The ideas of the English philosopher, like those of Descartes, were destined to make progress slowly throughout the eighteenth century.

Two other philosophers deserve mention for their influence in the realm of metaphysics. They are the pantheist Spinoza, a Jew of Amsterdam, and Leibnitz, the universal genius.

In the arts the first rank then belonged to the Dutch and Flemish schools, represented by Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt and the two Téniers. Spain possessed Velasquez, Murillo and Ribera, who left no heirs. Italy brought forth Guido and Bernini, who mark the decline against which nevertheless Salvator Rosa was a protest. England and Germany had not a single artist.

**Science in the Seventeenth Century.** — The universe is twofold. There is a moral and a physical world. Antiquity traversed the one in every direction. It extended and developed the faculties of which God has deposited the germs in our mortal clay. But of the physical world it knew almost nothing. This ignorance was destined to last so long as the true methods of investigation were unknown. They could be found only after men had become convinced that the universe is governed by the immutable laws of eternal wisdom and not by the arbitrary volitions of capricious powers. Alchemy, magic, astrology, all those follies of the Middle Ages, became sciences on the day when man, no longer halting at isolated phenomena, strove to grasp the laws themselves which produced them. That day began in the sixteenth century with Copernicus, but it is only in the seventeenth that the revolution was accomplished

and triumphant with Bacon and Galileo. The former proclaimed its necessity; the latter by his discoveries demonstrated its benefits.

At the head of the scientific movement of this century were Kepler of Wurtemberg, who proved the truth of Copernicus' system; Galileo of Pisa, who expiated in the cells of the Inquisition his demonstration of the motion of the earth; the Englishman Newton, who discovered the principal laws of optics and universal gravitation; Leibnitz, who disputes with him the honor of having created the differential calculus; Pascal, the inventor of the calculus of probabilities; Descartes, equally celebrated as a man of learning and a philosopher, for these mighty minds did not confine themselves to a single study.

In their train a throng of men entered eagerly upon the paths thus thrown open. Papin ascertains the power of steam as a motive force; Rœmer, the velocity of light; Harvey, the circulation of the blood; and Cassini and Picard fix the meridian of Paris. To the thermometer constructed by Galileo, Toricelli adds the barometer, Huygens the pendulum clock, and science finds itself armed with precious instruments for investigation.

Thus in this century three countries were in full decline. They are Germany, which had Leibnitz but almost allowed Kepler to die of misery; Italy, which persecuted Galileo, and Spain, where we find only painters and playwrights. The two peoples, France and England, to whom strength and preponderance had passed, were on the contrary in the full tide of their literary age.

# XXII

## CREATION OF RUSSIA. DOWNFALL OF SWEDEN

**The Northern States at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.** — The East and Northern Europe were an unknown region to the Romans and Greeks. In the Middle Ages, the activity of the nations was displayed in countries of the centre and west. The Slavs and Scandinavians remained generally apart, uninfluential and obscure. The Russians had been subjugated by the Mongols. After long silence the Swedes had burst upon the empire under Gustavus Adolphus like a thunderbolt. Thanks to their victories over the Germans, Poles and Russians, the Baltic at the middle of the eighteenth century was a Swedish lake surrounded by an extended line of fortified posts, but their domination was fragile. It was constructed in defiance of geography and was surrounded by enemies who had an interest in its ruin.

Poland still stretched from the Carpathians to the Baltic and from the Oder to the sources of the Dnieper and Volga, but its anarchical constitution and its elective royalty rendered it defenceless to the attacks of foreigners. An elector of Saxony was then king of Poland.

The Russians were cut off by the Swedes, the Poles and the duchy of Courland from access to the southern Baltic. Likewise they were separated on the south from the Black Sea by Tartar hordes and by the warrior republic of the Cossacks, unruly subjects of Poland. They were shut in from every direction except toward the desert regions of Siberia. When the powerful republic of Novgorod fell in 1476, their road was open to the Arctic Ocean and the eastern Baltic. By the destruction of the Tartars of Astrakan, they had reached the Caspian Sea. At the treaty of Vilna (1656) they forced from the Poles the cession of Smolensk, Tchernigoff and the Ukraine. This was their first step toward the West. They already possessed formidable elements of power. Ivan III had abolished in his family the

law of appanage, thereby establishing the unity of authority and of the state. On the other hand he had retained it among the nobility, which in consequence became divided and enfeebled. In the sixteenth century Ivan IV spent fifteen years in breaking the boyars to the yoke with that implacable cruelty which won for him the surname of the Terrible, and a ukase in 1593 reduced all peasants to the servitude of the soil by forbidding them to change master and land.

**Peter the Great** (1682). — He, who was destined to be the creator of Russia, in 1682, when ten years old, received the title of Tsar. Guided by the Genevese Lefort, who extolled to him the arts of the West, in 1697 he went to Saardam in Holland to there learn the art of building vessels. Afterwards he studied England and her manufactures, and Germany and her military organization. At Vienna the news reached him that the Strelitzi had revolted. He hurried to Moscow, had 2000 hanged or broken on the wheel and 5000 beheaded. Then he began his reforms. He organized regiments, in which he compelled the sons of the boyars to serve as soldiers before becoming officers. He founded schools in mathematics and astronomy, and a naval academy, and undertook to unite the Don and the Volga by a canal. A great war interrupted these achievements.

The preponderance of Sweden weighed upon her neighbors. At the death of the Swedish king, Charles XI, Russia, Denmark and Poland thought the time had come for despoiling his successor, Charles XII, a youth of eighteen, and for wresting from the Swedes their provinces on the Baltic (1700). "If Charles XII was not Alexander, he might have been Alexander's foremost soldier." He forestalled the attack by an impetuous invasion of Denmark. Then he marched rapidly against 80,000 Russians, whom he defeated with 8,000 Swedes at the battle of Narva, expelled the Saxons from Livonia, pursued them into Saxony, dethroned Augustus II and forced him by the treaty of Altranstädt to abdicate his Polish crown in favor of Stanislaus Lechzinski.

But while he was wasting five years in these successful but fruitless wars (1701–1706), in his rear Peter the Great was creating an empire and forming an army modelled upon what he had seen in the kingdoms of the West. Peter conquered Ingria and Carelia and founded Saint Petersburg

(1703), so as to take possession of the Gulf of Finland. Charles XII then returned against him. While trying to effect a junction with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who had promised him 100,000 men, he lost his way in the marshes of Pinsk and afforded the Tsar time to crush a Swedish relief force. The cruel winter of 1709 increased his distress. His defeat at Poltava (1709) forced him to flee with 500 horse to the Ottomans. From Bender, his place of refuge, he roused them against the Russians. One hundred and fifty thousand Ottomans crossed the Danube, and Peter, surrounded in his camp on the banks of the Pruth, would have been crushed had not the grand vizier been bribed by Catherine the Tsarina (1711). The Tsar restored Azoff and promised to withdraw his troops from Poland.

By this treaty Charles XII was vanquished a second time. He persisted in remaining three years longer in Turkey and then set out again for Sweden, which the northern powers were despoiling. George I of England, Elector of Hanover, was buying Bremen and Verden. The king of Prussia was seizing Stettin and Pomerania. Stralsund still held out. Charles XII threw himself into it, defended it for a month, then returned to Sweden and met his death at the siege of Frederickshall, perhaps by treason (1718).

He left Sweden exhausted by this war of fifteen years' duration. She was deprived of her foreign possessions, without agriculture, without manufactures, without commerce, and had lost 250,000 men, the flower of her people, and her ascendency in northern Europe. This heroic adventurer had annihilated the fortune of his people and ruined his country for a century.

Peter on the contrary was creating the fortune of his empire. By the treaty of Nystadt he granted peace to the Swedes (1721), but only on condition of their renouncing all claim to Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, a part of Carelia and the country of Viborg and Finland. When the ambassador of France implored less onerous terms, Peter replied, "I do not wish to see my neighbor's grounds from my windows."

Thus Sweden declined and Russia ascended. Thus a twofold example was furnished to the world of what one man can do for the ruin or the advancement of nations not yet capable of controlling their destiny themselves. In 1716

the Tsar undertook another journey throughout Europe. This time he came to France, where he offered to replace Sweden as the ally of France against Austria. Cardinal Dubois, who was the hireling of England, caused the rejection of his proposals.

This journey was as fruitful as the first one in developing the resources of Russia. From it she gained engineers and workmen of all sorts, with manufactories and foundries. The Tsar established uniformity in weights and measures, a commercial tribunal, canals and shipyards. He opened mines in Siberia and highways for the products of China, Persia and India. He foresaw the future of the Amour River, which empties into the Eastern Sea. In order to make the clergy entirely dependent upon him, he replaced the Patriarch by a synod, which he recognized as the supreme head of the Church, and he made of the Russian nation a regiment, by applying the military hierarchy to the whole administration of his empire. His son Alexis was active against these reforms. The prince was tried, condemned to death and probably executed. At all events Alexis died on the day after his sentence and many of his accomplices perished. A general was impaled and an archbishop was broken on the wheel. By means of this savage energy he succeeded, as he himself said, in dressing his herd of animals like men. "The Tsar Peter," said Frederick II, "was the nitric acid which eats into iron." He died in 1725.

## XXIII

### CREATION OF PRUSSIA. DECLINE OF FRANCE AND AUSTRIA

**Regency of the Duke of Orleans; Ministries of Dubois, the Duke of Bourbon and of Fleury** (1715–1743). — The successor of Louis XIV was only five years old. Therefore, Parliament conferred the regency upon the Duke of Orleans, a brave and intelligent prince, but weakly amiable and of dissolute character, who intrusted the power to his former preceptor, Cardinal Dubois. Through fear of Philip V of Spain, who by birth was nearer to the throne of France than was the regent, Dubois made a close alliance with England, which paid him a pension; and the spectacle was presented of the French being on their guard against the Spaniards, their friends of yesterday. Suddenly Cardinal Alberoni, the minister of Philip V, revealed his plan of restoring to Spain what the treaty of Utrecht had taken from her. He endeavored, by the help of the Ottomans, to keep Austria busy, to overthrow the regent by a conspiracy and reëstablish the Stuarts through the sword of Charles XII. But Prince Eugene defeated the Ottomans at Belgrade (1717). The conspiracy against the regent failed. Charles XII perished in Norway. The English destroyed the Spanish fleet near Messina. The French entered Navarre. So Spain found herself crippled by the struggle and France was still under the regent and Dubois.

Louis XIV had left behind him financial ruin. The state owed 2,500,000,000 francs, of which nearly one-third was already due. Two years' revenues had been spent in advance. Though the budget was 165,000,000 francs, the deficit was 78,000,000. The regent, after having exhausted every other means to no purpose, decided to have recourse to the expedients of Law. That bold Scotch financier had founded a wonderfully successful bank and also the India Company, which, successful at first, ended in a complete failure. By clever manœuvres, the bonds of the company were

raised to the fictitious value of 2,000,000,000 francs. The mirage could not last and men's eyes were opened. To save the company, Law united it with the bank, thereby entailing a double ruin. The public which had formerly crowded to the Rue Quincampoix for the sake of obtaining its paper, now crowded there to obtain its coin. Everything crumbled to pieces and Law fled, pursued by curses. Nevertheless he had opened up a new horizon as to the power of credit. The regency has a melancholy fame on account of the scandalous depravity of manners which, in the upper classes, suddenly followed the ostentatious piety of the last years of Louis XIV.

The regent and Dubois died in 1723. The succeeding ministry of the Duke of Bourbon is notable only for the marriage of Louis XV to the daughter of Stanislaus Lechzinski (1725), whom Charles XII had made for a brief time king of Poland. That minister was overthrown by an ambitious septuagenarian, Fleury, bishop of Frejus and preceptor to the king, who held the reins from 1726 to 1743. The single idea in his whole administration was to economize in the finances and maintain peace in Europe. For that end he sacrificed the reputation of France and especially the interests of her navy, submitting to the exigencies of the English. At the death of Augustus II the Poles, by an immense majority, elected Stanislaus Lechzinski king, while the Elector of Saxony was nominated under the protection of Russian bayonets (1733). The king of France could not abandon his father-in-law. Nevertheless the assistance sent him was only a mockery and comprised no more than 1,500 soldiers. Stanislaus escaped with great difficulty from Dantzic and returned to France (1734). To make his disgraceful inactivity forgotten, Fleury joined Savoy and Spain against Austria, which they wished to expel from Italy. This, at least, was true French policy, and it proved successful. After the victories of Parma and Guastalla, France imposed upon the emperor the treaty of Vienna (1738). In place of the kingdom of Poland Stanislaus received the duchy of Lorraine, which after his death was to revert to the king of France. The Duke of Lorraine received Tuscany as indemnity. The Infante Don Carlos acquired Sicily with the kingdom of Naples and the king of Sardinia gained two Milanese provinces. Some of the French ministers wished still more advantageous terms,

but Fleury cared only to make peace rapidly. "After the peace of Vienna," said Frederick II, "France was the arbiter of Europe." She had then just conquered Austria in Italy and was on the point of aiding the Turks to win Servia by the treaty of Belgrade (1739). Thus Austria was at that moment retreating everywhere, in Italy as well as on the Danube. The two Seven Years' Wars were to reduce her lower still, but to drag down France in her fall.

**Formation of Prussia.** — A new power, Prussia, was to humble the traditional rivals, Austria and France. In 1417 Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, bought from the Emperor Sigismund the margravate of Brandenburg, which possessed one of the seven electoral votes. Albert, the Ulysses of the North (1469), founded the power of his house by decreeing that future acquisitions should always remain united to the electorate and that the electorate should remain indivisible. In 1618 that house acquired ducal Prussia with Königsberg. In 1624 it gained the duchy of Cleves, with the counties of Mark and Ravensberg. Thus the state of the Hohenzollerns extended from the Meuse to the Niemen and formed on the Rhine, the Elbe and the east bank of the Vistula, three groups separated by foreign provinces. To gain possession of those provinces has been, even to our day, the object of Hohenzollern ambition. At the treaty of Westphalia the great elector fortified himself upon the Elbe by occupying Magdeburg. Then he approached the Vistula by the occupation of Further Pomerania (1648).

Although a member of the League of the Rhine, which Mazarin had formed and placed under the protection of France, Frederick William supported Holland against Louis XIV and founded the reputation of the Prussian army by defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin. His states had scanty population. He attracted thither Dutch colonists and many Protestants, expelled by the edict of Nantes, who peopled Berlin, his new capital. His son, Frederick III, bought from the emperor the title of king and crowned himself at Königsberg (1701). In Brandenburg he was still only an elector, for ducal Prussia, which formed the new kingdom, was not included in the limits of the German Empire. Frederick William I (1713), the Sergeant King, created the Prussian army, raising it to 80,000 men, and spent his life as a drill-master. From

Sweden he acquired nearly the whole of Pomerania, with Stettin, and had already meditated the dismemberment of Poland.

**Maria Theresa and Frederick II. The War of the Austrian Succession** (1741–1748). — While this Protestant power, inheriting the rôle of Sweden and Gustavus Adolphus, was waxing strong in the North, Catholic Austria was declining. Hemmed in by the Protestants of Germany, who were upheld by Sweden, by the Turks, who showed a remnant of vigor, and by the France of Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV, Austria had received many severe blows, but had been saved by a great general and set on her feet again by fortunate circumstances. Eugene, vanquished at Denain, gained a victory over the Turks at Zenta (1697), Peterwardein (1716) and at Belgrade (1717). From the war of the Spanish Succession Austria obtained the Netherlands, Milan and Naples. The latter was exchanged, later on, for Parma and Piacenza.

When the Emperor Charles VI died in 1740, the same year as the Sergeant King, the male line of the Hapsburgs became extinct. In order to secure his inheritance to his daughter Maria Theresa, Charles had taken every diplomatic but not a single military precaution. Hardly had he expired when the solemnly signed parchments were torn up and five claimants appeared. Some, like the king of Spain and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, demanded the whole of Maria Theresa's inheritance. The other two laid claim to the provinces which suited them. Then the king of Sardinia found Milan very attractive and Frederick II was greatly tempted by Silesia. Hostilities had already broken out between the English and Spaniards, on account of the contraband trade which the former carried on in the colonies of the latter. A general war was grafted upon this private war, since Frederick II had drawn France into alliance with him and thus threw England into alliance with Maria Theresa. That Prussian prince, hitherto devoted to art and literature, suddenly revealed himself as a great king and the cleverest military leader of the century. At Molwitz, he struck the first blow of the war by a victory over the veterans of Prince Eugene, and that victory gave him Silesia, while the French invaded Bohemia.

The subsidies of England and the enthusiasm of the Hungarians furnished Maria Theresa with unexpected

resources. She abandoned Silesia to Frederick, who at once violated his alliance with France, on whom now fell the whole weight of the war. The French army, besieged in Prague, made a glorious but painful retreat in the dead of winter. After Bohemia had been thus retaken, the Austrians invaded Bavaria. The frontiers of France were exposed to attack. Louis XV, or rather Marshal Saxe, had entered the Netherlands with 120,000 men and captured many towns. Those successes ceased when it became necessary to send a large detachment to cover the frontiers. Frederick had again taken up arms against Austria and invaded Bohemia. The French line on the Rhine was thus relieved, the Emperor Charles VII returned to Munich and his son made a treaty with Maria Theresa (1745).

While Frederick was again defeating Austria and imposing upon her the treaty of Dresden, which put Brussels in his power, Charles Edward, the Stuart pretender, landed in Scotland to stir up the Highlanders against the house of Hanover, which had been seated upon the English throne since the death of Queen Anne (1714). The victories of Marshal Saxe and the alliance of Russia with France made the opposite party ready for peace. Victorious on the continent, France had suffered terribly on the sea, where her navy had been almost destroyed, and she had lost her opportunity of founding in Hindustan that Indian empire which Dupleix had begun. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) England and France mutually restored their conquests, but Silesia was definitely assigned to the king of Prussia.

**The Seven Years' War** (1756–1763). — France employed the peace to reconstruct her marine and extend her commerce. England was annoyed at this prosperity and, without any declaration of war, began to capture the French vessels which were sailing under the protection of treaties (1755). It was the interest of France to maintain the exclusively maritime character of this fresh struggle, but the English sought with gold some continental ally, and Frederick II, rendered uneasy by the unlooked-for good understanding between France and Austria, accepted their subsidies. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he had gained the good-will of Silesia by wise measures. He began the reformation of the courts and the finances and incorporated East Friesland into his kingdom. But his

wit injured his policy. His epigrams wounded the Empress Elizabeth and Madame Pompadour, the favorite of Louis XIV. Maria Theresa, who could not see a Silesian without weeping, cleverly inflamed the wrath of the offended ladies and roused against Prussia the very coalition which had threatened her during the preceding war.

Frederick anticipated his enemies by invading Saxony, whose troops he incorporated into his army. Then he made his way into Bohemia and defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. France threw two armies into Germany, one of which forced the Anglo-Hanoverians to capitulate, while the other suffered the shameful defeat of Rosbach (1757). For many years the king of Prussia, alone save as assisted by subsidies from England, waged a heroic war against combined Austria, Russia, France and Sweden. The conflict was marked by the battles of Prague, Kollin, Joegerndorf, Zorndorf, Kunnersdorf, Liegnitz, Minden and Crevelt. In 1761 he seemed at the end of his resources and strength. He was saved by the death of the Tsarina, whose successor, Peter III, was an admirer of the Prussian hero and made haste to recall the Russian troops. A final campaign restored to him Silesia and disposed Austria for peace. France had not been invaded, but she lost Pondicherry, Quebec and all her navy. She accepted the treaty of Paris (1763).

The second Seven Years' War resulted, on the one hand in the continental grandeur of Prussia and the maritime supremacy of England, and on the other, in the humiliation of Austria and the decline of France. This war cost the lives of 1,000,000 human beings. In Prussia alone 14,500 houses were burned.

After having saved his country and gloriously constituted a new nation in Europe, Frederick saved it from misery by a wise and vigilant administration. He drained marshes, constructed dikes and canals, encouraged manufactures, created a new system of landed credit, reorganized public instruction and reformed the administration of justice.

In 1772 he accomplished the dismemberment of Poland, as we shall see more fully later on. In 1777 he inflicted upon Austria a fresh political defeat by forcing her to renounce her claims to Bavaria, which she had bought after the death of the last elector. Thus Frederick made himself the protector of the German Empire against half Slavic Austria.

## XXIV

### MARITIME AND COLONIAL POWER OF ENGLAND

**England from 1688 to 1763.** — The English revolution of 1688 had as its result: at home the revival of both political and religious liberty and, abroad, the substitution of strong and resourceful England for exhausted Holland as the adversary of France. The wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession had ruined the French navy. The fleets of Holland were at the orders of William III, and thus England took possession of the ocean, which her merchants covered with their ships. William, who died in 1702, was succeeded by Queen Anne, the second daughter of James II. A zealous Protestant, she brought about the union of Scotland and England, under the official title of the Kingdom of Great Britain (1707). Until 1710 the Whigs were in power. They represented the revolution of 1688 and consequently were strongly opposed to Louis XIV. So Anne pursued the policy of her brother-in-law in continuing war against France, in which Marlborough won the great victories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies and Malplaquet. The advent of a Tory minister in 1710 brought about the peace of Utrecht (1713). On the death of the queen, Parliament bestowed the crown upon George of Brunswick, Elector of Hanover (1714).

That prince knew neither a word of English nor a single article of the Constitution. He allowed Sir Robert Walpole to be the real ruler. Walpole was the leader of the Whigs, who had regained a majority in Parliament and who retained it until 1742, thanks to the system of bribery openly employed by the prime minister. The unscrupulous minister was overthrown by the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession. England in that war acquired not an inch of territory but great havoc was caused by the invasion of the Pretender, Charles Stuart (1745), and the national debt was almost doubled. Already the Great Commoner, William Pitt, was attracting the attention of England. In 1757 he

became prime minister. France realized too well his talents and his hatred during the Seven Years' War, which he directed with an energy that was fatal to both the French marine and the French colonies.

George I died in 1727 and George II in 1760. Both were faithful to the compact of 1688. Having neither a soldier nor a party, they accepted the ministers which the parliamentary majority imposed, so that to change her policy Great Britain had only to change her ministers. Thus the Whigs or Liberals and the Tories or Conservatives came into power through a vote of Parliament and not through an insurrection in the street. For this reason, during the last two centuries, England has been able to effect many reforms without either the pretext or the necessity of a revolution. George III, who reigned sixty years, several times even lost his reason, but governmental action was not affected thereby. In London the king reigns, but does not govern. He accepts the councillors whom the Chambers assign him and signs the decrees which his ministers present. He is the wheel which is required to set the machine in motion, but he does not command its movements, so that by his permanence he represents conservatism, while the ministry, by its mobility, ensures progress.

**The English East India Company.** — The Seven Years' War ruined French affairs in India and delivered America over to England. Leaving their colonies to spread freely over the rich valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio and the Mississippi, the English flung themselves upon India, where Dupleix had just revealed how an empire could be created. As early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an East India Company had been organized, which obtained from the Grand Mogul the right to traffic in Bengal and which founded Calcutta. The French privateers, during the war of the League of Augsburg, cost the commerce of Great Britain 675,000,000 francs and ruined the company whose aggrandizement the emperor of India, Aurangzeb, also was arresting. The death of that prince (1707) delivered India over to anarchy. The English counted upon profiting thereby, when they found a dangerous rival in a company founded by Colbert and reconstructed in 1723. Dupleix, the director-general of the French trading posts in India, transformed his commercial company into a powerful state,

with fortresses, arsenals and arms, and a vast territory extending from Cape Comorin to the Krishna River. For many years he governed 30,000,000 Hindus with absolute power. But Louis XV abandoned him. Recalled to France in 1754, he died in misery. The English took his place, copying the organization which he had bestowed upon his conquest, and France retained only Pondicherry.

The empire of the Grand Mogul in the valley of the Ganges was in a state of dissolution. The soubahs or viceroys and the nabobs or governors of districts rendered themselves independent after the death of Aurangzeb, so that in Bengal, the company, or "The Great Lady of London" as the Hindus called it, could easily expand. In the Deccan it found brave and active adversaries. The Mussulman Haidar Ali, sovereign of Mysore, and his son, Tippoo Sahib, from 1761 to 1799 maintained a constant resistance. The latter perished defending his capital. From 1799 to 1818 the English fought against the valiant population of the Mahrattas, who half a century earlier had come near subjugating the whole of India. The Punjaub, the country of the Five Rivers, ceased to be independent in 1846.

## XXV

### FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

**Origin and Character of the English Colonies in America.** — The English did not reckon upon India, but India is to them now a mine of wealth. They did reckon upon America and America is to-day free and their rival.

Founded by companies or by private individuals who fled from the persecutions inflicted in the mother country upon dissenters, the English colonies in America, unlike the French, were not kept in leading-strings by the home government and developed rapidly under the protection of religious, civil and commercial liberty. There was no party, worsted in the revolutions of England, which did not find in America an asylum to receive it. New England was the refuge of the Roundheads and Republicans, Virginia of the Cavaliers and Maryland of the Catholics. With their creeds the emigrants brought the political ideas of old England and held to the administration of public affairs by representatives of the persons interested. In all these colonies a legislative assembly directed the affairs of common weal. But the French in Canada were not even allowed to appoint a syndic or mayor of Quebec, "since it is not good," Colbert wrote to them, "that any one should speak for all." Printing, which was not introduced into Canada until 1764, or five years after it was lost by the French, existed in Massachusetts as early as 1636, "in order," as it was stated, "that the knowledge of our fathers may not be buried with them in their tombs." In this national difference of colonial organization is to be found the explanation of the ruin of the one and of the prosperity of the other.

**The Revolution** (1775–1783). — After the Seven Years' War the English Ministry, wishing to make the colonies bear a part of the expenses of the home government, tried first to subject them to a stamp-tax and then to a tax upon glass, paper and tea (1767). The colonists, who had no representative in the House of Commons, invoked that

principle of the English Constitution which provides that no citizens are bound to submit to any taxes not voted by their representatives. Ninety-six towns pledged themselves not to buy any English merchandise so long as their complaints were unheeded. At Boston in 1774 three cargoes of tea were thrown into the water. A few months later war broke out. On July 14, 1776, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia proclaimed the independence of the thirteen colonies. They united in a confederation wherein each state preserved its political and religious liberty.

**Washington. The Part of France in the War.** — Washington, a wealthy planter of Virginia, was appointed general. Calm, methodical, persevering, audacious, but never rash, never permitting himself to be crushed by a reverse nor elated by a success, he was the ideal leader for such a conflict. His inexperienced soldiers had to combat veteran troops. The German princes sold to the English 17,000 men to take part in the war. Washington lost New York and Philadelphia. But by keeping Howe busy, he enabled the insurgents in the north to stop Burgoyne, who came down from Canada with an army, and to force his surrender at Saratoga (October, 1777). France recognized the independence of the colonies. She sent them, first a fleet, and then an army, whose chiefs, Rochambeau and La Fayette, aided Washington to compel the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Spain joined her forces to those of France. The secondary navies formed the League of the Neutrals for the protection of such vessels as were not carrying contraband of war. England bowed under the burden, signed the peace of Versailles, which restored several trading posts to France, and acknowledged the independence of the United States (1783).

Thus England lost America, with the exception of Canada, which she had wrested from France and which she still holds. She found a partial compensation for this loss in the development of her commerce with the new state. Half a century however had not elapsed before the Star-Spangled Banner was competing with the British flag in all the markets of the world. Moreover the new republic had inspired in the ancient mother country a sentiment of respect which was akin to fear, because, invulnerable on her continent, she could deal a thousand blows before receiving one.

Washington won even more honor in peace than in war. He might have retained power or have prompted a military revolution for his own benefit. But he was the most faithful servant of the law. He disbanded his troops even against their will and became again a plain private individual on the banks of the Potomac. There it was that they, whom he had saved on the field of battle, sought him in 1789, that he might save them again by his political sagacity. Twice in succession they elected him President of the United States. After that double presidency he persisted in retiring to his estate of Mount Vernon. Carried to the tomb in 1799 he left behind the purest name of modern times.

# XXVI

## DESTRUCTION OF POLAND. DECLINE OF THE OTTOMANS. GREATNESS OF RUSSIA

**Catherine II** (1761) **and Frederick II. First Partition of Poland** (1773). — While a new nation was being born on the other side of the Atlantic, an ancient people was dying in old Europe under the pressure of two states which had assumed a place among the great powers only a few years before. The real successor of Peter the Great was the wife of his grandson, Peter III, the Princess of Anhalt, who had her husband strangled and reigned under the name of Catherine II. Poland, with her elective and powerless royalty, with her anarchical nobility and her religious passions, was a sort of anomaly among the absolute monarchies of the eighteenth century. Now in politics anomalies cannot last. Poland was doomed either to reform herself or to perish. Her people and her neighbors alike prevented reforms. Hence she fell.

Catherine II caused her favorite Poniatowski to be elected king and signed with Frederick II, who had already proposed the dismemberment of the country, a secret treaty for the maintenance of the Polish constitution. Doubtless Catherine hoped to avoid the partition and to reserve the entire kingdom for herself alone. When she saw that the Polish Diet was determined to persecute dissenters, she took the latter under her protection and had two bishops arrested whom she sent to Siberia. Forthwith the Catholics formed the Confederation of Bar, which adopted a banner with the Virgin and the Child Jesus as its standard. The Latin cross marched against the Greek cross. The peasants murdered their lords. From civil war Poland weltered in blood. The Prussians entered on the west, the Austrians on the south, and the Russians were everywhere.

France did not feel herself ready to succor Poland. Still, she roused the Turks against Russia, but they lost their provinces and their fleet, which was burned at Tchesmeh.

Frederick II, uneasy at these victories of the Tsarina, recalled her to the affairs of Poland and reminded her of the idea of partition, threatening that she would have to fight Prussia and Austria in case of refusal. Catherine yielded. On April 19, 1773, the partition was accomplished. Maria Theresa took Galicia or the northern slope of the Carpathians; Frederick seized the provinces which he needed to unite Prussia to his German states and Catherine occupied many Palatinates of the east.

**Treaties of Kaïnardji** (1774) **and Jassy** (1792). — Having satisfied in Poland her own greed and that of Prussia, Catherine resumed her projects against Turkey, on which she imposed the treaty of Kaïnardji (1774). Thereby the Russians acquired many towns, the right to navigate the Black Sea, and a protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia. The Tartars of the Crimea and the Kouban became independent of the Sultan, preliminary to their speedy subjection to the Tsar. The amnesty accorded the Greek subjects of Turkey revealed that they had a zealous protector in the Muscovite prince at St. Petersburg, recognized as the champion of the Orthodox Church. In the following year, Catherine II put an end to the republic of the Zaperoguian Cossacks, whose territories lay between the Russian power and the Black Sea. In 1777 she bought his sovereignty from the khan of the Crimea, and built Sebastopol. She even caused the king of Georgia on the southern slope of the Caucasus to accept her protection; and finally came to an understanding with the Emperor Joseph II for the partition of the Turkish Empire.

The Divan declared war (1787) and prosecuted it bravely for four years. But the Ottomans would have succumbed, had not the Tsarina, menaced by the evident hostility of Prussia, which had assembled 80,000 men on its eastern frontier, and by the unfriendly tone of England and Holland, consented to the treaty of Jassy. Thereby the Dniester was fixed as the boundary of the two empires (1792). Turkey, formerly so dangerous to Europe, had just been saved for the first time by three Christian states, which were unwilling to have the European balance of power disturbed for the benefit of a single people.

**Second and Third Partitions of Poland** (1793–1795). — The Poles paid for the Turks. Warned by the first dismemberment, they had tried to reform their constitution,

abolish the liberum veto, render the monarchy hereditary and share the legislative power between the king, the senate and the nuncios or deputies. But Prussia and Austria, who were then engaged in stifling the revolution in France, had no intention of allowing another revolution to be kindled in their rear. A second and third partition, effected at an interval of two years, blotted out the country of Sobieski. If in later treaties the German people were divided up like cattle and their countries like farms to suit the convenience of a conqueror, their fate was only the repetition of the example furnished by the authors of the great Polish spoliation. Austria in 1806 and in 1809, and Prussia at Tilsit, endured only what the Poles had suffered at their hands.

**Attempt at dismembering Sweden.** — Prussia and Russia had acquired an appetite by their success and began to prepare the same fate for Sweden. By a recent treaty they pledged themselves to maintain in that country the factions which had existed there since the death of Charles XII, and which were kept alive by foreign money. The coup d'état of Gustavus III in 1772 and the constitutional act of 1789 forestalled the danger. The nobles indeed at last assassinated their prince, who was friendly to reform and hostile to Russia (1792), but Catherine II, then busy in the East, and Prussia, busy in the West, left the Swedish kingdom in peace.

## XXVII

### PRELIMINARIES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

**Scientific and Geographical Discoveries.** — The eighteenth century was for the sciences what the seventeenth had been for letters, and the sixteenth for arts and creeds. It was a period of renovation. Physics was regenerated by the brilliant electrical experiments of Franklin, Volta and Galvani, who invented the lightning-rod and the voltaic battery. So was mathematical analysis by Lagrange and Laplace; botany by Linnæus and Jussieu; zoölogy by Buffon, who also introduced geology, while Lavoisier gave to the science of chemistry firm foundations. Mankind, when master of the laws of nature, wished at once to make them of advantage. In 1775 vaccination was discovered. In 1783 a steamboat ascended the Saône and the first balloon was launched into the air.

At the same time the skilful navigators, Cook, Bougainville and La Pérouse, completed the work of the great sailors of the fifteenth century, not through hope of gain or from religious sentiment as three hundred years earlier, but in the interest of science.

**Letters in the Eighteenth Century.** — While the physicists were discovering new forces and the navigators new lands, the writers for their part were revealing a new world. Literature was not, as in the preceding century, controlled by art. It had invaded everything and claimed the right to regulate everything. The most virile forces of the mind seemed directed to the advancement of public welfare. Men no longer labored to make fine verses but to utter fine maxims. They no longer depicted the whims of society for the sake of a laugh, but for the purpose of reforming society itself. Literature became a weapon which all, the imprudent as well as the skilful, tried to wield. And by a strange inconsistency, those who had the most to suffer from this inroad of literary men into the field of politics were the ones who applauded it the most. This society of the eighteenth

century, frivolous and sensual as it was, nevertheless cherished an admiration for mental power. Talent almost took the place of birth.

Three men headed the movement. They were: Voltaire, whose whims and passions and vices cannot be forgotten, but who fought all his life long for liberty of thought; Montesquieu, who studied the reason of laws and the nature of governments, who taught men to examine and compare existing constitutions in order to seek therein the best, which he found in liberty-loving England; and lastly, Rousseau with his *Social Contract*, wherein he proclaimed the doctrine of national sovereignty and universal suffrage. At their side the encyclopedists reviewed human knowledge and set it forth in a manner often menacing to social order and always hostile to religion. Finally Quesnay created the new science of political economy. Thus human thought, hitherto confined to metaphysical and religious speculations, or absorbed in unselfish worship of the Muses, now claimed the right to attack the most difficult problems of society. And all, philosophers as well as economists, sought the solution on the side of liberty. From the school of Quesnay had sprung the axiom, "Let well enough alone," just as in politics D'Argesson had said, "Do not govern too much."

**Disagreement between Ideas and Institutions.** — Thus the mental agitation, formerly excited by the discussion of dogmas, now was produced by wholly terrestrial interests. Men no longer sought to determine divine attributes, or the limits of grace and free will, but they studied man and society, rights and obligations. The Middle Ages and feudalism, when they expired under the hand of kings, had left the ground covered with their fragments, so the most shocking inequalities and the strangest confusion were to be met on every side. Therefore the complaints were vigorous, numerous and pressing.

Men desired that government should no longer be a frightful labyrinth wherein the most clever must lose his way. They meant that the public finances should cease to be pillaged by the king, his ministers and the court; that personal liberty should be secured against arbitrary orders of arrest or lettres de cachet, and that property should be protected from confiscation. They wished that the criminal code, still aided by torture, should become less sanguinary and the civil code more equitable.

They demanded religious toleration instead of dogma imposed under penalty of death; law, founded on principles of natural and rational right, instead of the privilege of a few and the arbitrary government of all; unity of weights and measures, instead of the most extreme confusion; taxes paid by every one, instead of the taxation of poverty and the exemption of wealth; the emancipation of labor and free competition, instead of monopoly of corporations; and free admission to the public offices, instead of favoritism shown to birth and fortune.

To accomplish this a revolution was necessary and every one saw that it was coming. As early as 1719, Fénelon exclaimed, "The dilapidated machine still continues to work because of the former impetus imparted to it, but it will go to pieces at the first shock."

**Reforms effected by Governments.** — These words did not apply to France alone. They included the whole of absolutist Europe. If the people did not everywhere understand the need of reforms, the princes felt the necessity of undertaking them. Bold or clever ministers like Pombal of Lisbon, Aranda at Madrid and Tanucci at Naples, encouraged industry, agriculture and science, opened roads, canals and schools, suppressed privileges and abuses, and banished the Jesuits, who seemed to embody all the evil influences of the past. The Grand Duke of Tuscany created provinces by transforming pestilential marshes into fertile lands. The king of Sardinia allowed his subjects to emancipate themselves from feudal taxes. Joseph II in Austria abolished tithes, seignorial rights, forced labor and convents, and subordinated the Church to the state. In Sweden Gustavus III diminished the church festivals, forbade torture and doubled the product of the iron and copper mines. We have already noted the reforms of Frederick II in Prussia.

Catherine the Great cultivated the acquaintance of Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, so as to influence public opinion through them. She had a magnificent constitution drawn up, which, however, she did not put into execution. She built schools which remained empty. When the governor of Moscow was in despair at the lack of scholars, she wrote him: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire to learn. If I set up schools, it is not for our own sake, but because of Europe which is watching us. As soon as our peasants wish to become enlightened, neither

you nor I shall remain in our places." Cardinal Pole had expressed the same idea at the beginning of the Reformation: "It is dangerous to make men too learned."

Thus a new spirit of reform was breathing over Europe. It was social and no longer a religious reform. It was preached by philosophers or economists and not by monks or theologians. The princes now too placed themselves at the head of the movement, hoping to derive profit therefrom, as they had done from the secularizations of church property during the Lutheran and the Anglican Reformations. They sought to promote the welfare of their peoples. They freed them at the expense of the feudal and ecclesiastical aristocracy, from vexatious or onerous burdens, but they specially labored all the time to augment their own revenues and strength. These princes all said, as did the emperor of Austria: "My trade is to be a royalist." So they preserved the discretionary power which feudal anarchy had permitted them to grasp, but which the enlarging interests of the people doomed them no longer to retain.

Thus, at bottom, nothing was changed. Despite this paternal solicitude and from default of regular institutions, everything still depended on individuals, so that public prosperity fluctuated with those who remained its supreme dispensers. Hence Spain under Charles IV and Godoy again fell as low as under Charles II. The days of the Lazzaroni flourished once more at Naples under Queen Caroline and her minister, Acton. Joseph II disturbed Austria without regenerating it, and Catherine II played with reforms for her people. In Prussia alone a great man did great things. In France when skilful ministers, who wished to do them likewise, were expelled from power, the nation undertook to accomplish the reforms itself.

**Last Years of Louis XV** (1763–1774). — At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France was still the leading military power of Europe. This rank was taken from her by the disgraces of the Seven Years' War. Afterwards the army had no chance of reviving its ancient renown, for French intervention in the affairs of Eastern Europe was mostly limited to diplomatic notes and a few volunteers. The acquisition of Corsica (1769) under Louis XV was the result of a bargain with Genoa, which sold the island for 40,000,000 francs. The acquisition of Lorraine was only the execution of a treaty, for which the occupation of the duchy

for almost a century by French troops had long since paved the way. Hence there was little glory in those territorial gains. But the war in America, a few years later, shed some brilliancy upon the navy. While Prussia, Austria and Russia were murdering one nation, France had the honor of aiding in the birth of another. The American Revolution was popular, so France resumed before the end of the century something of the proud bearing which Rosbach had taken from her.

At home Louis XV disgraced the monarchy by his vices and hastened its ruin by his political conduct. The expulsion of the Jesuits offended one party and the suppression of the parliaments was a blow at another. Frequent and arbitrary arrests exasperated the public mind. Public interests received a shock in the proceedings of the comptroller-general, Abbé Terray, who excused the bankruptcy he declared by saying, "The king is the master." Louis realized that a terrible expiation was approaching, but he thought he himself would escape it. "Things will last quite as long as I shall. My successor must get out of the scrape as best he can."

**Louis XVI until the Revolution.** — This sovereign was the most honest and the weakest of men. He abolished forced labor and torture. He summoned to the ministry Turgot, who could have forestalled the Revolution by reforms or at least could have controlled and guided it. But when the courtiers complained, he dismissed him, saying, "Only Monsieur and I love the people." Necker, the Genoese banker, did not succeed in covering the frightful deficit which the expenses of the American war increased. The state existed only by loans. Calonne, in the space of three years and in time of peace, increased the debt 500,000,000 francs. An Assembly of Notables, convoked in 1787, could point out no remedy. On all sides men clamored for the States General. The government, at the end of its resources, promised to convoke them. Necker, recalled to the ministry, rendered the decision that the number of deputies from the Third Estate should equal that of the other two orders. This was the same thing as deciding that by the Third Estate alone the great reforms were to be effected.

# XXVIII

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

### (1789-1792)

**Divine Right and National Sovereignty.** — In the Middle Ages, for the purpose of combating feudalism, the jurists had again asserted the proposition of the Roman jurisconsults concerning the absolute power of the prince. The Church with her religious authority had sanctioned this doctrine, borrowed from Oriental monarchies, which made the kings through the religious rite of coronation the direct representatives of God on earth. On the other hand, the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had ruled the Greek, German, Celtic and Roman world, and which even Augustus had made the basis of his power, had never been completely forgotten and proscribed. This doctrine had been many times reasserted. Thus did in France the States General of 1484, in Spain, the Aragonese, who imposed upon their kings so harsh an oath. In England it was announced before the Tudors and repeated under Henry VI by Chancellor Fortescue, who declared that governments had been constituted by the peoples and existed only for their benefit. Again was it maintained under William III by Locke, who proclaimed the necessity of the common consent. In the eighteenth century it was set forth by the majority of writers. Thus the most ancient system in the West was that of national sovereignty. The principle of divine right, represented by Louis XIV and James I, had come later into the field. Reason and history were against it. It was accepted only as an accidental political form which had had certain temporary advantages and on that account, a temporary validity.

In the France of 1789, the absolute monarchy by right divine found that its faults had reduced it to such a condition that it was impossible for it to govern. After royalty ceased to live upon the revenues of its own possessions,

it had set up as an axiom of public law that, for the common weal of the state, the Third Estate would contribute its goods, the nobility its blood, and the clergy its prayers. Now the court clergy prayed but little, the nobility no longer formed all the army; but the Third Estate still remained faithful to its functions. It still continued to pay the taxes and it paid more every year. As the monarchy increased in prodigality, the more dependent did it become upon the Third Estate, and the more inevitable did it render the moment when, tired of paying, the Third Estate would demand a reckoning. That awful day of account is known as the Revolution of 1789.

The court wanted the States General to occupy themselves solely with financial affairs and then, as soon as the deficit was covered and the debts paid, the deputies to go home. But France was suffering from two maladies, one financial and one political, from the deficit and from abuses. To heal the former, economy was necessary together with a new system of taxation. To heal the latter, entire reorganization of the power was needed. Royalty had undergone many transformations since the times of the Roman emperors. It had been barbarian with Clovis, feudal with Philip Augustus, and by right divine with Louis XIV. In its latest form it had furnished unity of territory and unity of authority, but it must now submit to another change. France, with her immense development of industry, commerce, science, public spirit and personal property, now had interests too complex and needs too numerous to trust itself to the omnipotence of a single man. She required a guarantee against the unlucky hazards of a royal birth or the frivolity of incapable ministers.

**The National Assembly until the Capture of the Bastile.** — On May 5, 1789, the deputies assembled at Versailles. The clergy and nobility were represented by 561 persons, while the Third Estate, or ninety-six per cent of the population, had 584 or a majority of twenty-three votes. This majority was an illusion unless they voted as individuals and not as orders. The whole spirit of '89, briefly expressed, consisted in establishing equality before the law and guaranteeing it by liberty. Now this spirit had penetrated even the privileged classes. Many of their members came and joined the deputies of the Third Estate who, assembled in

the common hall, had proclaimed themselves the National Constituent or Constitutional Assembly.

On June 27 the fusion of the three orders was accomplished. This the court tried to prevent, first by closing the place of assembly and then by having the king make a threatening speech. The sole effect of their opposition was to determine the deputies to declare themselves inviolable. The court hoped for better results from military action, and an army of 30,000 men, in which foreign regiments had been carefully incorporated, was stationed around Paris and Versailles. The threat was perfectly plain, but the courage to strike a great blow was lacking. To this imprudent provocation another challenge was added in the exile of Necker, the popular minister (July 11). To this challenge the Assembly replied by renewing the oath, taken at the tennis court, that the representatives would not separate until they had given France a constitution. But Paris took alarm and flew to arms. Some of the populace marched against the troops, encamped in the Champs Elysées, who fell back upon Versailles. Others rushed to the Bastile, captured it and massacred its commandant. The provost of the merchants, the minister Foulon, and the intendant Berthier were also slain. The mob began to get a taste of blood (July 14, 1789).

The insensate conduct of the court, which called the Assembly together and then wished to get rid of it, which threatened but dared not act, which provoked yet knew neither how to intimidate nor to coerce, which cherished childish hatreds and had no resolution, in only two months had caused the reformation to deviate from its pacific methods. That fourteenth of July is explained by circumstances and by the state of men's minds. It was, nevertheless, the first of those revolutionary days, which were destined to demoralize the people by habituating them to regard the power and the law as a target against which they could always fire.

**The Days of October. The Emigration. The Constitution of 1791.** — "It is a riot," exclaimed Louis XVI when he heard the news of the Bastile. "No, Sire," replied the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, "it is a revolution." In fact on August 4 the Assembly abolished all feudal rights and the sale of offices. In September it voted the Declaration of Rights, established a single legislative chamber and rejected

the absolute veto power of the king. Then the court returned to the idea of employing force. It was proposed to the king that he should withdraw to Metz and place himself in Bouillé's army. That measure would have been the beginning of civil war. He remained at Versailles and summoned thither troops numerous enough to produce uneasiness, but too few to inspire any real fear.

Famine was ravaging France and in Paris men were dying of hunger. On October 5 an army of women set out for Versailles, imagining that abundance would reign if the king were brought back to Paris, his capital. National guards, recently organized by La Fayette, accompanied them and provoked quarrels in the courtyards of the palace with the body-guard. Many of the latter were killed, the queen was insulted and the royal dwelling was broken in upon. As a final confession of weakness, the king and the Assembly followed this crowd to Paris, where both were about to fall into the hands of the mob. The success of the expedition to Versailles showed the ringleaders of the faubourgs that thenceforth they could rule everything, Assembly or government, by intimidation.

Sanguinary scenes took place in the country districts also. The peasants were not satisfied by destroying feudal coats-of-arms and breaking down drawbridges and towers. They sometimes also killed the nobles. Terror reigned in the castles, as it reigned at court. Already the king's most prudent counsellors, his brother, the Count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, the Polignacs, and others of their class had fled, leaving him alone in the midst of a populace whose wrath they were about to inflame by every means and whose fiercest passions they were going to unloose by turning the arms of foreign nations against their country.

Nevertheless the Assembly nobly went on with its work. In the name of liberty it removed all unjust discriminations from the dissenting sects, the press and industry. In the name of justice it suppressed the right of primogeniture. In the name of equality it abolished nobility and titles, declared all Frenchmen of whatever religion eligible for public office, and replaced the ancient provincial boundaries by a division into ninety-three departments. Money poured out of the kingdom with the emigrants, or was above all concealed through the fear of a rising. The Assembly

ordered that 400,000,000 francs in assignats or paper money should be issued, secured by the property of the clergy, which it ordered to be sold. At the same time the law ceased to recognize monastic vows. The cloisters were declared to be open and the parliaments were replaced by elective tribunals. The sovereignty of the nation having been proclaimed, men drew the natural inference that all power ought to emanate from the people. Thus the elective system was introduced everywhere. A deliberative council in the departments, districts and communes was placed by the side of the elective council, as beside the king was placed the legislative body. And some people were already of the opinion that in such a system a hereditary king was an absurdity.

But the court did not accept the Constitution. Vanquished at Paris on July 14 and at Versailles on October 6, the nobles fled to Coblentz and there openly conspired against France. The nobles, who remained with the king, plotted in secret. Louis, who had never a will of his own, let them do what they liked. In public he accepted the decrees of the Assembly. In secret he protested against the violence done to his rights. Such a double game has always been productive of evil. Nevertheless, there was a moment when universal confidence reigned. This was at the Festival of the Federation, offered by the Parisians on the Champs de Mars to the deputies of the army and of the ninety-three departments. From November, 1789, to July, 1790, in the villages and in the cities, the inhabitants in arms fraternized with the men of the neighboring village or city, all uniting in the joy of their new-found country. These local federations made common cause and finally formed the great French federation which sent, on July 14, 1790, 100,000 representatives to Paris. The king in their presence solemnly swore fidelity to the Constitution.

But nothing came of this festival. Secret hostilities were immediately resumed between the court and the Assembly. The immediate cause of the trouble was the civil constitution of the clergy, which, by applying to the Church the reform introduced into the state, subjected even curates and bishops to election and disturbed the whole existing ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was an abuse of power on the part of the Assembly, for secular society was not competent to regulate the internal organization of religious

society. The Pope condemned this intervention of the state in the discipline of the Church and prohibited obedience to the new law. The king interposed his veto, which he removed only after a riot. But the great majority of the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance to the civil constitution. Then schism entered into the Church of France. In its train were to come persecutions and a frightful war.

The king, to whose conscience this decree did violence just as violence had been done to his affections by the measures which the Assembly forced him to take against the emigrants, no longer felt himself free. He thought that he would find that liberty, denied him in the Tuileries, by taking refuge in the camp of Bouillé, whence he could summon Austria and Prussia to his aid. Arrested in his flight at Varennes (June 21, 1791), he was suspended from his functions by the Assembly. The people on July 17, in the Champs de Mars, demanded his abdication. Bailly ordered the red flag to be unfurled and the mob to be fired upon. On September 14, the king, who up to that time had been detained like a prisoner at the Tuileries, accepted the Constitution of 1791, which created a single assembly, charged with making the laws, and left to the monarch, together with the executive power, the right of suspending for four years the expressions of the national will by the use of his veto. The electoral body was divided into primary assemblies, which appointed the electors, and electoral assemblies which appointed the deputies. The former comprised the active citizens, that is to say, men twenty-five years of age, who were inscribed on the rolls of the national guard and paid a direct tax equal to three days' labor. The latter were formed by the proprietors or tenants of an estate, which brought in at least between 150 and 200 francs. All active citizens were eligible.

The National Assembly ended worthily with expressions of liberty and concord. It proclaimed universal amnesty, suppressed all obstacles to circulation and repealed all exceptional laws, hoping thereby to recall the emigrants to their country. Among its members the most distinguished were Mounier, Malouet, Barnave, the Lameths, Cazalès, Maury, Duport, Sieyès, and especially Mirabeau. The last named, had he lived, might perhaps have reconciled royalty with the Revolution. It is from Mirabeau

that we have the beautiful formula of the new era, "Right is the sovereign of the world."

The National Assembly prohibited the reëlection of its members to the new assembly. This was an unwise self-abnegation, for the Revolution needed that its veterans should hold its standard high and firm above the superstitious worshippers of the past and the fierce dreamers of the future. Thus the way might be paved for the peaceful triumph of that new state of mind and institutions which has so often been disturbed and compromised by the regrets of the former and the rashness of the latter. In spite of every mistake the National Assembly was the mother of French liberties. Its ideas have reappeared in all the French constitutions and are now fundamental in the French political state.

# XXIX

## INEFFECTUAL COALITION OF THE KINGS AGAINST THE REVOLUTION

### (1792-1802)

**The Legislative Assembly** (1791–1792). — This Assembly, so tame in comparison with its two great and terrible sisters, the National Assembly and the Convention, began its sessions on October 1, 1791, and ended them on September 21, 1792. Its leaders, the Girondists, Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Ducos, Isnard and Valazé, labored to overthrow the monarchy, although leaving the extremists to initiate the Republic. In consequence the Republic was founded in blood which the Girondists might have founded in moderation.

**Effect Outside France produced by the Revolution. The First Coalition** (1791). — To the internal difficulties which the National Assembly had encountered, the embarrassment of foreign complications was added under the Legislative Assembly. The Revolution had awakened in foreign lands numerous echoes of its principles and hopes. In Belgium, in Italy, in Holland, all along the Rhine and in the heart of Germany, in England and even in distant Russia, it seemed a promise of deliverance. The French ambassador to the court of the Tsar wrote in his memoirs: "Although the Bastile certainly was not a menace to any one here, I cannot describe the enthusiasm which the fall of that state prison and the first tempestuous triumph of liberty excited among the merchants, the tradesmen, the burghers and some young men of higher rank. Frenchmen, Russians, Germans, Englishmen, Danes, Dutchmen, everybody in the streets, congratulated and embraced each other as though they had been delivered from a ponderous chain which pressed upon them."

The Swiss historian, von Müller, beheld in this victory the will of Providence. The philosophers and poets, Kant

and Fichte, Schiller and Goethe, then thought the same. The latter said, on the evening of Valmy: "In this place and on this day a new era for the world begins." Five years later he again recalled, in *Hermann and Dorothea*, "those days of sweet hope, when one felt his heart beat more freely in his breast, in the early rays of the new sun." Thus at first the nations sympathized with France, because they understood that for them also Mirabeau and his colleagues had drawn up at Versailles the new charter of society.

But the princes were all the more incensed against this Revolution which threatened not to confine itself, like the English revolution of 1688, to the country where it had broken out.

As early as January, 1791, the emperor of Germany haughtily demanded that the German princes who held possessions in Alsace, Lorraine and Franche-Comté should be secured in their feudal rights. The emigrants found every facility for collecting troops at Coblentz and Worms. The Count d'Artois kept up with the emperor, according to the king's own confession, negotiations which had culminated in a secret convention. The sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, Piedmont and Spain, and even the aristocratic rulers of Switzerland, bound themselves to place 100,000 men on the frontiers of the kingdom (May, 1791). This convention had determined the flight of the king (June 20). The National Assembly, moved by apprehension rather than certain knowledge, had replied by voting a levy of 300,000 national guards for the defence of the territory.

At that time, the various wars in which the Northern powers were engaged, the Swedes against the Russians, the Russians against the Ottomans, the Ottomans against the Austrians, the Austrians against the Belgians, were nearing their end. Prussia had recovered from the anxiety which all those armaments in her vicinity had excited. Austria finally put down the insurrection of the Belgians, though the hatred of foreign domination survived. The peace of Sistova with the Ottomans left the Austrian emperor free to act. He and the king of Prussia had an interview at Pilnitz, where a plan was drawn up for the invasion of France and the restoration of Louis XVI. The famous declaration of Pilnitz was made on August 27, 1791. The Legislative Assembly assumed a haughty tone with these monarchs. "If the

princes of Germany continue to favor the preparations directed against the French, the French will carry among them, not fire and sword, but liberty. It is for them to calculate what results may follow this awakening of the nations." Louis XVI transmitted to the Powers a request for the withdrawal of their troops from the French frontiers. They maintained "the legality of the league of the sovereigns, united for the security and the honor of their crowns." The king of Sweden, Gustavus III, offered to put himself at the head of a sort of royal crusade against the revolutionists.

Thus between the two principles the struggle which had arisen, first at Versailles and then at Paris, between the king and the Assembly, after the defeat of absolutism in France, was about to be continued on the frontier between France and Europe. The princes who, like the French kings, had seized absolute power, were unwilling to abandon it. They entered into a coalition "for the safety of their crowns" against the political reform which the States General had inaugurated and which they esteemed the common enemy. Thus they were about to enter upon that frightful war of twenty-three years' duration, which for them, except at the very end, was only one long series of disasters, but which excited passion as well as heroism, and covered France equally with blood and glory.

**The Commune of Paris. The Days of June 20 and August 10, 1792. The Massacres of September.** — The first decrees of the Assembly, after the declaration of Pilnitz, dealt a blow at the emigrants and the nonjuring priests who, by their refusal to take the civic oath, had become sources of trouble in La Vendée and Brittany. At first, the king was unwilling to approve those decrees. The declaration of war, which he made against Austria on April 20, 1792, was not sufficient to dissipate the fear of secret negotiations on the part of the court with the enemy. The rout of the French troops at the engagement of Quiévrain caused the cry of treason to be raised. The constitutional party, which was friendly to the king and had at first predominated in the Assembly, could not control the municipal council of Paris. A Girondist, Piéton, was appointed mayor in preference to La Fayette. From that time forth the most violent propositions against royalty originated at the city hall. They were repeated and still further exaggerated in the famous clubs of the

Jacobins and the Cordeliers. They thence spread among the people by the thousand voices of the press and especially by the journal of Marat, who was beginning his sanguinary dictatorship. The masses did not long resist such appeals, which seemed justified by the threats from abroad and by the inadequate measures taken for defence of the territory. On June 20 the Tuileries were invaded. The king, insulted to his face, was constrained to put on the red cap. In vain did La Fayette demand reparation for this violation of the royal dwelling. He himself was proscribed two months later and forced to quit his army and France. He had been the last hope of the constitutional party. His flight announced the triumph of the Republicans.

The Duke of Brunswick invaded France. His insolent manifesto (July 25), threatening death to every armed inhabitant who should be captured, and the declaration of the Assembly that the country was in danger, fanned still further the popular excitement. France responded to the patriotic appeal of Paris. But with cries of hatred for foreigners were mingled denunciations of the court, the secret ally of the enemy. On August 10 volunteers from Marseilles and Brittany, the people of the faubourgs and many companies of the national guard attacked the Tuileries and massacred its defenders. The king took refuge in the midst of the Assembly, which declared him suspended from his functions and imprisoned him and all the royal family in the Temple. Four thousand persons perished in the tumult.

As the constitution had been repudiated, a convention was summoned to draw up a new one. Before it assembled, and when by its approaching end the Legislative Assembly had finally lost its little remaining authority, a great crime startled France. The prisons of Paris were forced between the second and the fifth of September and 966 prisoners were butchered. Danton had uttered these sinister words: "We must terrify the royalists. Audacity! Audacity! and still more audacity!" A small body of assassins, supported by the Commune, had committed this crime, which the Assembly and the frightened burghers allowed to be perpetrated and which to the grief and shame of France was to be repeated.

**Invasion of France. Defeat of the Prussians at Valmy, September 20, 1792.** — However, hostilities had begun.

The moment had been well chosen by the Powers. All their wars in the North and the East were finished. England herself had just imposed peace upon Tippoo Sahib, and had acquired half his states. France was menaced on three sides: on the north by the Austrians; on the Moselle by the Prussians, and in the direction of the Alps by the king of Sardinia. The rawness of the troops and the mutual distrust between officers and soldiers in the army of the North, at first occasioned some disorders, which were speedily repaired by the capture of several cities. Savoy and Nice were conquered. The Prussians, who had entered Champagne, were defeated by Dumouriez at the important battle of Valmy and driven back upon the Rhine. Custine, assuming the offensive, seized Spires, Worms and Mayence, whose inhabitants regarded his soldiers rather as liberators than as enemies. The attention and forces of Prussia had been again directed towards Poland. She desired to finish her work of spoliation in that unhappy country rather than undertake the dangerous but chivalrous task of freeing the queen of France. The Austrians, more interested in the defence of a princess of their blood, inaugurated at Lille a savage war. Instead of attacking the defences, they bombarded the city and in six days burned 450 houses. Their cruelty was useless. They were forced to raise the siege, while, with the army of Valmy, Dumouriez won (November 6) the battle of Jemmapes, which placed the Netherlands in his power.

**The Convention** (1792–1795). **Proclamation of the French Republic, September 21, 1792. Death of Louis XVI.** — At its first sitting the Convention abolished royalty and proclaimed the Republic. On December 3 it decided that Louis XVI must be brought to trial. This decision was contrary to the Constitution, which declared the king inviolable and subject to no other penalty than deposition.

Louis was condemned in advance. The venerable Malesherbes solicited and obtained the honor of defending his former master. A young lawyer, Desèze, was the spokesman. "I seek in you judges," he said, "and I behold only accusers." He spoke the truth. The situation was desperate. England was threatening. The Austrians were about to make the greatest efforts and a coalition of all Europe was impending. "Let us throw them the head of a king as a challenge!" exclaimed Danton. Louis ascended

the scaffold on January 21, 1793. Men had believed that the fall of that royal head would create an impassable abyss between old France and new France. It was the monarchy rather than the individual which they beheaded. Carnot wept on signing the death-warrant of Louis. Thus the perverted doctrine of the common welfare added another crime to history. Again men had forgotten that the common weal springs from great hearts, not from the executioner.

**The Reign of Terror.** — At the news of the death of Louis XVI the still hesitating powers declared against France. All the French were threatened and civil war burst out in La Vendeé and Brittany. The Constitution everywhere held its own. Carnot organized fourteen armies. A revolutionary tribunal was created which pronounced judgment without appeal and punished with death a word, a regret or even the mere name which a man bore (March 10, 1793). The desertion of Dumouriez, who forsook his army and escaped to the Austrian camp (April 4, 1793) increased the alarm and caused revolutionary measures to be multiplied. In order that none of those who were called traitors might escape, the convention abrogated the inviolability of its members. It even resigned a part of its prerogatives by creating in its bosom a Committee of Public Safety, which was invested with the executive power. In fact suspicion was rife everywhere. Robespierre firmly believed that the Girondists wished to dismember France and surrender it to foreigners. The Girondists thought that Marat, Robespierre and Danton wished to make the Duke of Orleans king, then to assassinate him and found a triumvirate from which Danton would expel his two colleagues and reign alone. Each with conviction attributed to his adversaries the most absurd plans. From distrust arose panic, that terrible counsellor, and the axe hung suspended above and striking upon all heads. This system is called The Terror.

The executioners were dominated by it as much as were the victims and were in consequence still more merciless.

The party of the Mountain, whose leaders were Marat, Danton and Robespierre, caused a formal accusation to be passed against thirty-one Girondists (June 2), many of whom had escaped and were rousing the departments to insurrection. Then Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, and most

of the cities of the south declared against the Convention. Toulon with the whole Mediterranean fleet was delivered over to the English. Condé and Valenciennes fell into the hands of the enemy. Mayence, then occupied by French troops, capitulated. The enemy invaded both the northern and southern frontiers. At the same time the insurgents in La Vendée were everywhere victorious and another enemy, a frightful famine, was added to the general disorder.

The cause of the Revolution, defended by less than thirty departments, seemed lost. The Convention saved it by displaying a savage energy. Merlin drew up the law concerning suspected persons, which cast more than 300,000 persons into prison. Barrère declared in the name of the Committee of Public Safety: "The Republic is now only an immense besieged city. France must henceforth be only one vast camp. All ages are summoned by the fatherland to defend liberty. The young men will fight. The married men will forge arms. The women will make clothes and tents for the soldiers. The children will turn old linen into lint. The aged will have themselves carried to the public squares to excite courage." Twelve hundred thousand men were raised. Bordeaux and Lyons returned to their duty. Bonaparte, then an artillery captain, retook Toulon. The Vendeans were driven from the gates of Nantes, and Jourdan, who commanded the principal army, checked the allies.

All these achievements were not accomplished without terrible intestine commotions. The nobles and priests, proscribed as suspects, perished in crowds upon the scaffolds which were erected in all the towns. Carrier, Fréron, Collot-d'Herbois, Couthon, Fouché and Barras were merciless. The assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday, who thought that by killing him she was killing the Terror (July 13), rendered it more implacable. Queen Marie Antoinette, her sister Madame Elizabeth, Bailly, the Girondist leaders, the Duke of Orleans, General Custine, Madame Roland, Lavoisier, Malesherbes and a thousand other illustrious heads fell. Then the party of the Mountain fell upon one another. Robespierre and Saint Just, supported by the powerful society of the Jacobins, first proscribed the hideous partisans of the anarchist Hébert and then Camille Desmoulins and Danton, who had suggested clemency.

**The Ninth of Thermidor, or July 27, 1794.** — Not yet could peace reign among the remnants of the Mountain. Robes-

pierre was threatening many of the fiercest leaders and several members of the Committee whose dictatorship he wished to destroy for his own advantage. Among them were Fouché, Tallien, Carrier, Billaud-Varennes, Collet-d'Herbois, Vadier and Amar. On the ninth of Thermidor these men succeeded in decreeing a formal act of accusation against Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just and two other representatives, Lebas and the younger Robespierre, who demanded the right to share their fate. One hundred of Robespierre's followers perished with him. Two days earlier, this revolution would have saved the young and noble André Chénier.

Several of the men who had overthrown Robespierre had themselves been extreme partisans of the Terror. But such was the force of public opinion that they were compelled to represent themselves as favorable to moderation. Thus the fall of Robespierre became the signal for a reaction which, despite some frightful excesses, nevertheless allowed France to take breath. The guillotine ceased to be the means of government. Though the parties still continued for a long time to proscribe each other, the people at least no longer were afforded the hideous spectacle of thirty or forty heads every day falling under the knife.

**Glorious Campaigns of 1793–1795.** — After the death of Louis XVI the coalition of Austria, Prussia and Piedmont was joined by England, who readily improved the opportunity to deprive France of her commerce and her colonies. Spain and Naples through family reasons, Holland and Portugal through obedience to England, and the German Empire under the pressure of its two leading states, had also entered it. This was to declare almost universal war against France. Distance for a time prevented Russia from taking part. Denmark and Sweden resolutely maintained neutrality.

Fortunately for France, Austria and Prussia were mainly occupied by Polish affairs and the invading armies frittered their strength away in sieges. Instead of fighting for principles, each hostile country hoped to aggrandize itself at the expense of France. Thus the English wished to seize or destroy the French posts in Flanders. The Austrians desired the French fortresses on the Scheldt. The Prussians counted upon seizing Alsace and the Spaniards aimed at Roussillon. But while the allies wasted three months before Condé, Valenciennes and Mayence, and another month in preparation for the siege of Dunkirk, Le Quesnoy, Mau-

beuge and Landau, the French volunteers were getting into shape, their armies were being organized and their generals were gaining experience without losing their dash. At the end of August, 1793, the situation of France, attacked at every frontier and torn by civil war, seemed desperate. By the end of December she was everywhere victorious. Houchard had routed the English at Hondschoote, Jourdan had defeated the Austrians at Wattignies, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Hoche had carried the lines of Wissemburg. Moreover the tedious Vendean war was drawing to a close.

A few months afterwards the victory of Fleury gave France the Netherlands. The Spaniards were driven back beyond the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, the imperialists and the Prussians beyond the Rhine, and during the winter Pichegru fought his way into Holland. These reverses induced Spain and Prussia to abandon the coalition. Spain, at the mercy of a shameless court, was appalled at the sound of arms. Prussia needed repose in order to assimilate Poland, which had been finally dismembered.

England, Austria, Sardinia and the South German states remained in line. Russia entered their league and sent her vessels to assist England in starving the French coasts and in building an immense British colonial empire. The subsidies from the English aristocracy fed the war and prevented defections of the allies. While men aimlessly cut one another's throats on the Rhine, the English fleets scoured the seas and seized the vessels and trading posts of France and of her ally, Holland.

On land the young volunteers had quickly learned how to fight the veterans of Frederick II. But maritime war demands other tactics and long practice. All the brilliant naval staff which had combated England in the American Revolutionary War had emigrated. The French fleets had no sea-captains and were always worsted in sea-fight. In 1794, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, formerly captain of a merchantman, with twenty-six vessels manned by peasants attacked an English fleet of thirty-eight sail, in order to protect the disembarkation of an immense convoy of grain. The convoy passed, a part of France was saved from famine, but the French fleet lost seven ships. One of them, *Le Vengeur*, rather than strike its flag, went to the bottom, its

crew singing the Marseillaise. Martinique, Guadaloupe and even Corsica, which could not be defended, were seized by the English.

**Constitution of the Year III. The Thirteenth of Vendémiaire or October 5, 1795.** — But the Convention, issuing victorious from the tumults which followed the overthrow of Robespierre, repealed the democratic Constitution of 1793, which had not yet been put in execution, and intrusted the legislative power to two councils, the Five Hundred and the Ancients. It confided the executive power to a Directory of five members, one of whom was to be changed each year. At first the Convention had centralized everything. Now everything was divided. The legislative power was to have two heads, which is not too many for good counsel, but the executive power was to have five, which is unfavorable to action. Thus they hoped to escape dictatorship and to create a moderate republic. The result was a republic feeble and doomed to anarchy. The local assemblies accepted the Constitution, but disorders broke out in Paris. The royalists, who had so often suffered from sedition, committed the error of employing it in their turn. They carried with them many companies of the national guard, who marched in arms upon the Convention. Barras, whom the Assembly had appointed general-in-chief, charged Napoleon Bonaparte with its defence. That fifth of October began the successes and assured the triumph of the young officer, whose astute management overcame the superiority of numbers. Three weeks later the Convention declared its mission at an end (October 26).

In the midst of civil commotions and foreign victories, the Convention had pursued its political and social reforms. In order to strengthen the unity of France it decreed national education. It founded the Normal School, several colleges, primary and veterinary schools, schools of law and medicine, the Conservatory of Music, the Institute and the Museum of Natural History. It also established unity of weights and measures by the metrical system. By the sale of national property it enabled many to become proprietors. By the creation of the public ledger, it founded the state credit. By the invention of the aërial telegraph the orders of the central government could be transmitted rapidly to the very frontiers, and establishment of museums revived taste for the arts. The Convention wished to have the in-

firm and foundlings brought together and cared for by the country. The last act of these terrible legislators was a decree that the death penalty should be abolished after the general pacification.

**The Directory** (1795–1799). — Before it dissolved the Convention decreed that two-thirds of the members of the Council of the Ancients and of the Council of the Five Hundred, should be chosen from the members of the Convention. Thus the latter formed the majority in the Council. They elected as directors Laréveillère-Lepeaux, Carnot, Rewbell, Letourneur and Barras. These five directors established themselves in the palace of the Luxembourg. The situation was difficult. The local elective councils, which were to administer the departments, the cantons and the communes, were doing nothing or doing it badly. This paralysis of authority was compromising all the interests of the country. The treasury was empty. The paper currency was completely discredited. Commerce and industries no longer existed. The armies lacked provisions, clothing and even ammunition. But three such years of war had developed soldiers and generals. Moreau commanded the army of the Rhine and Jourdan that of Sambre-et-Meuse. Hoche kept watch over the coasts of the ocean to defend them against the English and to pacify Brittany and La Vendée. And in conclusion, he who was destined to eclipse them all, Bonaparte, then twenty-seven years of age, had just won on October 5 the command of the Army of the Interior, which he soon afterwards exchanged for that of the Army of Italy.

**Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy** (1796–1797). — On placing himself at their head, he found his troops pent up in the Alps, where they were struggling painfully with the Sardinian troops, while the Austrians were threatening Genoa and marching on the Var. With the eye of genius Bonaparte chose his field of battle. Instead of wearing out his forces amid sterile rocks where no great blows could be struck, he flanked the Alps, whose passage he might have forced. By this skilful manœuvre he placed himself between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, cut them in pieces, defeated them in succession, drove the former into the Apennines and the latter back upon their capital, and thrust the sword into the loins of the Sardinian army until it laid down its arms. Thus delivered from one enemy, he turned upon the other.

In vain did the Austrian Beaulieu, alarmed by his defeats at Montenotte (April 11), Millesimo (April 14), Dego (April 15), and Mondovi (April 22), retreat with utmost speed. Bonaparte followed him, overtook him and crushed him. At Lodi the Austrians tried to stop him. The French fought their way across the river over a narrow bridge and won a magnificent victory. Beaulieu was succeeded by Wurmser, Austria's best general, with a larger and more veteran army. It disappeared like the first at Lonato and Castiglione (August 3 and 5), and Bassano (September 8). Alvinzi, who replaced Wurmser, was routed at Arcola (November, 1796) and at Rivoli (January, 1797). The Archduke Charles succeeded no better. All the armies and the generals of Austria dashed themselves in vain against less than 40,000 men led by a general eight and twenty years of age. On the flag which the Directory presented to the Army of Italy, were inscribed these words: "It has taken one hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, captured seventy flags, five hundred and fifty siege guns, six hundred field guns, five pontoon equipages, nine vessels, twelve frigates, twelve corvettes, eighteen galleys, has given liberty to the peoples of Northern Italy, sent to Paris. the masterpieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albani, Caracci, and Raphael, gained eighteen pitched battles, and fought sixty-seven combats."

While these marvellous campaigns of Italy were going on, Jourdan had allowed himself to be beaten by the Archduke Charles at Würzburg, and Moreau, left unguarded, had found himself obliged to retreat into Alsace. His retreat was as glorious as a victory; for he took forty days to march a hundred leagues without allowing himself to be attacked. Moreover, the Army of Italy had won for France as a boundary that great river which for nearly a thousand years, had separated Gaul and Germany. The treaty of Campo Formio, signed by Bonaparte (October 17, 1797), restored to France the Rhine as her frontier. Beyond the Alps she possessed a devoted ally in the new Cisalpine republic founded in Lombardy.

**Egyptian Expedition** (1798–1799). **Second Coalition** (1798). **Victory of Zurich.** — Austria had laid down her arms; but the English, unassailable in their island, could not consent to allow France so many conquests. Therefore the war with

them continued. To strike them to the heart by destroying their commerce, the Directory despatched to Egypt an expedition commanded by Bonaparte. From the banks of the Nile he hoped to reach England in India and overthrow her empire there. At the battles of the Pyramids and Mount Tabor, he scattered the Mamelukes and the Turks before him. But the loss of the French fleet at Aboukir had deprived him of siege guns and caused his siege of Saint Jean d'Acre to fail. After that disaster he could accomplish nothing important by remaining in Egypt. Destroying another Turkish army at Aboukir, he quitted his conquest and returned to France.

During his absence the weakness of the Directory had permitted all the fruits of the peace of Formio to be lost. The spectacle of French internal disorganization and the absence of Bonaparte with the best French army, which seemed lost in the sands of Egypt, induced the continental Powers to lend an ear to the persuasions of Pitt. As early as 1798 that great and hostile minister began to form a second coalition against France. It was composed of Russia, where Paul I had just succeeded to Catherine II, of that part of Germany which was under Austrian influence, of the emperor, who could not console himself for having lost Milan, of Naples, Piedmont and Turkey. The alliance of the latter power with France, after lasting three centuries, had been ruptured by the expedition to Egypt. The Barbary States offered their assistance against the nation which seemed to have become the foe of the Crescent.

France, without either money or commerce, no longer borne on by the patriotic impulse of '93 and not yet possessing the military enthusiasm and strong organization of the empire, found herself exposed to the most serious dangers. Still the first operations were fortunate; Joubert drove the king of Sardinia from Turin, and Championnet proclaimed at Naples the Parthenopeian Republic. But the coalition had 360,000 soldiers against 170,000 Frenchmen. An Anglo-Russian army landed in Holland. The Archduke Charles vanquished Jourdan at Stockach, and laid seige to Kehl, opposite Strasburg. Schérer at Magnano, Macdonald at Trebia, and Joubert at Novi lost Italy, which was invaded by 100,000 Austro-Russians.

The victory of Masséna at Zurich and that of Brune at Bergen saved France from invasion.

**Internal Anarchy. The Eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799.** — At home the struggle between parties was beginning again with fury, but fortunately with less bloodshed. After the overthrow of Robespierre the Revolution seemed almost desirous of retracing its steps. The emigrants returned in crowds and the royalists showed themselves everywhere. The condemnation of several hot-headed republicans, who preached the abolition of property, and the success of the "whites" in the elections, thereby giving the monarchists the majority in the councils, increased their hopes. The pretender, Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, believed that he was on the point of being recalled and was already formulating his conditions.

To the parliamentary coup d'état which was preparing, the Directory retorted by a coup d'état of the government and the army. It proscribed two of its members: Carnot, who was unwilling to employ violence against the royalists, and Barthélemy, who was royalist at heart. It sentenced fifty-three members of the two Councils to deportation. Among them were Pichegru, Barbé-Marbois, Boissy-d'Anglas, Portalis and Camille Jordan (September 4, 1797). On May 11, 1798, there was another coup d'état, but this time it was directed against the deputies, called "patriots," whose elections were annulled. The legislative body, thus attacked by the Directory, struck back on June 18, 1799, and three directors were forced to resign. In the Councils, at Paris, in the armies, men talked openly of overthrowing the Constitution, which by dividing the executive power compelled it to be by turns weak or violent, but never strong or apparently durable.

Thus weary of the anarchy in which a feeble and undignified government let her exist, France accepted Bonaparte as her leader on his return from the East with the prestige of fresh victories. Sieyès, one of the directors, who wished a new constitution which he had long been meditating to be accepted, thought he had found in the general a useful tool. Bonaparte did not deprive him of his illusions, but accomplished the military revolution of the eighteenth of Brumaire, or November 9, 1799, which resulted in the fall of the Directory and the creation of the Consulate.

The eighteenth of Brumaire was another national day crowned by an act of violence. Royalists and republicans, generals and magistrates, priests and laymen, had employed

alternately during the last ten years conspiracies or weapons to modify or overthrow the law.

**Another Constitution. The Consulate.** — In order to strengthen the executive power the new chiefs of the state were reduced from five to three, and their functions were prolonged for ten years. The three consuls were Bonaparte, Sieyès and Roger Ducos.

From the first Sieyès recognized that he had given himself a master. Bonaparte rejected his plans and had a Constitution adopted, known as that of the year VIII, which placed in his hands under the title of First Consul the most important prerogatives of authority. The two associate consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun, had only the right of consultation.

According to the new Constitution, the laws, prepared on the order of the consuls by the council of state, were discussed by the Tribunate and adopted or rejected by the legislature. The Tribunate expressed its opinions, which the government heeded or not as it pleased, concerning existing or proposed laws, abuses to be corrected, and improvements to be introduced. When after examination by the tribunes a proposed law was submitted to the legislative body, it was discussed by three speakers from the Tribunate and by three Councillors of state. The members of the legislative body had no right to participate in the debate. They voted in silence.

The Senate, composed of eighty members appointed for life, was charged with the maintenance of the Constitution, the judgment of all acts contrary to the organic law, and the nomination from the national list of all members of the Tribunate and of the legislature. All Frenchmen twenty-one years of age and inscribed on the public registers were electors. The electors of each communal district chose a tenth of their number to draw up from among themselves a list of communal notables, and from this list the First Consul selected the public functionaries of each district. The notables placed on the communal list named a tenth of their number to form the departmental list, and from this the First Consul selected the functionaries of the department. The persons named on the departmental list drew up the national list, which included one-tenth of their number, and from which the national functionaries were chosen. Also from this third list of notables the Senate was to name the members of the Tribunate and the legislative body.

Thus the assemblies which discussed and passed the laws were the result of four successive elections. This Constitution was submitted to a plebiscite or popular vote. There were cast 3,011,007 votes in favor of its adoption and 1562 against it.

Bonaparte was known as a great general. He showed himself a still greater administrator. His first care was to reëstablish order. He himself proclaimed oblivion of the past and endeavored to reconcile all parties. He declared the former nobles eligible to public office, recalled the later exiles, reopened the churches and permitted the emigrants to return. The country districts were cleared of bandits. In order to found an administration which should be at once firm and enlightened, he constituted the departments after the pattern of the state itself. The departments had been administered by elective directories over which the central power had little influence, and which worked badly or not at all. He replaced them by a Prefect who depended directly upon the Minister of the Interior, and he concentrated all the executive authority in the hands of that official. At his side he placed the Council of the Prefecture, a sort of departmental council of state, and the General Council, a sort of legislature. The sub-prefect had also his District Council. The mayor of each commune had a Municipal Council. Each district or sub-prefecture had a civil tribunal and for the finances a special receiver. Each department had a criminal tribunal and a receiver-general. Twenty-seven appellate tribunals were instituted over the land. A Court of Cassation or Supreme Court of Appeal maintained the uniformity of jurisprudence. A commission, composed of Portalis, Tronchet, Rigot de Préameneu and de Malleville and often presided over by Bonaparte himself, prepared the civil code, which was discussed by the council of state, and which the legislative body, after full examination by the great judicial bodies and the Tribunate, adopted in 1804. One of the most useful creations of this period was the Bank of France, which has rendered great services to the country in times of difficulty.

**Marengo. Peace of Lunéville and of Amiens.** — The royalists, disappointed in their hopes, raised the standard of insurrection in the west. By energetic measures Bonaparte stifled this new civil war. On the frontiers, especially in the direction of Italy, serious dangers menaced the Republic. The situation of 1796 seemed repeated. Instead

of flanking the Alps, as on the former occasion, Bonaparte crossed them by the Pass of St. Bernard and fell upon the rear guard of Melas who, master of Genoa, was threatening to cross the Var. By the single battle of Marengo he reconquered Italy (June 14, 1800). This dazzling success and the victory of Moreau at Hohenlinden forced Austria to sign the peace of Lunéville (February 9, 1801).

England alone, still governed by Pitt the mortal enemy of France, obstinately persisted in war. But men's eyes were opening. They began to see why that one power, which gained by the war in which all the other powers were the losers, refused to lay down arms. The ideas, which twenty years earlier had armed against England the northern Powers, again made their appearance in the councils of the kings. The Tsar, the kings of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, whose commerce the English were molesting, renewed the League of the Neutrals (December, 1800). England replied by placing an embargo in her ports on the vessels of the allied states, and Nelson forcing the passage of the Sund threatened Copenhagen with bombardment. This audacious act and the assassination of Paul I broke up the League of the Neutrals. The new Tsar, Alexander I, renounced the policy of his father, and France found herself left to defend the liberty of the seas alone. The capitulation of Malta after a blockade of twenty-six months and the evacuation of Egypt by the French army seemed to justify the persistence of England; but she was staggering under a debt of over $2,000,000,000, enormous even for her. The misery of her laboring classes produced bloody riots. For a long time the Bank of London had paid out no coin. Moreover the French marine was springing into new life. At Boulogne immense preparations were under way for an invasion of England. Just as the peace of Lunéville was signed Pitt fell from power. A few months later the new ministry concluded with France the preliminaries of the peace which was signed at Amiens, March 25, 1802. The acquisitions of France and the republics which she had founded were recognized. England restored the French colonies, gave back Malta to the Knights, and the Cape to the Dutch. She retained only the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and Ceylon, which completed her establishment in India. Peace was reëstablished on all the continents and on all the seas. The coalition of the kings was vanquished!

# XXX

## GREATNESS OF FRANCE

### (1802-1811)

**The Consulate for Life.** — The treaty of Amiens carried the glory of Bonaparte to the zenith. For the second time he had given peace to France. Egypt was indeed lost and an expedition, intended to make the blacks of San Domingo recognize the authority of France, was doomed to failure. But those distant misfortunes hardly awakened an echo at home. They were forgotten as men beheld parties calmed and order reviving everywhere under the firm, skilful hand of the First Consul.

He renewed the powerful impulse imparted by Colbert to manufactures. Commerce was encouraged, the finances were reorganized, the roads and ports repaired, the arsenals stocked. At Paris he threw three bridges across the Seine. Between the valleys of the Seine and the Oise he dug the canal of Saint Quentin. Between France and Italy he opened the magnificent road of the Simplon, and founded hospices on the summits of the Alps. The civil code was being discussed under his supervision, and he was already elaborating the project of complete organization of national education. A marvellous activity and an unprecedented ability to labor made him see everything, understand everything, do everything. Arts and letters received from him precious encouragement. For the purpose of rewarding civil and military services, talent and courage, he instituted the Order of the Legion of Honor, a glorious system of social distinction which the spirit of equality could accept. A stranger to the hatreds of the past ten years, he welcomed the exiles, recalled the priests, and signed the Concordat with the Pope. He tried to efface petty animosities and to form only one great party, that of France. Finally, while he harnessed the Revolution to his chariot, he preserved its principles in his civil code and thereby rendered it imperishable.

But he could not disarm all his enemies. Every day fresh conspiracies were formed against his life. The infernal machine of the Rue Saint Nicaise came near destroying his life. In order, as he himself said, to make his enemies tremble even in London, he caused the execution of Georges Cadoudal who had come to Paris to assassinate him. He exiled Moreau and imprisoned Pichegru, who strangled himself in his cell. Seizing the Duke d'Enghien contrary to international law at the castle of Ettenheim in the margravate of Baden, he handed him over to a military commission which condemned and executed him that same night in the moat of Vincennes (March 20, 1804).

On August 2, 1802, four months after the treaty of Amiens, he was appointed consul for life. In order to bring institutions into harmony with its new powers, the Constitution was remodelled. The lists of notables were replaced by electoral colleges for life, and important changes were made to the advantage of the Senate. Invested with the constituent power, this body had the right of regulating by senatorial decrees whatever had not been provided for in fundamental laws, to suspend the jury and to dissolve the legislature and the Tribunate. But organic senatorial decrees were to be previously discussed in a privy council, all of whose members were to be selected each time by the First Consul.

**Bonaparte Hereditary Emperor** (May 18, 1804). — Admiration for a transcendent genius, gratitude for great services, and a crying need of order after so many agitations, caused these dangerous innovations to be accepted. A few members protested in the Tribunate. But the murmurs of Daunou, Lanjuinais, Chénier, Carnot and Benjamin Constant, like the opposition of Madame de Staël and Châteaubriand, were lost in the splendor which surrounded the new power. Finally the Senate invited the First Consul to rule the French Republic with the title of hereditary emperor as Napoleon I. The mighty master of France was unable to master himself and to restrain his ambition.

More than three and a half million voters declared in favor of the empire. Pope Pius VII himself came to Paris and crowned the new Charlemagne on December 2, 1804. To give the throne which had just been set up the brilliancy of the old monarchies and to unite under the same titles the men of the Revolution and those of the old régime,

Napoleon created a new nobility of counts, dukes and princes. He appointed eighteen titled Marshals: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Masséna, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellerman, Lefèvre, Pérignon and Serrurier, with large endowments in money and lands. Again were seen officers of the court, its great dignitaries, its chamberlains and even its pages.

Napoleon was president of the Italian Republic. Having become emperor in France, he became king of Italy (March 18, 1805). That fair country, enervated by a servitude of four or five centuries' duration and by divisions which dated from the fall of the Roman Empire, was then unable either to defend itself, or of itself to unite. If the hand of France were withdrawn, either Austria would seize it once more or it would fall back again into its eternal rivalries. "You have only local laws," said Napoleon to the deputies of the Cisalpine Republic; "you need general laws." That is to say, they were only municipalities, hostile to each other, and ought to become a state. The unity which Napoleon I wished to give the inhabitants by first making them French, Napoleon III afterwards assured them by leaving them Italians.

Beginning with 1803 the emperor was Mediator of the Helvetian Republic. He took advantage of the right conferred upon him by this title to give Switzerland a constitution which, by maintaining peace between the rival cantons, ultimately led the Swiss to form a real nation without destroying local patriotism. Six new cantons, Argovie, Thurgovie, Saint Gall, Grisons, Vaud and Tessin, were added to the thirteen old cantons, and all unjust privileges disappeared. After the proclamation of the empire, Napoleon made no change in his relations toward Switzerland, but took many Swiss regiments into his service.

**Third Coalition. Austerlitz and the Treaty of Presburg** (1805). — Pitt returned to the ministry on May 15, 1804. Thus the war party again obtained the upper hand. In fact England could not bring herself to evacuate Malta despite her word pledged at the treaty of Amiens, and without declaring war she seized 1200 French and Dutch ships. Napoleon replied to this provocation by invading Hanover, the patrimony of the English king, and by immediately setting on foot preparations to cross the

Straits of Dover with an army. The American Fulton offered the means for crossing by the steamboat which he had constructed, but his proposals were refused. England was in danger. Nelson himself failed against the Boulogne flotilla which, should the tempest drive away the English vessels for a few days or should a calm render them motionless, was ready to transport 150,000 men on its thirteen hundred boats. Admiral Villeneuve with the Toulon fleet might have protected the passage, but he lacked the daring. Through fearing a defeat in the Channel, he suffered a terrible disaster a few months later on the coast of Spain at Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).

England had warded off the peril by dint of gold. She subsidized a third coalition, which Sweden, Russia, Austria and Naples entered. Prussia held back and awaited developments. The emperor was in the camp at Boulogne when he learned that 160,000 Austrians, preceding a Russian army, were advancing under Archduke Charles upon the Adige and under General Mack on the Rhine. He was compelled to postpone his invasion. Napoleon immediately broke up his camp at Boulogne, sent the grand army post haste to the Rhine and, while Masséna held back the archduke's vanguard, flanked Mack, shut him up in Ulm and forced his surrender (October 19). Two days later the destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar forced him to renounce the sea, where he could not cope with his enemy.

Still he controlled the land and was already planning the ruin of the English by closing the continent to them. On November 19, he entered Vienna, and on December 2, he won the battle of Austerlitz over the emperors of Austria and Russia. The remnants of the Russian army returned to their country by forced marches. Austria at the treaty of Presburg ceded the Venetian states with Istria and Dalmatia, which Napoleon united to the kingdom of Italy. She also surrendered the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia to the Dukes of Würtemberg, Bavaria and Baden. The first two princes he made kings and the third a grand duke. Thus by the cession of Venice Austria lost all influence over Italy, and by that of the Tyrol all influence over Switzerland. The proposed cession of Hanover to the court of Berlin in exchange for Clèves and Neuchâtel, was designed to remove Prussia also from the French frontier.

**The Confederation of the Rhine and the Vassal States of the Empire.** — The emperor dreamed of inaugurating a new European system. He wished to be the Charlemagne of modern Europe. He had conceived a plan of empire which was not completed until after Tilsit. Still, we may present it now as a whole, so as to escape returning to it again. Resuming the idea which Mazarin had cherished of a league among the states of western Germany, he organized after Austerlitz the Confederation of the Rhine. The old Germanic empire was dissolved after a duration of ten centuries. Francis II, reduced to his hereditary domains, abdicated the title of Holy Roman Emperor to assume that of emperor of Austria. The 370 petty states, which shared among them the German soil and maintained permanent anarchy, were reduced to thirty or forty. Thereby the more powerful states were enlarged and some of their princes received from France the name and the dignity of kings. They were united under the protection of Napoleon into a federated state, from which the half-Slav states, Prussia and Austria, were excluded.

The new diet which sat at Frankfort was divided into two colleges. The College of Kings comprised the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the prince primate, ex-elector of Mayence, the Grand Dukes of Baden, Berg and Hesse-Darmstadt. The College of Princes included the Dukes of Nassau, Hohenzollern, Salm and others. The nobles, whose possessions were enclosed within the territories of these divers princes and whom former emperors had favored so as to weaken their greater vassals, were made subject to their territorial chiefs, and were thus deprived of their sovereign legislative and judicial rights and of control of police, taxation and recruiting. Each of the confederated states was to be absolutely free in its internal government. Resolutions in common were taken only with reference to foreign relations. Though successively enlarged, the Confederation comprehended but thirty-four members in 1813. Nevertheless Napoleon had made Germany take an immense step toward unity. For this progress France was ultimately to pay dearly by the suppression of the Diet of Frankfort and by the establishment of a new German empire far more powerful than the old.

But for the advancement of civil order in Germany and for the maintenance of European peace, the idea of inter-

posing between the three great military states of France, Prussia and Austria a confederation, which would be slow in action and necessarily pacific and which would prevent their frontiers from touching, was a happy combination. In order to make the plan truly successful, Napoleon should have left the confederates really independent. By trying to render this Confederation of the Rhine too French, his exactions repelled the Germans of the centre and west, then friendly to France, toward the northern and eastern Germans from whom it was his interest to separate them. Had the emperor confined himself to his first conception of the treaty of Presburg and of the Confederation of the Rhine, he would have assured for a long time the peace of Europe and the grandeur of France.

The creation of this new state was only a part in the stupendous plan of bold combinations which his genius had in mind. He made all his own relatives kings and princes. His three brothers, Louis, Jerome and Joseph, became kings of Holland, Westphalia and Naples. Eugene de Beauharnais, his stepson, was viceroy of Italy. Murat, his brother-in-law, was made Grand Duke of Berg and afterwards king of Naples, when Napoleon judged it expedient to transfer Joseph to Madrid as king of Spain. His sister Elisa was Princess of Lucca and Piombino, and later on Grand Duchess of Tuscany. His other sister, Pauline, was Duchess of Guastalla. He himself was king of Italy and mediator of Switzerland. His ministers, his marshals and the great officers of the crown, had sovereign principalities outside France. Thus did Berthier at Neuchâtel, Talleyrand at Benevento, Bernadotte at Pontecorvo. Others had duchies in Lombardy, the Neapolitan territory, or the states of Venice and Illyria, without feudal power, it is true, but yet with a share in the public property and revenues.

Thus dynastic policy replaced national policy. Napoleon was guilty of the imprudence of placing in one family, but yesterday poor and obscure, more crowns than the ancient houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon had ever worn. But by this sudden elevation of all his kindred he thought that he was serving France even more than his own house. Believing in the strength of administrative organization rather than in that of ideas or popular sentiments, he imagined that he was fortifying his empire by surrounding it with these feudatory states, like so many buttresses to support it and

advance posts to guard its approaches. These kings, princes and dukes, who were renewing royal races in so many countries, were only prefects of France seated on thrones and wearing the ermine. No one could fail to recognize that, under one form or another, half of Europe obeyed Napoleon.

**Jena** (1806) **and Tilsit** (1807). — In face of this daily increasing ambition it was inevitable that those powers which were still erect should do what France had done legitimately in the sixteenth century against the house of Austria and Europe in the seventeenth century against the house of Bourbon. That the weaker should unite to repress him who aims at omnipotence is a necessary policy. Thus Napoleon was himself largely responsible if war was always either threatening or declared.

The cannon of Austerlitz had killed William Pitt. His rival, Fox, a man of larger scope and without the former's hatred for France, succeeded as minister. Napoleon immediately offered to treat. As the restitution of Hanover, the patrimony of the English kings, would be the guarantee of a durable peace, he suggested the possibility of this arrangement. Prussia, who believed that she already held in her grasp this long-coveted province, was angered at what she considered a piece of perfidy. The death of Fox having restored power to the war party, the court of Berlin commenced hostilities. The victories of Jena and Auerstadt broke the Prussian monarchy (1806). Behind Prussia Napoleon again found the Russians. After the drawn battle of Eylau, he crushed them at Friedland, and the Emperor Alexander signed the treaty of Tilsit which reduced Prussia by a half and gave Finland to Russia (1807).

**The Continental Blockade.** — A few days after Jena Napoleon endeavored to attack England by promulgating the decree of Berlin. It declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and forbade all commerce with them. This was an act of reprisal against the maritime despotism of the English. But in order to render it effective it was necessary that not a single port of the continent should remain open to British merchandise. After having closed the ports of Holland, northern Germany and Prussia, he must necessarily close those of Russia and Spain, which was equivalent to rendering himself the master everywhere. The continental blockade was a gigantic engine of war, sure to deal a

mortal blow to one of the two antagonists. It was Napoleon whom it slew.

**Invasion of Spain** (1807–1808). — As Portugal refused to join in the new policy, Napoleon formed an army corps to drive the English from that kingdom. The court of Madrid was then presenting to the world a pitiable spectacle. Ferdinand, the heir presumptive, was conspiring against his father Charles IV who was wholly controlled by Godoy, an unworthy favorite, and he in terror besought the aid of the emperor. Napoleon employed duplicity out of keeping with his strength. He invited the two princes to Bayonne and persuaded the aged monarch to abdicate in his favor (May 9, 1808). Ferdinand was relegated under a vigilant guard to the castle of Valençay. Charles retired with a sort of court to Compiègne. Napoleon wished to resume the policy of Louis XIV and make sure of Spain on the south, so as to have full freedom of action in the north. The idea was correct, but its execution was unwise. This attempt to lay hands on Spain was a main cause in the fall of the Empire.

The French troops had already entered Spain. But the courage of the French soldiers and the skill of their leaders were of no avail against the religious and patriotic fanaticism of the Spaniards. In vain did Napoleon win victories and conduct to Madrid his brother Joseph, whom he took away from his throne of Naples in order to make him king of Spain. In that mountainous land insurrection when crushed at one point reappeared at another. Moreover England all the time was furnishing arms, money, soldiers and generals.

**Wagram** (1809). — Despite the assurances which Napoleon received from all the continental powers at the interview of Erfurt, the English managed to organize a fifth coalition, which forced the emperor to leave his enterprise in Spain unfinished and hasten again to Germany. On May 12, 1809, he entered Vienna for the second time. On July 6, he won the sanguinary battle of Wagram, followed by the peace of Vienna. Austria lost 3,400,000 inhabitants whom France, Bavaria, Saxony, the grand duchy of Warsaw and Russia shared between them.

Napoleon then appeared to be at the acme of his power. His empire extended from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. His marriage with the Archduchess Maria

Louisa had just secured his entrance into one of the oldest royal houses in Europe. The birth of a son (March 20, 1811), who was proclaimed King of Rome in his cradle, but was to die Duke of Reichstadt, was his last gift from fortune.

# XXXI

## VICTORIOUS COALITION OF PEOPLES AND KINGS AGAINST NAPOLEON

### (1811–1815)

**Popular Reaction against the Spirit of Conquest represented by Napoleon.** — The revolution of 1688 in England remained wholly English, so it did not leave its own island. The French Revolution was cosmopolitan. The members of the French National Assembly, not merely solicitous of the ancient liberties of the country, had the larger idea of rights common to all men united in society. Thus they placed the Declaration of Rights as a preamble to the Constitution of 1791. They thought of humanity no less than of France. This largeness of view constituted the grandeur and also the misery of the French Revolution. As a result the new order of things emerged from the past only with frightful throes.

But the general character of the first French Constitution and of the principles of 1789 applied as fully to the banks of the Meuse, the Rhine and the Po, as to the banks of the Seine. Hence this sentiment aided in French success. One day the Revolution abdicated its principles into the hands of a soldier of genius. He separated the legacy of 1789 into two parts. The one, liberty, he postponed; the other part, civil equality, he undertook to establish everywhere. In this task he sought the greatness of France, but above all his own. Condemned by the hatred of the English aristocracy to an endless war, he forgot in the intoxication of victory and power his true rôle and assumed that of a conqueror whose hand brushes aside or reduces to powder every obstacle. Thus at Presburg and Tilsit, Napoleon rearranged the map of Central Europe according to his will and indulged in dreams even greater than the realities of which he furnished a spectacle to the world. The nations, formerly allies of France, became for him the pieces on a chess board

wherewith he played the game solely according to the combinations of his own mind. He seized some, he delivered others, without the slightest heed to those old traditions, affections, or interests which would not change. And he never dreamed that from the midst of those masses, for a time inert, a force was soon to spring greater than that of the best drilled armies, more formidable than those coalitions of kings which he had already for four times destroyed. This force was found in the will of men resolved that they would no longer be treated like cattle which are bought and sold, yoked or separated. Indifferent at first to the fall of their royal houses, the peoples at length understood that they were the cruelly tried victims of those political convulsions. They learned that independence is not only national dignity as liberty is individual dignity, but that it is also the safeguard of personal interests. They learned that habits, ideas and one's most private feelings are sadly wounded by a foreign master, even though he presents himself with his hands full of benefits. Then, to defend their political conscience, men regained the enthusiasm which they had possessed three centuries earlier to defend their religious conscience. It is a painful confession for France, though none the less too true, that the force which shattered Napoleon and the French state was of the same nature, though of another order, as that which had shattered Philip II and the Inquisition.

**Preparation for Insurrection in Germany.** — After having broken up a fifth coalition at Wagram, Napoleon thought that he was more secure than ever. But his arms were no longer invincible. Junot and even Masséna were unable to conquer Portugal and General Dupont signed in 1808 the shameful capitulation of Baylen. The hopes of the enemy increased and England was confirmed in her resolution to fight to the death, when she beheld hostility against Napoleon on the part of the government gradually descending into the hearts of the people.

After Jena Prussia had given up the struggle. Army corps capitulated without a combat. Powerful fortresses surrendered without firing a shot. Nevertheless she was the principal instrument of German vengeance against France, although her own virtues did not prepare her for that great rôle. Her king, Frederick William, was a mystic and replied to those who demanded reforms by saying, "I am he

whom Providence has reserved for the welfare of Prussia." But none of the persons around him and not even he himself had the conception of anything different from the ancient Prussian monarchical system. The number of those who resigned themselves to the existing condition of affairs was very large. Germans like Stein of Nassau and Scharnhorst and Hardenberg of Hanover, who were strangers to Prussia, provoked the regeneration of that country. Baron Stein set to work immediately after Tilsit. "The sentiment of a common existence must be aroused," said he. "The forces which lie quiescent must be utilized. An alliance must be concluded between the spirit of the nation and the spirit of authority." He abolished serfdom of the soil. He granted to the peasants the right of holding property and to the cities the right of appointing their own magistrates and of administering their own affairs by elective councils. He reformed the higher administration in a liberal sense and caused it to be decided that rank and office, hitherto reserved to the nobles, should form the reward of courage and merit. Scharnhorst, on being appointed Minister of War, undertook to elude the article of the treaty of Tilsit which reduced the standing army of Prussia to 42,000 men. He insisted upon obligatory service under the flag for all men of an age to bear arms, sending them home as soon as they were sufficiently trained. In a short time in this way he prepared an army of 150,000 men who only awaited the signal of a grand uprising to make their appearance on the field of battle. These reforms, inspired by the ideas of 1789, renewed patriotism and created a public spirit in Prussia by interesting all classes of the population in the public safety. An association, founded by several professors under the title of the Association of Virtue, or Tugendbund, had at first only twenty members, but rapidly spread throughout all Germany where the affiliated were soon numbered by thousands. Its self-appointed mission was to restore "German strength and character." In 1809 one of its members, the student Staaps, tried to assassinate Napoleon at Schönbrunn. Though proscribed, the Association continued to exist in secret. It penetrated the deepest strata of the population and prepared the way for the awakening of 1813.

**Progress of Liberal Ideas in Europe.** — The resistance of Spain produced a great sensation in Germany. Stein turned

to profit every piece of news which reached him concerning that heroic struggle. Napoleon, a genius of the military order, took little heed of moral forces. He believed in himself and in his strategic or administrative combinations, and never dreamed that an idea could stand firm against the shot of cannon. Thus the significance of Stein's reforms escaped him. He laughed at the minister who "in default of troops of the line meditated the sublime project of raising the masses." But later on he demanded his dismissal and finally in an insulting decree dated from Madrid he proscribed "the said Stein" (1809). The insult was deeply resented throughout the whole of Prussia and Germany. Nevertheless Hardenberg continued his reforms in the emancipation of the peasants, in securing freedom of industry for the purpose of stimulating labor and in abolishing some exceptional laws levelled against the Jews. Not to leave any force unemployed, he created the University of Berlin (1810) whence Fichte was to address his discourses to the German people, and which sent as many recruits to the insurrection as did the burning poems of Arndt and Schenkendorff, the *Death Song* of Körner and the *Sonnets* of Rückert. "Then was born in tears, in blood and despair, but also in prayer and faith, the idea of liberty, the consciousness of the fatherland."

Thus liberal ideas were likewise turning against France in Spain and Italy. The Cortes of Cadiz drew up a constitution derived from the principles of 1789. It declared the sovereignty of the nation, the delegation of the executive power to the king and of the legislative power to the representatives of the country, the responsibility of the ministers and the suppression of privileges in adjusting taxation. The former king of Naples, who fled to Sicily, gave that province a constitution modelled upon that of England. Thus kings and peoples were preparing to fight France with the very weapons which at the beginning of the Revolutionary wars had ensured the conquest of the Netherlands, Holland, the right bank of the Rhine, Switzerland and Italy. Privileges were abolished. What still survived of feudalism was replaced by free institutions. As France now represented military dictatorship, an ancient and worn-out form of government, she was bound, despite the extraordinary man placed at her head, to succumb in the struggle.

**Formation or Awakening of the Nations.** — France was

now opposed by two irresistible forces. One force she had herself created. It was that of liberal ideas and of the sovereign rights of the nation with all the consequences which flow therefrom. The foundation of the other force she had provoked by doing violence to the peoples. This force was the new principle of nationality. Under the pressure of French weapons the Spanish insurgents and the members of the Tugendbund had recovered the fatherland, to which their ancestors in the eighteenth century had paid so little heed. While they demanded the abolition of unjust privileges, they wished to preserve their autonomy. Thus in the mountains of Castile, of the Tyrol and of Bohemia, on the banks of the Elbe and the Oder, as in the plains of Brandenburg, this idea of nationality had its birth or its revelation. It renewed history by introducing the question of race; literature, by investigation of folk songs; philology, by comparison of languages; politics, by the study of the interests which result from a common origin, a common language and common traditions. It is this idea which in our own day has made Italy and Germany into nations.

As early as 1809, when Austria had completed her armaments against France, public opinion in Germany with energy demanded that Prussia should take part in the war. Scharnhorst urged the king to this step, but Frederick William dared not undertake anything so bold. After Wagram he humbly made reparation to the victor for the premature patriotism of Prussian subjects. Nevertheless the secret movement, undermining the earth beneath the feet of the mighty autocrat of the West, was making progress. Many persons even in France discerned the signs of impending ruin. It was at this crisis that Napoleon undertook the rashest of all his expeditions.

**Moscow** (1812). **Leipzig** (1813). **Campaign in France** (1814). — To compel Russia not to abandon the scheme of continental blockade he led his armies 600 leagues distant from France, while 270,000 of his best troops and his most skilful captains were occupied at the other extremity of the continent in front of Cadiz and of the English army under Wellington. On June 24, 1812, he crossed the Niemen at the head of 450,000 men. Six days previous the Congress at Washington had declared war against the cabinet of St. James, because English cruisers insisted obsti-

nately on the right to search vessels engaged in American commerce. Had the emperor renounced his mad expedition to Russia, had he, as in 1804, centred his forces and his genius upon the war with England and aided the new ally who was arising on the other side of the Atlantic, unlooked-for results might have been brought about. Unfortunately he trusted in himself alone. At first the expedition appeared to be successful. The Russians were everywhere routed as at Vitesk, Smolensk and Velutina. The bloody battle of the Moskva delivered into his power Moscow, the second capital of the empire, to which the Russians set fire as they retreated.

To his misfortune he thought he had secured a peace by his victories. He waited for it and wasted precious time. When he realized that to extort it a second expedition against St. Petersburg was necessary, it was too late. It was impossible to winter in the heart of a ravaged country and he was compelled to retreat. The retreat might have escaped disaster, had not the winter been unusually early and severe, and had not provisions failed. The greater part of the army, all the horses, all the baggage, perished or were abandoned, either in the snows or at the fatal passage of the Beresina.

While the grand army was melting away, infidelity and treason against which Napoleon should have provided were breaking out behind him. He had forced Prussia, Austria and the Confederates of the Rhine to furnish him numerous contingents. But Arndt, who had taken refuge in Sweden, and Stein, who had fled to Russia, were inundating Germany with patriotic pamphlets, wherein they called upon the Germans in the French army to desert, and represented the Tsar Alexander as the liberator of the nations. Their counsels were heeded. York who commanded a part of the Prussian contingent passed over to the Russians. Frederick William III at once engaged in a two-faced policy. He assured Napoleon "that he was the natural ally of France." He informed Alexander that he was only waiting for the right moment to join him with all his people. He even suggested to Napoleon that everything might be arranged by giving the kingdom of Poland to the king of Prussia and trusting him to arrest "the aggressions of the Russian power." This proposition was a treason even to the "German fatherland," the Vaterland.

Frederick William believed that such duplicity was required by the circumstances. Therein he continued the policy of Frederick II, which justified whatever furthered the success of the Hohenzollerns. But Bülow, who commanded another Prussian corps, followed York's example. Then Stein hastened to Königsberg, the capital of the province of Prussia, which was in full revolt against the king because the latter appeared to disavow his generals and still to side with Napoleon. The states of the province organized war to the death. On February 7 was issued the order concerning the whole military force of the country, the landwehr and the landsturm. A population of a million inhabitants furnished 60,000 soldiers. Then, while still negotiating, the king of Prussia decided to take up arms. Not however till February 28, 1813, did he sign the treaty of Kalisch with Russia. But here again he did not forget the interests of his house, for he made Alexander guarantee him aggrandizement in Germany in exchange for Polish territories. He desired the acquisition of Saxony, which would strengthen Prussia toward the mountains of Bohemia and fortify his position in Silesia.

The long hesitation of Frederick William was due to his uneasiness at the popular movement incited by his ministers. He regarded the people as valuable for saving his crown, but had no idea of rewarding their service by the grant of public liberty. But he could no longer hold back. He launched the "appeal to my people," together with an edict full of warlike fury concerning the landwehr and the landsturm. "The combat to which thou art called justifies all the means! The most terrible are the best! Not only shalt thou harass the enemy, but thou shalt destroy his soldiers whether singly or in troops. Thou shalt slay marauders. . . ." At the same time the lecture-rooms of the universities and the churches rang with calls to arms. The generals and the ministers in their proclamations were lavish of promises of liberty. The war of the nations had begun.

After the passage of the Beresina, Napoleon, who had hastened to Paris, raised another army. But his allies with the exception of Denmark had turned against him. Sweden, led by a former French general, Bernadotte, had set the example of defection. Austria was waiting for a favorable opportunity to unite her arms with those of the Russians, victors without a battle. The whole of Germany, under-

mined by secret societies, held itself ready to pass over even on the battlefield itself to the ranks of the enemy. The brilliant victories of Lützen, Bautzen and Wurschen, won by Napoleon with conscripts in the campaign of 1813, arrested for a time the action of Austria. But that power at last forgot the ties which she had formed and the emperor Francis soon marched to aid in dethroning his daughter and grandson.

Three hundred thousand men assembled at Leipzig against Napoleon's 170,000 soldiers. After a gigantic struggle of three days' duration, aided by the treachery of the Saxons who in the middle of the action deserted to their side, they forced Napoleon to abandon the field of battle, for the first time vanquished. He was obliged to retreat as far as the Rhine.

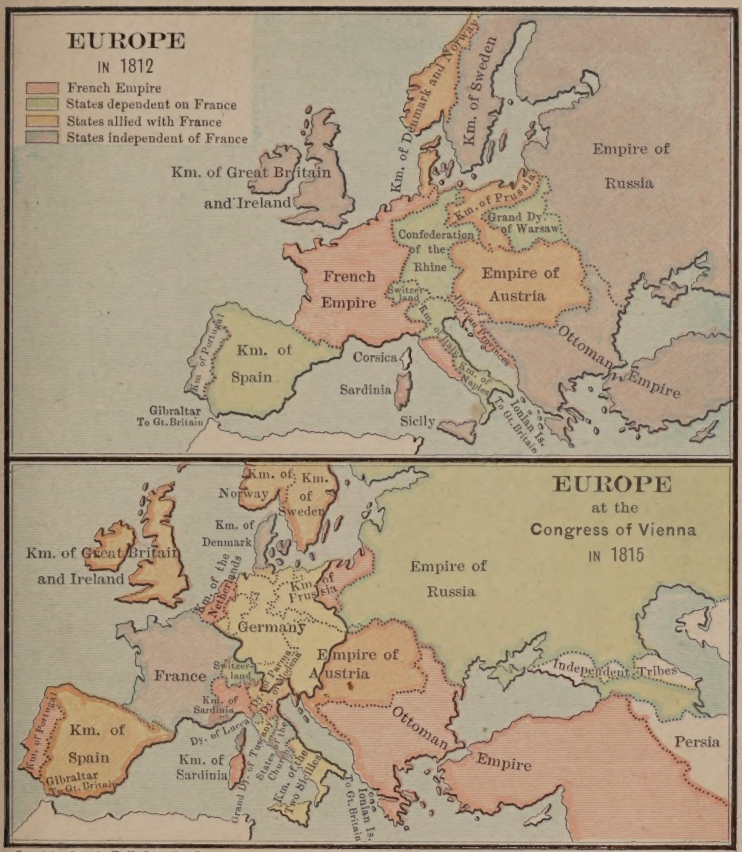
In the following year began that memorable campaign in France where the military genius of the emperor worked miracles. But while he was heroically struggling with a few thousand brave men against combined Europe the royalists raised their heads and the liberals made untimely opposition to his measures. At that critical moment a dictatorship was needed to spare France foreign invasion, that greatest shame which a nation can undergo, but men talked only of political rights and of liberty! To many the enemy seemed a liberator. In vain did Napoleon conquer at Campaubert, at Montmirail and at Montereau. The allies continued to advance, favored by the desertions which broke out in all directions, especially in the south, by which road came Wellington and the English whom Marshal Soult brought to a temporary halt at the battle of Toulouse.

A bold attack on the hostile rear guard might perhaps have saved France. If Paris could but stand firm for a few days, the allies, cut off from their communications, would have been ruined. But Paris, defended only for twelve hours, capitulated (March 30), and the Senate proclaimed the deposition of the emperor. He himself signed his abdication at Fontainebleau (April 11).

**The First Restoration. The Hundred Days. Waterloo** (1814–1815). — The French princes of the house of Bourbon had fought in the enemy's ranks. The Tsar, the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria, finding themselves embarrassed as to the choice of government, were persuaded by Talleyrand and the royalists to recognize Louis XVIII

who dated his reign from the death of his nephew, the son of Louis XVI. The white flag replaced the flag of Austerlitz and France reëntered the boundaries of the days before the Revolution. She surrendered fifty-eight strongholds which her troops still held, 12,000 cannon, thirty vessels, and twelve frigates by the first Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814. In compensation for so many sacrifices Louis XVIII granted a constitutional charter which created two Chambers wherein national interests were to be discussed. The emigrants, who had returned with the princes, were irritated by these concessions made to new ideas. The greed of some, the superannuated pretensions of others, the excesses of all, excited a discontent whose echo reached the island of Elba whither Napoleon had been banished. He thought that in consequence of the general dissatisfaction he could retrieve his disasters. On March 1, 1815, he landed with 800 men on the coast of Provence. All the troops sent against him passed over to his side. Without firing a shot he reëntered Paris, whence the Bourbons fled for the second time. But the allied princes had not yet dismissed their troops. They were then assembled at the Congress of Vienna, occupied in settling after their own pleasure the affairs of Europe. They again launched 800,000 men against France and placed Napoleon under the ban of the nations.

In the meantime the emperor had tried to rally the liberals to his side by proclaiming the Act, additional to the Constitution of the Empire, which confirmed most of the principles contained in the charter. As soon as he had reëstablished order at home, he hastened to march against Wellington and Blücher. He defeated the Prussians at Ligny (June 16, 1815) and for half a day fought victoriously with 71,000 men against 80,000 English, Belgians and Hanoverians. Wellington was near retreat, when the Prussians, who had escaped through a fatal combination of circumstances from Marshal Grouchy, fell upon the exhausted French (June 18). The catastrophe of Waterloo was a deathblow to the empire. Napoleon again abdicated in favor of his son, Napoleon II (June 22). Paris for the second time beheld foreigners enter her walls, pillage her museums and strip her libraries. Napoleon was exiled to Saint Helena in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. There he died on May 5, 1821, after six years of painful captivity.

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## XXXII

### REORGANIZATION OF EUROPE AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. THE HOLY ALLIANCE

**Reorganization of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. The Holy Alliance. Congress of Vienna** (1815). — The second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815) was more disastrous than the first. A war indemnity was imposed of 700,000,000 francs, not reckoning special claims which amounted to 370,000,000. The foreign occupation was to last five years. Rectifications of the frontier deprived France of Chambéry, Annecy, Phillippeville, Marienburg, Sarrelouis, Landau and the duchy of Bouillon, and created in the line of defence the gaps of the Ardennes, the Moselle and Savoy. In Alsace Strasburg was uncovered by the loss of Landau, and the dismantling of Huningue opened a new road for invasion. On the sea Tobago, Santa Lucia, the Île de France and the Seychelles were lost. England, while leaving France her trading posts in India, denied her the right to fortify them. But some still greater disasters were escaped. England, through a wise policy unwilling to shake the throne of the Bourbons, and the Emperor Alexander, on account of his personal sympathy for France, vetoed the plans of Prussia, who was already ambitious of securing Alsace and Lorraine.

The Congress of Vienna to regulate European affairs opened in September, 1814. All the excesses with which Napoleon had been reproached were repeated there. The four sovereigns of Russia, England, Prussia and Austria, who had declared themselves the instruments of Providence against revolutionary France, remodelled the map of Europe as best profited their own ambition. It resembled a market of mankind. The commission, charged with dividing up the human herd among the kings, was greatly troubled by the exigencies of Prussia who demanded 3,300,000 additional subjects as an indemnity. The Congress even discussed the quality of the human merchandise and gravely recognized the fact that a former Frenchman of Aix-la-Chapelle or

Cologne was worth more than a Pole. In order to equalize the lots they reckoned a number of men from the left bank of the Rhine equivalent to a larger number from the right bank of the Oder.

The agreement of the four Powers removed all difficulties at the expense of the weak. In Germany the petty princes, secular or ecclesiastical, and the free cities were shared without scruple as almost worthless booty. But this trade in white men came near rupturing the coalition. Russia and Prussia had come to an understanding that the former should annex the whole of Poland, and the latter in exchange for her Polish provinces the whole of Saxony. "Each must find what suits him," said the Tsar. England, Austria and France united in frustrating this plan by the secret treaty of January 3, 1815. The French ambassador, M. de Talleyrand, succeeded in saving the king of Saxony. At the same time he ruined France by proposing to annex to Prussia in exchange for the Saxon provinces which she specially desired the Rhenish provinces for which she cared less. Later French misfortunes sprang from this substitution.

Russia received the greater part of the grand duchy of Warsaw, together with western Galicia and the circle of Zamosk. Austria gained the Venetian states, Ragusa, the valleys of the Valtelina, Bormio and Chiavenna. Also Saltzburg and the Tyrol were restored to her. Prussia acquired the duchy of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, Westphalia and 700,000 inhabitants in Saxony. England asked nothing on the continent. The electorate of Hanover with increased territory was restored to her royal family. Moreover she might well be content with retaining the acquisitions made in every sea in the struggle against the Revolution and the Empire. She retained Heligoland, opposite the mouth of the Elbe and the Weser; the protectorate of the Ionian Isles at the entrance to the Adriatic; Malta, between Sicily and Africa; Santa Lucia and Tabago in the Antilles; the Seychelles and the Île de France in the Indian Ocean, and finally Ceylon and the Dutch colonies of the Cape of Good Hope.

France, relatively weaker as the power of the four great states increased, still seemed formidable enough to render precautions necessary against her even along her exposed frontiers. The coalition shrewdly established its advance posts. On the north it united Belgium and Holland into

one kingdom under the Prince of Orange. On the northeast was the Rhenish country, the larger part of which was assigned to Prussia, while the remainder was divided between Holland, Hesse-Darmstadt and Bavaria. The latter was formerly the ally but now about to become the enemy of France. Finally on the south the restoration of Savoy to the king of Piedmont placed Lyons, the second capital of France, within two days of the armies of the coalition.

The most difficult problem had been to reconstitute the Confederation of the Rhine, which was directed against France as the Germanic Confederation. Long and violent debates arose on this subject in the Congress, where the petty states made energetic efforts to preserve their independence. The advocates of German union, including Prussia, wished to reëstablish the ancient German Empire. Austria dared not resume the ancient crown of the Hapsburgs. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg were resolved that the crowns which Napoleon had placed on their heads should not fall. Already, when the extinction of Saxony was discussed, Bavaria had promised M. de Talleyrand 30,000 men if France, joining Austria and England, would drive Prussia into Brandenburg and Russia beyond the Vistula. Würtemberg, Hanover, Baden and Hesse advocated the same project. It was agreed that the empire, destroyed in 1806, should not be set up again.

When the news of Napoleon's return from Elba arrived, "a hut was constructed in all haste to shelter Germany during the storm, a miserable refuge, which the princes themselves destroyed later on." This Confederation, of which a German diplomat spoke with such contempt, was to consist of thirty-nine states, which were to send deputies to Frankfort to a Diet, over which Austria was always to preside.

This Diet was to be composed of two assemblies. The first or ordinary assembly numbered seventeen votes, that is to say, one vote for each of the great Confederates and one also for each group into which the petty states had been collected. In the general assembly each Confederate had a number of votes proportioned to its importance. The former assembly was to settle current affairs; the latter was to be convoked whenever a question arose concerning fundamental laws or important interests of the federal act. The Confederates were to retain their sovereign independence, their armies and their diplomatic representation. But the

Confederation was also to have its own army and to hold the fortresses which were built with the indemnity paid by France. Thus Luxemburg, Mayence and Landau were to cut off from France the approach to the Rhine, just as Rastadt and Ulm could prevent a French advance to the Black Forest or the valleys of the Danube.

In Switzerland, Geneva and Vaud were enlarged at French expense by a part of the country of Gex and some communes in Savoy. Valais, Geneva and Neuchâtel were added to the nineteen original cantons and formed the Helvetii confederation, which the Congress declared neutral territory. In Italy the king of the Two Sicilies and the Pope recovered what they had lost, but Austria again became all powerful in the peninsula. Mistress of Milan and Venetia, she made sure of the right bank of the Po through the right of placing a garrison in Placentia, Ferrara and Comacchio. She had enthroned an archduke in Tuscany, and had stipulated that the duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla, ceded for life to the ex-Empress Marie Louise, and the duchy of Modena, given to an Austrian prince, should revert to the Austrian crown. Moreover the king of Piedmont, although he had received Genoa and Savoy, was exposed on the Tessin border and seemed at the mercy of his formidable neighbor.

In the north of Europe Sweden, in compensation for Finland which had been taken by Russia, received Norway which was taken from Denmark. Denmark in turn was to have in compensation Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. But Prussia, implacable against the little Danish state which alone had been always faithful to France, forced her to exchange these countries for Lauenburg. This duchy like that of Holstein was only the personal domain of the king, who through his possession of these two German provinces became a member of the Germanic Confederation, that is, of a state organized against France. Denmark experienced later the effect of these artificial combinations.

**The Holy Alliance** (1815). — The stipulations of the Congress of Vienna (June 9, 1815) constituted the most important act which diplomacy had effected in Europe since the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia undertook to give it religious consecration. On September 14, 1816, under the inspiration of the Tsar Alexander, they signed at Paris the Treaty

of the Holy Alliance, wherein they asserted "in the face of the universe their unalterable determination to take as their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, only the precepts of the Christian religion, precepts of justice, charity and peace." In consequence they bound themselves, in the first article, to regard each other as "brethren," in the second, "to display to one another an unalterable good-will," considering themselves "delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same family, to wit, Austria, Prussia and Russia," to form but one Christian nation, which should have for its sovereign "Him to Whom alone power belongs as His possession, because in Him are found all the treasures of love, of knowledge and of infinite wisdom." The kings of constitutional countries could not sign the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, but in all lands a party upheld its principles.

Thus was crowned by a mystical and sentimental act the most self-seeking work of politics. These words, "justice and love," present a singular contrast to the real state of things. "Public right," said Hardenberg, "is useless;" to which Alexander added, "You are always talking to me of principles. I do not know what you mean. What, think you, do I care for your parchments and your treaties?" However, it was at the Congress of Vienna that Talleyrand invented the word "legitimacy." That city, where so many jealousies were in conflict and where so little consideration was paid the wishes and the true interests of kings and nations, was a strange cradle for any idea of rights.

In order to satisfy political requirements Belgium had been yoked with Holland much against her will, and Italy had been handed over to Austria. Thus the way was paved for insurrection in the Netherlands and the peninsula. Poland, dismembered, remained a perpetual cause of conflict between the three "brother monarchs." And lastly, by forgetting the liberal promises made to the peoples in order to stir them up against Napoleon, the spirit of revolt was destined soon to shake that edifice so laboriously erected and of which at the present time nothing remains.

The Germanic Confederation seemed fitted, it is true, to assure continental peace by separating the three great military states of Prussia, Austria and France. The temporizing German character seemed interposed between three

countries accustomed to rapid action: between Russia, which utilizes to the utmost ideas of race and religion; England, which obeys the commercial spirit; and France, which is prone to move with sudden and hasty impulse. As the Germany of 1815 was built on perpetual compromises, it represented in European affairs the genius of compromise, which is that of diplomacy. To fully render this service to the peace of the world, of necessity the Confederation should have been organized for defence and not for attack, and should have been independent both of Berlin and Vienna. But the rivalries and antagonisms of the two were to keep the Confederation in constant anxiety and turmoil and to cease only when one should be able to expel the other.

In 1815 the preponderance in Europe seemed for a long time assured to Russia and England, the two powers which had been invulnerable even to the sword of Napoleon.

# XXXIII

## THE HOLY ALLIANCE. SECRET SOCIETIES AND REVOLUTIONS

### (1815-1824)

**Character of the Period between 1815 and 1830.** — As the National Assembly of 1789 paid more heed to ideas than to facts, — a course which philosophy always pursues but which politics never does, — it had revived and applied to vast multitudes such principles of political liberty and civil equality as had seldom been realized except in small cities and tribes. Unfortunately society, like an individual, can never carry two ideas to victory at the same time. Equality, inscribed in the Code Napoléon, very quickly passed into the national character, and the French soldiers carried its fruitful germ thoughout all Europe. The Terror, civil discords and the ambition of a great man postponed the triumph of civil liberty. None the less the spirit of liberty among many European peoples united with the sentiment of nationality and added strength to the forces which threatened Napoleon. But the victors of Leipzig and Waterloo had no idea of giving it a place in the national law. They combined on the contrary to fetter what they called revolutionary passion, but what was only, if we eliminate its excesses and crimes, a new and legitimate evolution of humanity. The struggle which they engaged against the new spirit forms the principal interest of the drama unrolling between 1815 and 1830.

In this drama, on which side was justice and consequently the right to life and success? This is the question which must be put in front of every great social conflict. Setting aside commonplace accusations of hypocrisy and obstinacy, of fondness for disorder and search for utopias, there always remains the inevitable battle between an old society, which is unwilling to die, and a new society, which persists in making a place for itself in the world and which deserves to have one.

Unfortunately this struggle was envenomed by passions which impelled one party to cruel acts of violence and the other to criminal conspiracies. The golden mean would have been attained by following the example of England in 1689. Thus the spirit of conservatism would have been retained from the past but vivified for the satisfaction of new needs by the spirit of progress, which absolute royalty had formerly favored but which in the nineteenth century could be favored only by liberty. Louis XVIII, whom a long residence in England had enlightened as to the advantages of representative government, might perhaps have managed to effect this miracle in France. He saw plainly that the country was divided into two camps armed against each other, and he understood that a wise and prudent policy alone could unite them. "One must not," he said to his brother, the Count d'Artois, who had become the leader of reaction, "one must not be the king of two peoples. All my efforts are directed to the end of there being but one people." This sagacity did not suit the violent. Its application was rendered impossible by the Holy Alliance through a system of stern repression which excited revolutionary activity throughout all Europe.

Moreover the misfortunes of that period sprang from the fatal idea contained in the word "restoration." To some, taken literally, it seemed a threat, to others a promise. It became both the war-cry of those whom the return of abuses alarmed, and the countersign of the new crusaders who were ready to set out to battle "for God and the king," that is to say for the reëstablishment of ancient privileges. In politics one changes by going forward but restores nothing by going back, for society in modern nations is composed of elements so mobile and variable that the generations follow but do not resemble each other.

**Efforts to preserve or reëstablish the Old Régime. Peculiar Situation of France from 1815 to 1819.** — The Revolution of 1789, undertaken to secure for the individual the greatest sum of liberty, had on the contrary increased the strength of the government in the countries where it temporarily triumphed, as well as in those which felt only its counter-shock. Twenty-three years of war trained the people to furnish more liberally their tribute of blood and their tribute of money. They paid more and conscription or voluntary service took the place of voluntary enlistment.

Moreover administrative authority, formerly dispersed among many intermediate bodies, had reverted to the prince, and an energetic centralization had restored to his hands all the national forces.

Thus the "paternal" governments were stronger in 1815 than in 1789. They had larger resources to enforce obedience. They found in their path fewer of those traditional obstacles which seem so fragile and which are sometimes so unyielding. Leipzig and Waterloo made them the masters of the world. They insisted upon so organizing their conquest as to restore order. It soon seemed to them that this order could be assured only on condition of arresting all movement, that is to say, of stifling the new life which was for them, according to the expression of Frederick William IV, only the "contagion of impiety." Victorious over the Revolution by virtue of arms, they wished to be victorious also by virtue of institutions and by inflexible severity. Some clever persons even believed that popular passions rendered useful service to the absolute cause, and in certain places persecution of the liberals was inaugurated by throwing the populace on their scent.

At Palermo and Madrid the Constitutions of 1812 were abolished and absolute power was restored. At Milan the Austrian Code replaced the French Code and cannon, trained with lighted fuses on the public square, indicated what system of government was being reëstablished. The States of the Church and Piedmont returned to the same situation as in 1790. The institutions of Joseph II in Austria, of Leopold I in Tuscany and of Tanucci at Naples were condemned as mischievous. In order to prevent the return of "those reforms, more abusive than the abuses themselves," a secret article of the treaty, signed at Vienna on June 12, 1815, by Frederick IV, stated, "It is understood that the king of the Two Sicilies, in reëstablishing the government of the kingdom, will tolerate no changes which cannot be reconciled with the principles adopted by his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty for the internal management of his Italian possessions." Then too, south of the Alps and of the Pyrenees, the privileges of the clergy and nobility were revived and the Inquisition flourished once more, while the friends of public liberty set out on the road to exile, to prison and even the scaffold.

In Germany the princes forgot their promises of 1813,

except in Bavaria and a few petty states belonging to the ancient Confederation of the Rhine. As for Austria and Prussia, it seemed as if nothing had taken place in the world during a quarter of a century. In both the patriarchal system was maintained, defended by 300,000 soldiers on the Danube and 200,000 on the Spree, and also by the immense army of functionaries. Even a Prussian league of nobles was formed to maintain the distinction of classes and feudal immunities. The Tories continued to govern England in the interest of the aristocracy. The royalists of France would have gladly reorganized everything in the same way for the advantage of the great proprietors and of the clergy. In the Chamber of Deputies under the leadership of La Bourdonnaye, Marcellus and Villèle, men talked openly of returning to the old régime even by a bloody path. The emigrants of Coblentz and the fugitives of Ghent were determined to have their revenge for their two exiles. In the official world they obtained it by means of laws and decisions which were often dictated by passion, and among the masses, by means of murders which the authorities dared not or could not prevent or punish. A royal ordinance proscribed fifty-seven persons. Marshal Ney and several generals were condemned to death and shot. Marshal Brune and Generals Ramel and Lagarde were assassinated. The provosts' courts, from which there was no appeal and the sentences of which were executed within twenty-four hours, deserved their sinister reputation. The restored monarchy had its prison massacres, its terror, which was called the White Terror, its executioners and its purveyors of victims who rivalled those of the Convention.

In Spain and in Italy there were the same excesses. Ferdinand VII at Madrid imprisoned, exiled and condemned to death jealous partisans of the Constitution of 1812. At Naples the Calderari, or coppersmiths, who had been pitted against the Carbonari, pillaged and assassinated on behalf of the Minister of Police, the Prince di Canosa, whose deeds of violence went so far that the allied kings, fearing serious troubles, demanded his removal.

Louis XVIII was also disturbed by the excessive zeal of his dangerous friends, more royalist than the king himself. By the ordinance of September 6, 1816, which the extremists called a coup d'état, he dismissed the ultra-royalist Chamber. This measure was in accordance with public

sentiment, for France was by no means exclusively composed of reactionaries. In spite of her misfortunes she showed remarkable vitality. Furthermore the ideas of 1789, grafted in part on the civil code, had maintained a liberal spirit in the country in advance of the rest of Europe. In the Charter granted by Louis XVIII the idea of national sovereignty was greatly obscured by vestiges of the theory of divine rights. But offices were no longer sold, or lettres de cachet issued, or secret procedure indulged in. Justice did not depend upon the ruling power. The treasury belonged to the nation. The laws were discussed by representatives of the country instead of being made by the sovereign. The publicity of debate furnished a powerful guarantee for the impartiality of the judge and the wisdom of the legislator, over whose actions and votes public opinion kept watch. Thanks to the wisdom of the sovereign, the era of representative government really began for France at the time when it was disappearing in Spain and Italy and when the German princes were evading the execution of article thirteen of the Federal Compact which promised it to their peoples. Thus, although 150,000 foreigners still occupied the French provinces, all eyes remained fixed upon this country, where the new era had first dawned and where it seemed on the point of reviving.

**Alliance of the Altar and the Throne. The Congregation.** — But this return to the wise ideas of the first National Assembly did not suit the calculations of the clergy, the nobility, the adherents of right divine and the privileged classes of all sorts, who, for the sake of combating a social order contrary to their habits of mind and existence, employed every weapon. Religion was the special weapon which seemed bound to be most efficacious.

The considerations of the princes were mainly temporal. Although they had concluded a holy alliance, religion was in their eyes only the tool of politics. But the papacy, which had also just recovered its territorial power, took alarm at the state of men's minds. Philosophy, the sciences and liberty of thought seemed to it far more to be dreaded than Luther and Calvin. It wished on behalf of the Church to take part in the campaign upon which the kings had entered for the sake of maintaining royal power. The Roman curia became the resolute, implacable adversary of that modern spirit which is destined to triumph, since it is

only the necessary and divine development of human reason and conscience. With each generation Rome enlarged her claims, the final word of which has been uttered in our own day in the Syllabus and in papal infallibility.

Those who in the sixteenth century had been her ablest auxiliaries against the Reformation offered her their consistent aid. The Jesuits, whose order, half a century before Pope Clement XIV had declared abolished, had just been reëstablished by Pius VII (1814). From Rome they rapidly spread over the Catholic world, especially through France where, although not yet legally recognized, they were always more numerous than elsewhere. They displayed against the new enemy the same skill which they had manifested after the Council of Trent. Their deservedly famous missions brought about many conversions. But the Jesuits then inspired zealous Roman Catholics and most of the clergy with such distrust as prevented their being intrusted with the education of the young. The superintendence of the higher schools in France was committed to the bishops. This they had already secured in the other Catholic countries. After the fall of the Directory a reaction had sprung up in France against the irreligious spirit of the eighteenth century. This reaction spread through all European countries, Chateaubriand with his *Genius of Christianity* being its most brilliant exponent. At his side stood a logician, De Bonald, with his *Primitive Legislation*, and De Maistre, "a savage Bossuet," a man of passionate eloquence and of uncompromising disposition. These two, full of mediæval theories, dreamed of such a triumph for the ideas of Gregory VII as that tireless old man had never been able to secure himself. Because Chateaubriand, De Bonald and De Maistre were not priests, but laymen, they drew the more attention. An audacious priest, Lamennais, wrote the *Essay on Indifference* and aimed at governing the world by papal infallibility. A society was formed to put in practice the ideas of Count de Maistre and to subject Italy at least to that theocratic government of which the Pope was to be the head.

In the sixteenth century in one-half of Europe the interests of the princes and of Rome were opposed. Religious parties were even at times revolutionary parties. Thus the League desired the commune, the Protestant gentlemen of France aimed at ridding themselves of royalty, and the Anabaptists declared war on society as a whole. After 1815

politics and religion were everywhere in accord, even in Protestant monarchies, where the civil authorities sought alliance with the religious spirit. Poets, as in the early *Odes* of Victor Hugo and the *Méditations* of Lamartine, sang the majesty of worship and the sweetness of pious sentiments. Philosophers erected theocracy into a system. Politicians wished to restore to the clergy its landed possessions, together with its civil power. Writers of all sorts furbished up a fantastic revival of the Middle Ages, peopled with brilliant cavaliers and fair and high-born ladies, with mighty kings and well-obeyed priests who together governed virtuous and disciplined populations. Society, which was profoundly moved by these various influences, especially in its upper classes, readily lent itself to the organization, "for the defence of the altar and the throne," of a secret body, the Congregation. This association numbered in France as many as 50,000 members, lay and ecclesiastical. Finally, in the last years of the Restoration, it controlled the government and the king and ended by overthrowing both.

The focus of this religious expansion was the very country where philosophy had reigned supreme. The phenomenon however was universal. In all churches fervor had redoubled. The Methodists in England and the United States, the Moravian Brethren, the Pietists in Germany and Switzerland, reawoke the iconoclastic zeal of the sixteenth century. Bible Societies found themselves possessed of sufficient funds to distribute gratuitously between 1803 and 1843, 12,000,000 Bibles. Madame Krüdener won over to her mystical ideas the Tsar Alexander, who expelled the Jesuits, but declared himself the protector of an association formed for the purpose of diffusing the New Testament among all the peoples of his empire. The Russian Princess Galitzin returned to the communion of Rome and her son became a missionary to the Indies. A Dane of almost royal blood, the Count von Stolberg, who had abjured Protestantism, wrote (1806–1818) a history of the Roman Church, so favorable to the Holy See, that the Roman propaganda made haste to translate and publish it in Italian. In Switzerland a grandson of the great Haller declared himself a Catholic and became the disciple of De Bonald. The most ancient university of England was agitated by the "Oxford Movement."

One special attempt was made, not destitute of grandeur, if grandeur can attach in human affairs to undertakings condemned in advance to failure by their very nature. The protectorate over Protestant interests in Germany had belonged at first to the house of Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, but that dynasty had lost this distinction on becoming Catholic for the sake of obtaining the Polish crown. This protectorate was claimed by the Electors of Brandenburg and was exercised by the sceptic Frederick II himself. After 1815, Frederick William II from religious zeal and dynastic self-interest tried to discipline the churches born of the Reformation, so as to oppose Protestant unity to Catholic unity, Berlin to Rome, the king of Prussia to the pontiff of the Vatican. He aimed at welding together the members of all the Protestant confessions, including those of England, into one evangelical church. He built them a temple and drew up a liturgy for the new cult. On October 18, 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Protestantism, he caused to be celebrated a Holy Communion, in which a Lutheran minister gave him the bread and a Calvinist minister the wine of the Sacrament. "They are uniting in a void!" exclaimed Gans; and he was right, for such union was a denial even of the Reformation, whose fundamental principle is liberty of individual examination. Therefore the scheme of Frederick William failed, but its political usefulness was too great to be abandoned.

So, in spite of the charters accorded and the constitutions granted or promised and in spite also of the good intentions of certain princes to effect reforms, the ancient system, aided by the powerful organization of the Catholic Church and by the revival of religious sentiment, tried to hold its own or to renew itself in order to restore what the Revolution had destroyed. It wished to restore domination over human will and conscience with that preëminence of the powerful and that dependence of the lowly which seemed to some to have maintained tranquil and prosperous periods. But this reaction was often in contradiction with itself.

**Liberalism in the Press and Secret Societies.** — Confronting the powerful party which was dominated by the memory of past glories and recent misfortunes and which wished to protect society from storm by placing it under the double

guardianship of monarchical faith and religious faith, there were enormous numbers who ardently cherished the memory of the ideas for which the revolution and the national insurrections of the later days of the empire had been made. There were in Belgium, Italy and Poland, patriots who would not accept the sway of the foreigner. There were everywhere the mixed multitudes, former freemasons or republicans, liberals or Bonapartists, who through self-interest, sentiment, or theory clung to the institutions of 1789 or 1804 and believed them necessary to good social order. In their ranks were men of heart and talent who openly advocated the new ideas in legislative chambers where such existed; in the courts, when a political case was on trial; in newspapers and books, and even in songs, wherever the censorship allowed them to appear. Such heroes in France were Benjamin Constant, Foy, Manuel, Étienne, Lafitte, the elder Dupin, Casimir-Périer, Paul Louis Courier, Béranger, Augustin Thierry, Cousin and a thousand others. In Germany there were the great patriots of 1813, such as Arndt, Görres, Jahn, whom the Prussian police soon forbade to speak or to write. In Italy there were Manzoni, who in his *Sacred Hymns* endeavored to reconcile religion and liberty, Berchet with his patriotic *Odes*, Leopardi with his fiery *Canzones* and the gentle Silvio Pellico with his tragedy of *Eufemio di Messina*, wherein Austria discerned a war-cry against the foreigner.

These men, the orators and writers, were the friends of free discussion and of that pacific progress which alone is effective. But others, fanatics of a new creed, moved restlessly in the dark and organized secret societies wherein the impatient dreamed of insurrection and the criminal of assassination. They existed in all forms and under every sort of name, as the Knights of the Sun, the Associates of the Black Pin, the Patriots of 1816, the Vultures of Bonaparte. Some already possessed an international character which, fifty years later, was destined to manifest other passions and above all other appetites. The "Reformed European Patriots" and the "Friends of Universal Regeneration" proposed to unite the nations against their kings, just as their successors to-day wish without distinction of country to unite the poor against the rich, the workmen against their employers, for the purpose of bringing about a revolution, not indeed in creeds or institutions, but in social order. The

most famous was an old Guelph organization, which owed its name to the fact that its members, the Carbonari, met in the depths of the forests in the huts of the charcoal-burners. It covered Italy, France and Spain, the lands of the Latin tongue. Greece had her "Hetairias" and Poland the "Knights of the Temple" and the "Mowers," when the severity of Alexander impelled the patriots to employ secret societies, the grand engine of the times. Even the victors used the same weapon. They had the Sanfedists in Italy, the Army of the Faith in Spain, the Adelskette in Prussia, the Ferdinandians in Austria, and the Congregation everywhere.

Two societies peculiar to Germany, the Arminia and the Burschenschaft, or Union of Comrades, had succeeded to the Tugendbund, which was dissolved as early as 1815 by those whom it had so powerfully helped recover or save their crowns. These societies, now that the German land was freed from the foreigner, aimed at causing the disappearance of internal divisions and of the absolute or pseudo-liberal government of its princes. In October, 1817, on the very day when the king of Prussia at Berlin was trying to master the Reformation in order to make of it a great instrument, an instrumentum regni, an immense throng was joyfully celebrating at the Wartburg the third centennial of Protestantism and the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. Now that religious liberty had been achieved and national independence assured, it demanded the advent of political liberty. It raised the colors of united Germany. It burned in its bonfires of rejoicing those works which opposed philosophical and liberal ideas, as Luther had burned the papal bulls. "In the sixteenth century," they said, "the Pope was Antichrist; in the nineteenth the despotism of the kings is Antichrist." To this manifestation the princes replied by the suppression of many universities. In the Prussian states alone four universities were closed and "instead of a constitution, Prussia had a countersign."

**Plots** (1816–1822). **Assassinations** (1819–1820). **Revolutions** (1820–1821). — Repression produced its customary fruits. Compressed force exploded. This is a law of physics which also exhibits itself in the realms of morals. There is this difference, that when repression acts upon ideas which are in consonance with material needs, it distorts them and renders them all the more formidable. Thus the students

were uttering generous sentiments in the open air and in the beer halls. Such public declamation was forbidden. Then they conspired in profound secrecy, and one of them took upon himself the office of assassin. In 1819 Sand stabbed, with the cry, "Vivat Teutonia," a writer who was in the pay of the Holy Alliance. Another tried to kill the president of the regency of Nassau. A few months later, "in order to drain the blood of the Bourbons at its very source," a crazy fanatic, Louvel, knifed the Duke de Berri, who then seemed to be the last heir of the elder branch. Even in London, Thistlewood plotted the murder of fourteen ministers at a dinner given by Lord Harrowby, president of the council.

In all the states of the Holy Alliance conspiracy was the permanent state of affairs, so too in France, Spain, Naples, Turin, the Germanic Confederation and even in Sweden. From time to time a riot broke out in the barracks or a wine-shop or a university and several heads fell on the scaffold. The governments felt the ground quake beneath them as at the approach of great eruptions. Two countries however, from directly opposite reasons, escaped these subterranean convulsions. Russia repressed them by her ponderous mass, in whose vastness nothing seemed as yet to be in progress of fermentation. The Tsar was then even lavish of promises and liberal reforms in his German or Polish provinces. England had forestalled danger by allowing free expression to all ideas. Thanks to the right of assembly, English discontent had no need to form secret societies and conspiracies. Thistlewood's plot is exceptional. But meetings were held of 100,000 persons who carried flags whereon were to be read such menacing mottoes as "The Rights of Man," "Universal Suffrage," "Equality." Those tumultuous assemblies occasioned bloody conflicts which compelled the suspension of the law of habeas corpus (1817).

When in 1814 the Spaniards restored to Ferdinand VII the crown, "conquered for him and without him," the deputies of the Cortes went as far as the frontier to meet him, in order to present him with the Constitution of 1812. "Do not forget," they said with the pride of the ancient Aragonese, "that on the day when you violate it, the solemn compact which has made you king will be torn up." A few weeks later Ferdinand tore up this Constitution and urged on the reaction with such cruelty that even the members of the Holy Alliance remonstrated with him on the subject.

These remonstrances were useless (1817). So plots multiplied with executions, and the isolated cases of recourse to arms were followed by an insurrection of the entire army. Riego at Cadiz and Mina in the Pyrenees proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Ferdinand, abandoned by everybody, swore fidelity to this Constitution, "since such was the will of the people." On the same day he banished the Jesuits, his counsellors. He abolished the Inquisition, whose property was confiscated to extinguish the public debt, and restored the liberty of the press. Thus the two opposite principles, which were contending for the world, met again in what had just fallen and in what had just been raised up in Spain.

The Spanish revolution had its counterpart at Lisbon, in Sicily, and in the Neapolitan kingdom (July) at Benevento and at Ponte Corvo, in the States of the Church and in Piedmont, whose king abdicated (March, 1821). Many persons were already thinking of constituting an Italian confederation such as Napoleon III afterwards desired, or a kingdom of Italy such as events have made. A parallel movement even spread into Turkey, where the Roumanians and Greeks flew to arms (March and April, 1821). The whole south of Europe was returning to liberal ideas. In the rest of the continent the ferment was increasing. On the other side of the Atlantic the Spanish colonies were making themselves independent republics, as the English colonies had done forty years earlier.

Moral contagions are as active as physical contagions. A breath of liberty was blowing over the world. It agitated even venerable England under her Tory ministry and aroused Poland where the Tsar proceeded from kindness to severity. Alexander established a censorship over everything published in the kingdom (1819). He closed the Diet of 1820 with harsh words and was soon to declare that the Polish nation no longer existed. To these threats Poland immediately replied by secret societies and every preparation was made for a grand insurrection.

**The Holy Alliance acts as the Police of Europe. Expedition of Italy** (1821) **and of Spain** (1823). — Thus it appeared that the Holy Alliance was doomed to be vanquished by the mere movement of life in the bosom of the nations. Five years had barely passed over the political edifice so laboriously erected in 1815 and already it was tottering

to its fall. To prevent its entire ruin, the congresses of sovereigns multiplied, and Prince Metternich, a man of great skill, assumed the guidance of it. He was the real ruler of Austria. To that state, formed of so many fragments patched together, any shock was dangerous. Therefore Metternich made the status quo the rule of his policy everywhere and in everything. He contrived to instil into the unstable mind of the Tsar Alexander the idea that, after having defended civilization against despotism, he ought to save it from anarchy even though to attain success he should set in motion all the armies of the coalition. It must be confessed that the activity of secret societies and the permanence of conspiracies and assassinations, which disgraced the liberal cause, afforded only too many pretexts for court-martials. Men did not yet comprehend that the best way to make an end of the violent is to satisfy the moderate. So they employed the sword, which decided nothing, instead of introducing reforms, fitted to conciliate the hostile parties.

Prussia followed in the wake of Austria and Russia. Thus it was easy for Prince Metternich, after winning over the Tsar to his views, to establish harmony between the three Powers. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (November, 1818) they renewed the alliance of 1815 and bound themselves by conferences, either of these sovereigns or their ministers, to examine questions relative to the maintenance of peace or upon which other governments should formally request their intervention. This idea was more precisely stated later on in the declaration of the Congress of Laibach (February, 1821). "Useful or necessary changes in the legislation and administration of the states are to emanate only from the free will, the enlightened and deliberate impulse, of those whom God has rendered depositaries of power." This was a fresh affirmation of the divine right of kings, with the interpretation that the prince upon whom his people wished to impose that contract called a constitution could summon to his aid his royal colleagues.

The majority of the French royalists were ready to follow this policy, which was that of Pilnitz and the emigrants. This time Great Britain held herself apart. So long as it had been a question of destroying French commerce and French military domination, she had lavished her guineas freely. But she was beginning to be alarmed at the claim,

put forth by the continental Powers, to act as the police of Europe in the name of ideas which at bottom only represented interests which might some day or other become inimical to the interests of England. Castlereagh, who seemed to have inherited Pitt's feelings toward France, was obliged to declare in the British Parliament that no power has the right to interfere in the affairs of another power, simply because the latter makes changes in its government which do not please the former; and that by erecting one's self into a tribunal to judge the affairs of others, one usurps a power which both international law and common sense condemns. In the country, which owed its greatness and its liberty to the national insurrection of 1688, the friend of Wellington, the leader of the Tories, admitted, while deprecating the revolutionary spirit, "that there are revolutions which are just and necessary."

Thus the two policies, which wrestled all through the nineteenth century, publicly stated their principles. The one policy rejected and the other approved armed intervention. In 1820 England alone upheld the former. As she was alone, she was unable to make it prevail. The Holy Alliance adopted the second, which was nothing more than the continuation of the policy pursued by the European Cabinets ever since 1791.

The Congress of Carlsbad in Bohemia, after the assassination of Kotzebue (1819), was composed only of German ministers. It was decided to place the universities and the press under rigorous surveillance. A commission of inquiry was set up at Mayence, charged with searching out and punishing the enemies of established order. A new congress, which sat for six months in the capital of Austria, studied the means of stifling liberalism. One of these means was to ask from the Pope a bull against secret societies. The final act of the Congress of Vienna (1820) retracted nearly all the concessions which had been made in 1815 in the joy of victory. "As the Germanic Confederation," said Article 57, "has been formed by the sovereigns, the principle of this union requires that all prerogatives of sovereignty shall remain united in the supreme head of the government, and that he shall not be bound to admit the coöperation of the assemblies, except for the exercise of proscribed rights." The Diet of Frankfort was declared to be the sole interpreter of Article 13 of the convention which

promised constitutions. It was empowered to employ the confederated troops against all disturbers of public tranquillity, even without the consent of the local governments. The police of the Holy Alliance persecuted the patriots of 1815 as Napoleon had persecuted those of 1807. Newspapers and reviews were suppressed. The philosopher Fries and the naturalist Oken were dismissed. Other professors and students were exiled. Görres was expelled from Prussia; Jahn, Arndt and Welker were imprisoned.

In France liberal ideas, till then encouraged in a certain degree by Louis XVIII, were held responsible for the assassination of the Duke de Berri by Louvel. The king, swept on by the reaction, was forced to form a new ministry, which caused the government to enter upon the fatal path wherein the throne was wrecked in 1830. Individual liberty was suspended, the censorship of the press restored, and the double vote was introduced so that political influence might pass into the hands of the great landed proprietors, who voted twice, that is, in the college of the department and in the college of the district. The birth of the Duke de Bordeaux (September 29, 1820), the posthumous son of the Duke de Berri; the elections of November, 1820, in which only a few liberals were chosen to the Chamber; and the death of Napoleon (May 5, 1821), increased the joy and the hopes of the ultra-royalists. Men spoke openly of restoring their ancient prerogatives to the monarchy and the Church. Béranger was condemned to prison for his songs. The University received a stern warning that it was under suspicion when the lectures of Cousin and Guizot were suppressed. Lastly, in order to intimidate the press, journals were placed on trial, not for any definite act of transgression, but on the charge that their tendency was injurious.

These measures tended to reëstablish a superficial calm in the countries which had been the principal theatres of militant liberalism. The Congresses of Troppeau (1820), Laibach (1821) and Verona (1822) aimed at stifling liberalism in the two peninsulas where it had just triumphed. They refused to discriminate between legitimate complaints and inopportune demands. The revolutions in Greece, Spain, Naples and Turin were represented in a circular note "as being the same in origin and deserving the same fate." If no measures were taken against the Greeks, it

was because Russia was interested in that revolt of her co-religionists whereby she obtained allies at the very heart of the Ottoman Empire. In Italy Austria undertook to destroy "the false doctrines and the criminal associations which have brought down upon rebellious nations the sword of justice." A numerous army, to be followed at need by 100,000 Russians, set out from Venetian Lombardy. At Rieti and Novara the recruits of Pepe and of Santa Rosa could not stand against the veterans of the Napoleonic wars, and the Austrians entered Naples, Turin and Messina. Behind them the prisons were filled and scaffolds erected. Austria lent her prisons as well as her soldiers. The dungeons of Venice, Laibach and the Spielberg were crowded with victims, but there was a still larger number in the native prisons. There were 16,000 at one time in the cells of the Two Sicilies. In Piedmont all the leaders who had been captured were beheaded. Those who escaped were executed in effigy. No insurrection had really broken out in the States of the Church, but four hundred persons were incarcerated there. Many of them were condemned to the death penalty which the Pope commuted into perpetual or temporary confinement. The Piedmontese Silvio Pellico, imprisoned at first at Venice and then in the Spielberg, has narrated with a martyr's calmness what tortures this pitiless policy added to his captivity.

After the executions administrative measures and a clever police maintained external order. The king of Sardinia reëstablished forced labor (1824) and permitted no persons to learn to read unless they possessed property to the value of 1500 francs (1825). To demonstrate his zeal for the Church he ordered a fresh and equally useless persecution against the peaceable Waldenses. The Pope reestablished episcopal jurisdiction in civil affairs, restored the right of asylum to churches, and from hatred of all novelties suppressed even the Vaccination Commission as a revolutionary institution. When Leo XII succeeded Pius VII (1823), a violent encyclical condemned civil marriage, and excited the kings to intolerance. Rome set the example. The Inquisition opened a new prison, which was immediately filled with heretics (1825). The king of Naples, Francis I, almost absolutely interdicted the entrance of foreign books, so as to establish a sort of sanitary cordon around his kingdom, and cause his peoples to recover

in their isolation their holy ignorance. Then he hired ten thousand Swiss mercenaries to assure the collection of the taxes and the obedience of his subjects, the two chief anxieties of his government. Wherever there was material welfare, a formidable spy system wormed its way into the midst of social relations and even into the privacy of the domestic hearth.

The spirit of the century desired three things. These were free institutions, equality before the law, and national independence. To the first two demands the Holy Alliance replied by reverting to the principles of pure monarchy and of the feudal system. To the third the answer was the disdainful remark of Metternich, "Italy is only a geographical expression," or that of the Tsar Alexander, "The Polish nationality is nonsense."

In 1823 this policy seemed successful. There were fewer conspiracies and no more assassinations. The insurrections were crushed at one of the points where, because there the people and the army had entered into them, they had been most threatening. With her docile lieutenants seated on the different thrones of Italy, with her army of occupation at all the strategical points, with her numerous spies and the assistance of the Holy Father, Austria did in fact believe that she had effected the durable work of restoration. To her allies she pointed with pride at that peninsula formerly so distracted where, from the base of the Alps to the Straits of Messina, she had brought about the silence of death. Then the Holy Alliance thought of undertaking the same task beyond the Pyrenees. There all passions had been let loose. Reactionaries, crucifix in hand, were murdering their enemies, and, meanwhile, the rabble were cutting throats to the revolutionary song of the *Tragala*.

To lull the suspicions which France had for a moment inspired by her hesitation at Austrian intervention in Italy, the government of Louis XVIII asked permission to stifle the disorders in Spain. Chateaubriand, who was then minister, believed that this expedition would confer upon the young fleurs de lis of the Restoration the splendor with which fifty victories had crowned the imperial eagles. England, where the irritation was increasing at the claims of the Holy Alliance to govern Europe, held aloof. Wellington, her ambassador at Verona, would allow France nothing more than an army of observation along the Span-

ish frontier. Canning, who, since the suicide of Castlereagh, had become the British prime minister, threatened in open Parliament to recognize the independence of the Spanish American colonies as retaliation for the French expedition.

The army, commanded by the Duke of Angoulême, entered Spain on April 7, 1823. It had little opportunity for fighting and encountered no serious resistance except at the siege of Cadiz. On August 31 the French troops took possession after a brilliant assault of the stronghold of the Trocadero, and this success brought about the surrender of the city. Although fighting for the despot Ferdinand, the French army carried its liberal spirit to Spain. The Duke of Angoulême, by the ordinance of Andujar, sought to forestall the fury of a royalist reaction and to prevent arbitrary arrests and executions. But Ferdinand had no intention of permitting his saviors to impose conditions. The military commissions were implacable. Riego, grievously wounded, was carried to the gibbet on a hurdle drawn by an ass. A counter revolution took place at Lisbon as well as Madrid. The king declared the constitution abolished and for a few months reëstablished absolute power.

Despite the congratulations sent by the princes and the Pope to the honest but commonplace prince who had just conducted this easy campaign, the elder branch of the Bourbons had won in it little military glory. Most apparent in this expedition was the fact that French soldiers had been placed at the service of a knavish and cruel prince and French finances depleted by an expenditure of 200,000,000 francs. Still, petty as was this success, it encouraged the French ministry in their reactionary projects. The elections increased this confidence, only nineteen Liberals obtaining seats in the Chamber.

**Charles X** (1824). — The death of Louis XVIII, a prudent and moderate king, seemed to assure the triumph of the ultra-royalists, by transferring the power to the Count d'Artois (September 16, 1824). He was one of those people who gain nothing from experience. In 1789 this prince had been among the first to emigrate. While learning nothing, he had forgotten nothing. Louis XVIII on his death-bed, placing his hand on the head of the Duke de Bordeaux, said to him, "Let Charles X look out for this child's crown," but he had paid no heed. He felt himself

called upon to revive the ancient monarchy. "In France," he said, "the king consults the Chambers. He pays great heed to their advice and their remonstrances; but, when the king is not persuaded, his will must be done." These words were a denial of the Charter and an intimation of its speedy violation. At the very beginning of his reign he asked from the Chambers an indemnity of $200,000,000 for the emigrants, the reëstablishment of convents for women, the restoration of the rights of primogeniture, a rigorous law against the press and another concerning offences committed in churches. The latter was called the law of sacrilege. The new Chamber of extremists accorded everything. There was no resistance, except in the Chamber of Peers, which by its opposition won a few days of popularity.

In May, 1825, the new monarch revived the solemnity of coronation with all traditional ceremony, with the ancient oath and with touching for the king's evil. A popular manifestation was the response to this royal and religious festival. General Foy, a leader of the liberal party, had just died. One hundred thousand persons followed his bier, and a national subscription provided for the future of his children.

## XXXIV

### PROGRESS OF LIBERAL IDEAS

**The Romantic School. The Sciences.** — Nevertheless liberal opinions were gaining ground every day and opposition to the spirit of the Congregation was increasing. Voltaire seemed alive again, there were so many editions of his works. Béranger was in every hand, and the people wanted to see *Tartuffe* played in every theatre. In letters and arts a great movement was to be noted. This movement was in the direction of liberty, for it ran counter to discipline and traditions. The almost volcanic eruption of the romantic school (1825–1830) overwhelmed worn-out formulas and emitted dazzling light, despite its scoria and ashes. Goethe and Schiller, Shakespeare and Byron, had been the forerunners of the new men of letters. They had even been precursors of those artists who, in their search for fresh expressions of the beautiful, gave the human mind a salutary shock and aided the work of statesmen in advancing society. Thierry, Guizot, De Barante, Mignet and Michelet reformed history. Cousin and Jouffroy reformed philosophy. Hugo, Lamartine, De Vigny, Dumas, Musset and Balzac reformed poetry, the drama and romance. Villemain and Sainte-Beuve reformed literary criticism. Géricault, Delacroix, Ary Scheffer and Delaroche reformed painting, David d'Angers and Rude reformed sculpture. The overthrow of the ancient classical system rendered still more difficult the victory of the ancient social system.

Learned letters also enlarged their horizon. Champollion forced the Egyptian Sphinx to speak. De Sacy and De Remusat lifted some of the veils which hid the Orient. Guigiaut began the publication of Creuzer's *Symbologism and Mythology*, and made the religions of antiquity comprehensible. All this meant new ideas put into general circulation.

The sciences continued their serene and majestic march, and added great names to the list of honor. There were

Poisson, Ampère, Fresnel, Cauchy, Chasles, Arago, Biot and Dulong in mathematics and physics; Gay-Lussac, Thénard, Chevreul and Dumas in chemistry; Cuvier, Geoffroy, Saint Hilaire, Brongniart, De Jussieu, and Élie de Beaumont in the natural sciences. By the successful efforts of so many superior men, natural philosophy mastered truths whose application to manufactures by creating new interests aided also to transform society. The lighthouses of Fresnel began to illuminate the coasts and guided vessels thirty-five miles out at sea (1822). The steamboats of the Marquis de Jouffroy, kindred spirit with Watt and Fulton, appeared on the French rivers and in their ports (1825). The company of Saint Étienne laid the first French railway (1827). Two years later Séguin d'Annonay constructed the tubular locomotive. The discoveries of Oersted (1820) and of Ampère and Arago (1822) indicated the electric telegraph.

Thus, during those fruitful years (1815–1830) were brought into being the great inventions of railways and steamers which have transformed the commerce of the world. This immense advance had no direct connection with politics; but they who brought it to pass thereby increased confidence in the might of human genius. They accustomed men's minds to severe methods of scientific investigation. They showed what are the necessary conditions of truth. Thereby they contributed, some of them unconsciously, to the development in modern civilization of that reasoning spirit which was a main force of liberal opinion.

**Formation in France of a Legal Opposition.** — In the Chamber men of talent or authority, like Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, De Broglie, Pasquier, De Barante, Molé, and Benjamin Constant served the cause of public liberty. Serious journals, like the *Globe*, the *Censeur*, the *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courier Français*, founded a new power in the state, that of the press, and defended it before the public, while higher education popularized it in the schools. The French Academy itself protested against the proposed law which aimed at suppressing the freedom of periodicals.

In short, ten years of peace had afforded commerce and manufactures an opportunity to expand. The public finances were economically administered and the country was rapidly

replacing the capital which had been destroyed by war, invasion and indemnities. But amidst the general prosperity there were manifestations of that nervous impatience to which France is subject after a prolonged calm has made her forget the ruins caused by the great commotions which appall her, and which down to the present day seem congenial to her strange national temperament.

Even social questions began to be agitated. As philosophy and religion, those two ancient teachers of the human race, had no new lessons to impart to the fresh life upon which the world was entering through manufactures and politics, dreamers attempted to take their place. The Count de Saint Simon issued his *New Christianity*, in which he formulated the famous principle: "To each man according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its works." This doctrine was not calculated to please the favorites of birth and fortune. Many extravagances were destined to spring from the little church which the Saint Simonians tried to found. The teachings of their master, of Robert Owen in England, and of Fourier in France, gave birth to dangerous utopias which, after covertly working their way beneath official society, broke out in the frightful civil wars of 1848 and 1871, and went on in the workshop after the tumult had ceased in the street. Some ideas of those dangerous theorists would have made humanity retrograde, since they wished to render the state the absolute master in even industrial and private life. Still they turned men's attention to new problems, which a sentiment of equity commands us to study even if the wisdom of the legislator cannot solve them. Already men were to be found who, quarrelling with society as a whole, with its laws and its religion, undertook to overturn everything. As yet they were only solitary dreamers. Later on sinister figures will appear with violent passions and monstrous appetites. At that moment the extravagance of some of their doctrines excited laughter rather than uneasiness in the crowded ranks, where to demand from the government a more liberal policy seemed sufficient.

The country was with the Liberals. After May 5, 1821, Bonapartism, placing little confidence in the son of Napoleon, then a half prisoner in Vienna, and not yet sure of his nephew, Prince Louis, existed rather as a memory than a hope. In the influential class the Republic found but few

advocates. Socialism was rather a doctrine than a party. Thus the real masters of the situation were the Liberals, who were ready to rally round the dynasty if it broke with the Congregation and with the men of 1815. On their side were the merchants, who do not love the privileged by birth; the burgher class, which rails as soon as it ceases to fear; the persecuted opponents of the Congregation, and all those people who in the cities are hostile to any government, and in the rural districts are afraid of seeing tithes and feudal rights restored. The great cities were in opposition, and Paris most of all. At a review of the national guard in April, 1827, the cry, "Down with the ministers," rang through the ranks. That very evening the national guard was disbanded. Under the circumstances this measure was necessary, but it estranged the burgher class from the court. To overcome the opposition of the upper Chamber seventy-six peers were created at once. But a general election was imprudently provoked which sent to the Chamber a Liberal majority. The Conservative ministry fell from office (December, 1827).

A few years earlier the various elements of opposition had agitated only by secret societies and plots, resulting in riots and assassinations which injured the cause of liberty. But now in gradually enlightened public opinion a far more formidable foe to the ancient system of government had arisen. A great Liberal party, organizing and disciplining itself, introduced legal opposition at the very heart of the government into the two Chambers, and thence it was to force an entrance into the ministry. Thus, with definite ideas men were marching openly to their goal without either rash deeds or violence, accepting the royalty of the Bourbons, but requiring of them "to make the Charter a truth." The accession of Monsieur de Martignac to the presidency of the Council seemed a reason for believing that France would escape disasters by necessary reforms at the proper time. His ministry abolished censorship of the press and sought to prevent the electoral frauds which preceding ministries had favored. It asserted the liberty of conscience, which had formerly been menaced, reopened at the Sorbonne the courses of lectures which the Congregation had closed, and placed under one common system the educational establishments controlled by ecclesiastics. This was only a beginning. Nevertheless it was easy to infer

that the country was again returning to the era of pacific progress, from which the assassination of the Duke de Berri and a reactionary ministry had caused it to depart.

The general condition of the world, which must always be taken into account in any endeavor to discover resistless movements of public opinion, confirmed this hope, for the ancient system was everywhere on the retreat.

**Huskisson and Canning in England** (1822). **New Foreign Policy. Principle of Non-Intervention.** — Beginning with 1822 the Tories, or rather the Tory policy, had lost the direction of English affairs. The most influential minister, George Canning, the pupil of William Pitt, had just gone over to the Whigs. England, irritated by the arrogant interference of the northern courts in every continental matter, was beginning to restrain her former allies by favoring the ideas which they combated. In 1823 Canning caused the presidency of the Board of Trade to be given to Huskisson, whose customs reforms opened great breaches in that tariff fortress, behind which the aristocracy sheltered their privileges and fortunes. This economical revolution was dictated by the liberal spirit, and because of its consequences was far more serious than many a political revolution. It was destined, step by step, to control all the industrial world; to give work to the poor, comfort to many, and the habit and necessity of individual and untrammelled action to all.

Ireland was a prey to frightful misery, the result of atrocious legislation. "The wigwam of the Indian in the New World," said one deputy, "is more habitable than the hut of the poor Irishman. I have seen the peasants of Kerry offer to work for twopence a day." This state of things could not change until the day when the representatives of that unhappy country were able to plead her cause in Parliament. But the Roman Catholic Irish were smitten with political disability. The lords rejected the bill in their behalf which the Commons had accepted. But two years after Canning's last speech in their favor, Robert Peel was himself compelled to propose and pass the Catholic Relief Bill (1829). In 1817 Parliament, at the pious instigation of Wilberforce, had voted for the abolition of the slave-trade. Men now desired that, like the Convention, it should decree the emancipation of the slaves. Canning rejected immediate emancipation, but proposed

such amelioration as made the slave a man and opened to him the door of liberty. That humane law of 1825 led a few years later to the suppression of slavery (1833).

Thus the English Parliament allowed itself to be affected by generous ideas. Still, that great body rightly was not regarded as sufficiently liberal. The aristocracy held the House of Lords by the hereditary rights of its older sons. It held the House of Commons by its younger sons and its dependents, seats for whom it obtained by means of rotten boroughs. Twelve families controlled 100 seats at Westminster, and sometimes sold them for cash. One village of seven houses sent two members to the House. Gatton and Old Sarum belonged to one landed proprietor, who elected the representative himself, while the great city of Manchester possessed neither elector nor deputy. The powerful Birmingham Union was formed to rouse the country on the double question of parliamentary reform and abolition of the corn laws, so as to secure cheaper bread. Of these two reforms, the one was effected in 1832, but the other had to wait until 1846. Thus under the influence of the new spirit old England was being transformed, without disturbance and through free discussion. The prosperity of the country gained thereby. As early as 1824 Canning was able to diminish the taxes $10,000,000, create a sinking-fund for the public debt, and reduce the customs-duties on rum, coal, silks and woollens. These measures favored manufactures, commerce and the rising public credit.

Foreign policy was assuming the same character. In 1821 England had resigned herself to the intervention of Austria in Italian affairs; but in 1823, at the Congress of Verona, she was already opposing the French expedition against the constitutional party of Madrid, although still showing the latter nothing but barren sympathy. The irritation against the Holy Alliance was on the increase; so when the allies, in order to include the New World in their sphere of action, had the French ambassador, M. de Polignac, propose to Canning that they should discuss the means of putting down the rebellion of the Spanish colonies, the minister replied: "If any power assists Spain to recover her transmarine provinces, England will take measures to protect her own interests." To her it was not a question of sentiment, and we must not consider her policy more generous than it was. Nor did France intend to close the

immense market which was opened to her by the independence and free trade of the Spanish colonies.

However, the policy of the future gained by the definite and even threatening affirmation of the principle of non-intervention. Without ranging herself on the side of democracy, England meant that governments should be left to extricate themselves as best they could from the difficulties which their own violation of national ideas and interests might bring upon them.

**Independence of the Spanish Colonies** (1824). **Constitutional Empire of Brazil** (1822). **Liberal Revolution in Portugal** (1826). — Spain had subjected her transatlantic provinces to a system which inevitably brought about revolt. All manufactures, all foreign commerce, and many branches of agriculture, including cultivation of the vine, had been forbidden the colonists. They were bound to obtain from their mountains the gold and silver which the galleons bore away to Spain, and to receive from the mother country all manufactured articles, including even iron and building timber. In short, Spanish America was a farm worked to the uttermost by its proprietor, the government of Madrid. Inhuman penalties upheld this unnatural state of affairs. The smuggler was punished with death, and the Inquisition placed its religious authority and its tribunals at the service of this strange economical despotism. Insurrection broke out in Mexico in 1810, when the French invasion of Spain prevented the mother country from supporting its viceroys. The revolt spread from one province to another. In 1816 the countries composing the viceroyalty of La Plata proclaimed their independence. In the following year Chili followed this example. Toward 1821 Peru, Colombia, Central America and Mexico became free; and the Spaniards retained only a few points in the New World, together with the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. As no one foresaw the unhappy dissensions into which these young republics were to fall, this defeat of absolutism in the New World reacted upon public opinion in the Old and the liberal cause was strengthened thereby. One of the heroes of independence, Bolivar the Liberator, was almost as popular in Paris as in Caracas.

The Congress of Washington speedily recognized the new states. In 1822 England was disposed to do the same, although an Act of Parliament in 1819 had forbidden Eng-

lish subjects to furnish munitions of war to the insurgents. The French expedition beyond the Pyrenees decided her, toward the end of 1824, to send diplomatic agents to Spanish America and to ask commercial treaties from the new states. In order to justify his new policy, Canning addressed to the European Powers a circular note in which he repudiated the doctrine of Pilnitz, still the basis of the Holy Alliance. He tried to eliminate from the wars against France their original character, which was that of two hostile principles in hand-to-hand conflict. He set forth only the character they had assumed later on as a struggle for the independence of the states. He claimed that the coalition was formed against imperial ambition and not, out of respect for legitimacy, against the government actually established in France. And he recalled with cruel malice that in 1814, even after having deposed Napoleon from the throne, the allies had thought of bestowing the conquered crown upon another than a Bourbon.

In 1826 and 1827 England made a fresh application of these doctrines, but this time on the European continent, and consequently nearer to inflammable materials.

Imperial France, without designing it, had given liberty to Spanish and Portuguese America by overturning at Madrid and Lisbon the two governments which held their colonies in such strict dependence. Brazil was still subject to the unnatural severity of the old colonial system when the house of Braganza, driven from the banks of the Tagus by the army of Junot (1808), took refuge there. The king, whom his colony sheltered and saved, was obliged to remove the ancient prohibitions and inaugurate a liberal system which, under the form of royalty (1815) and then of a constitutional empire (1822), guaranteed to those immense provinces internal peace and growing prosperity. The mother country was unwilling, after the fall of Napoleon and the return of her former king, to be left behind. John VI was obliged, in 1820, to grant Portugal a constitution which the intrigues of his second son, Dom Miguel, and the defeat of the Spanish Liberals (1823) caused to be torn up.

At the death of John VI (1826), Dom Pedro, the eldest son of that prince, the ex-emperor of Brazil and legitimate heir of the Portuguese throne, again abdicated that crown in favor of his daughter Doña Maria. But first he granted a new constitution. The absolutists on the banks of the

Tagus and of the Douro, supported by those of Spain, rejected both the Charter and the child-queen. Portugal was both a farm and a market for Great Britain. Many Englishmen possessed vast territories there. Its wines went to London and its manufactured goods came from England. An absolutist victory at Lisbon appeared to Canning as a defeat for English influence and English interests. He promised assistance to the Portuguese regency. On December 11, 1826, he announced to Parliament the measures which had been taken to that end. His speech made a great sensation, because for the first time since 1815 a great power stated in public, and with truth, the moral condition of Europe. Canning recalled the fact that when France had crossed the Pyrenees to restore to Ferdinand VII the powers of which his subjects had deprived him, England, without an army, without foolish expenditure, had wrested a hemisphere from this restored monarch; that, in a word, she had with one stroke of the pen reestablished the balance of the Old World by giving existence to the New. His country was not ignorant, he said, how many hearts and energetic arms, in their desire for what is best, were stretched out toward it. This force was that of a giant. The duty of England was to make the champions of exaggerated sentiments feel that their interest lay in not making such an empire their enemy. England in the conflict of opinions which agitated the world was in the position of the master of winds. She held in her hands the leathern bottles of Æolus. With a single word she could let loose the hurricane upon the world. These threats were directly levelled at the Holy Alliance. They disturbed Prince Metternich, who accused the English minister of wishing "to unchain the Revolution once more," but in every country they rejoiced the heart of the Liberals. A medal, struck in France in honor of Canning, bore on one side these words, "Civil and Religious Liberty in all the Universe"; and on the other side, "In the name of the nations, the French to George Canning."

The motto told the truth. It certainly was for two great things, civil liberty and religious liberty, or the rights of the citizen and the rights of conscience, that mankind had engaged in the great combat; and our fathers were right to wage it.

The intervention of England in Portugal, "authorized

by former treaties," was nevertheless far less striking than the eloquence of her minister. The enterprises of Dom Miguel, arrested for a time, had free course after the premature death of Canning (August 8, 1827), which was speedily followed by the return to power of the Tories. Further on we shall see this question solved by the triumph of a new policy among the western Powers.

**Liberation of Greece** (1827). — A few days before his death Canning signed the Treaty of London, by which three of the great Powers bound themselves to compel the Sultan to recognize the independence of the Greeks.

The insurrection of that people, long favored by Russia and rendered inevitable by Turkish cruelty, broke out in 1820. The governments condemned it at first. The English government opposed it because that struggle compromised the existence of Turkey, on whose preservation apparently depended the security of its Indian empire. "British liberalism," said Chateaubriand, "wears the liberty cap in Mexico and the turban at Athens." As for the Holy Alliance, it saw in this insurrection nothing but a rebellion. By a strange application of the doctrine of divine right it insisted that the principles of legitimacy ought to protect the throne of the chief of the Osmanlis. "Do not say 'the Greeks,'" Nicholas one day replied to Wellington, who was expressing to him England's sympathy for them. "Do not say 'the Greeks,' but 'the insurgents against the Sublime Porte.' I will no more protect their rebellion than I would wish the Porte to protect sedition among my own subjects" (1826).

A few months later, it is true, this language was contradicted by acts, for public opinion was becoming irresistible in favor of the Hellenes. All liberal Europe espoused a cause heroically maintained for national independence and religion. Sympathy was excited, even among the Conservatives, by that magic name of Greece, by the struggle of Christians against Mussulmans. In France the finger of scorn would have stigmatized any one who did not applaud the exploits of Odysseus, Botsaris, Canaris and Miaoulis, the audacious chieftains who led their palikaris into the thickest ranks of the janissaries and their fire-ships to the heart of the Mussulman squadrons. Poetry came to the succor of the insurgents. Lord Byron devoted to them his fortune and his life. The politicians were forced to

follow the current. Canning easily involved England. Beholding Italy subject to Austrian influence, Spain restored to friendly relations with France, and the East agitated by Russian intrigues or threatened by her arms, England was growing uneasy as the northern Powers thus approached the shores of the Mediterranean whither enormous trade was on the point of returning. She had many formidable vantage points in that sea, in Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian Isles. But they were fortresses and not provinces. From them she could watch and not control. It was of vital importance to England not to allow the Romanoffs to dominate at Nauplia and Constantinople, as the Hapsburgs were dominating at Naples, Rome and Milan, or the Bourbons at Madrid.

To forestall an armed intervention, which the Russians were already preparing, the British minister tried to settle everything himself by making the two parties accept his mediation. In March, 1826, Sir Stratford Canning, cousin of the prime minister, thought that, merely by the pressure of England, he was on the point of wresting from the Porte and imposing upon the Greeks a pacific solution. He asked the one party to renounce their "grand idea" of replacing the cross of Constantine upon Sancta Sophia and to be content at first with having a small but free country. To the Ottomans he said that the body of the empire would be strengthened by the amputation of a limb in which a germ of death was endangering the whole state. By this double-faced policy England reckoned upon keeping as her friends both the adversaries whom she had reconciled. But the Divan, deceived by the successes of the Egyptian army which had just captured Misolonghi and which held nearly the whole Morea, haughtily rejected these conditions. So the only resource was to reach an understanding with the Tsar for common action, or else see him reap alone the reward of isolated action.

France, the protectress of the Roman Catholics in the Levant, could not hold aloof. Austria, whom every movement terrified, remained inactive, awaiting events and husbanding her strength. Prussia was then too remote to interfere. Thus the three Powers, France, Russia and England, bound themselves by the Treaty of London (July 6, 1827) to put an end to the war of extermination which had been carried into the Peloponnesus by Ibrahim Pasha,

son of the viceroy of Egypt. The three allied squadrons burned the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino (October 20, 1827). Over this easy success far too much noise was made, and in his speech at the opening of Parliament the king of England deplored its occurrence. As the Sultan did not yet yield the Russians, who had just conquered Persian Armenia, declared war against him (April 26, 1828). Fifteen thousand Frenchmen disembarked in the Morea to aid in settling as quickly as possible this Greek question, so small at the beginning but now able to give rise to the most dreaded complications.

**Destruction of the Janissaries** (1826). **Success of the Russians** (1828–1829). — The Ottomans were incapable of resistance. Sultan Mahmoud had just exterminated the janissaries, a lawless militia, which had deposed or strangled several sultans, but had also victoriously carried the green standard from Buda to Bagdad. The corps had been corrupted by many abuses, which it defended by constant rebellions. This soldiery refused to drill or to obey, and Mahmoud mowed them down with grape-shot. Between the sixteenth and the twenty-second of June, 1826, in Constantinople alone 10,000 janissaries were slain by cannon or the bowstring, or burned alive in their barracks. Those in the provinces were hunted down in every direction.

The Sultan had just destroyed the inefficient but only military force of the empire before organizing another. The Russians made rapid progress, capturing Silistria in June, 1829, Erzeroum in July and Adrianople in August. The Turkish Empire seemed crumbling to pieces. Austria, trembling as the Russians approached the gates of Stamboul, joined France and England in imposing peace upon Nicholas. The latter, in spite of a visit to Berlin, could not obtain the effective assistance of Prussia. So, on September 14, 1829, he accepted the Treaty of Adrianople, which compelled restoration of his conquests. Nevertheless it gave him the mouths of the Danube, the right for his fleets to navigate the Black Sea, thus facilitating a direct attack upon Constantinople, and the protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia. The first two provinces were to be henceforth governed by hospodars for life and the last by a hereditary prince. This treaty, which saved Turkey, handed over the Danubian principalities to

Russian influence. But the allies hoped that the new Greek state, converted into a monarchy in 1831, would serve them as a basis of operations to counteract the diplomacy of the Tsar in the Eastern peninsula.

**Summary. State of the World of 1828.** — Without any violent revolution, but in consequence of the persevering efforts of wise men, France with Martignac, England with Canning and Portugal through Dom Pedro, took up again liberal traditions. To them Spain was to be led back by a change in the law of succession. In the New World ten republics were born and the only monarchy which remained there had become constitutional. On the old continent the new Hellenic state, the work of sentiment as much as of politics, had taken its place among the nations on the side of free institutions. In Italy, especially at Milan and Rome, in Germany, Hesse, Baden, Brunswick and Saxony a portentous fermentation announced to unpopular governments that revolutions could only be prevented by reforms. In Belgium and in Poland, under the lead of the clergy, the insurrection of nationalities and of religions was preparing which antagonistic religions and nationalities wished to smother. And lastly, commerce and manufactures, which had been developed in the calm of peace, letters, which were animated by a breath of renewal, and the periodical press, which was becoming a power, all favored the advance of public spirit toward popular independence and individual liberty. Thus, everything warned the governments to keep in that great liberal current which was traversing the world from one pole to the other, from Paris to Lima. Unfortunately there were princes and ministers who tried once more to resist that force which some call Providence or fate, and which to others is the irresistible result of a thousand causes, great or small, by which the common life of a nation and of humanity is determined.

## XXXV

### NEW AND IMPOTENT EFFORTS OF THE OLD RÉGIME AGAINST THE LIBERAL SPIRIT

**Dom Miguel in Portugal** (1828). **Don Carlos in Spain** (1827). — Absolutism, astonished and uneasy after its reverses, made a supreme effort to regain possession of the countries which had just broken from its control. The signal was given by Vienna which, under the direction of Prince Metternich, was the citadel of reaction. Dom Miguel had taken refuge there and from it kept Portugal in a state of incessant agitation, hoping to dethrone his niece, Doña Maria, then a child of seven. Dom Pedro had believed he could save his daughter's throne by marrying her to Dom Miguel and investing him with the regency. The regent swore fidelity to the Constitution (February 22, 1828), but four months afterwards proclaimed himself king. This perjury and usurpation was supported by the English Tories and seemed successful at first. Despotism terrorized the country. The victims of assassination, execution or banishment were numbered by thousands (1829).

Dom Miguel was the son of a sister of Ferdinand VII. The nephew was as bad as the uncle, and the king of Spain had given bloody pledges to the absolutists. Nevertheless the friend of the Jesuits was deemed too liberal. In 1825 Bessières, an adventurer of French origin, took up arms "to deliver the king held captive by the negroes" or Constitutionals. In 1827 the former soldiers of the Army of the Faith proclaimed his brother, Don Carlos, the leader of the clerical party, as king. This attempt did not succeed: but it was the beginning of an interminable war. Dom Miguel had rebelled two or three times against his father. The representatives of the old régime, the Apostolicals, as they called themselves in Spain, were accordingly as revolutionary as their adversaries of 1820. It will not be surprising to find soon this same contempt for law in the spirit and acts of their friends in France.

**The Wellington Ministry** (1828). **The Diet of Frankfort.** — Some time after the death of Canning the Tories returned to power with the Wellington ministry and tried to give a different direction to the policy of Great Britain. Zeal for the cause of Greece immediately slackened. The protection accorded the Portuguese Liberals was withdrawn. Wellington recalled the English corps which had been sent to the Tagus, stopped by main force an expedition of Constitutionals, and recognized Dom Miguel as king (1829). At home the importation of foreign grain was discouraged. The emancipation of the Roman Catholic Irish was opposed although O'Connell, "the great agitator," had already begun to stir the masses with the cry, "Justice for Ireland." Liberal opinion gained strength. In the following year it carried the Irish Bill. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader, succeeded in passing a resolution which made it no longer incumbent on all candidates for offices under the crown to prove that they received the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church. Hitherto all except Episcopalians had been excluded from office. Thus the Tories were obliged to bow before the current which was flowing toward free institutions.

Italy, in the stern grasp of Austria, no longer made any movement, and Germany was becoming equally silent. "Since 1815," wrote a Prussian ambassador, the personal friend of his king, "since 1815 we have lived weighed down with heavy chains. We have beheld all voices stifled, even those of the poets, and we have been reduced to seeking refuge in the sanctuary of science." Nevertheless, reforms in material interests were accomplished. The Zollverein was introduced, which suppressed internal customs-duties.

But in defiance of the independence of the Confederated States, the Diet of Frankfort in 1824 renewed its declaration that it would everywhere uphold royalty. That was saying in effect that for the simplest reforms the Liberals would be obliged to conquer the resistance of their respective sovereigns and of the armies of the entire Confederation, since the latter was self-appointed judge of whatever acts might compromise "the monarchical principle." The law was continued which in 1819 had established rigorous penalties against the press for a period of five years. A commission was further charged with "examining defects

in instruction," so as to subject the rising generation to an education in keeping with the spirit of the Holy Alliance. Lastly, as the debates of the Diet, hitherto public, seemed to disturb men's minds, the assembly decided to hold its deliberations in future only behind closed doors. The federal government hid itself in the shadow like the inquisitors of Venice. Alexander adopted the same measures with regard to the Polish Diet (1825).

**The Tsar Nicholas.** — In Russia the nation was summed up in one man, the Tsar. The prohibition issued by Alexander against bringing into Russia any books which treated of politics "in a manner hostile to the principles of the Holy Alliance" had been a hindrance to very few readers. But the moral contagion, which cannot be kept out by a line of custom-houses, crossed the frontier, and the new ideas gained a meagre following here and there. Alexander's last moments were darkened by the discovery of a formidable conspiracy which extended even to the army. "What harm have I done them?" he exclaimed sadly. No harm except in seeking to be the intelligence and will of 60,000,000 souls. Even in Russia there were already men who believed that that rôle was ended.

When Alexander died at Taganrog (December, 1825), his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, voluntarily repeated his renunciation of the crown. Nicholas, a third son of Paul II, was proclaimed Tsar. He was a man of iron, no harder to others than to himself. Convinced that he was a representative of the divine will, he consequently acted with perfect calmness, whether ordering the punishment of an individual, the execution of a people, or a war which was to carry off a million men. The plots formed under Alexander were not abandoned. Some of the conspirators aimed at overthrowing Tsarism by uniting all the Slavic population in one federal republic, like the United States. Others thought to force its surrender by imposing upon it a constitution. They brought over many regiments to their cause. On the day when the garrison of St. Petersburg was to take the oath to the new ruler, the sedition broke out. Before nightfall it was crushed. After a few executions in the provinces, Russia recognized her master in that prince who for a quarter of a century was to Europe the haughty and all-powerful incarnation of autocracy.

**The Polignac Ministry** (1829). **Capture of Algiers.** — Thus in Germany, Russia, and the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, the liberal spirit was again repressed. The allies of 1815 seemed to have conquered once more. In Great Britain it was awakening but under the prudent guardianship of the Tories. Hitherto it had been the privilege of France to move the world. To which side would she incline? If she were able to continue her liberal evolution peacefully, the new light would shine abroad without a shock and with a penetrating force well-nigh irresistible.

So long as M. de Martignac remained in the government the Liberals retained their hopes. Unhappily Charles X, docile to the counsels of the Congregation, supported his minister without liking him. After eighteen months his self-control was exhausted. On August 8, 1829, taking advantage of a slight rebuff imprudently inflicted by the Chamber on his ministers in a matter of minor importance, he replaced them by Messieurs De Polignac, De Labourdonnaie, and De Bourmont. The choice of such men by the monarch amounted to a declaration of war against the country. A crisis was inevitable. For ten months the opposition press constantly repeated that the government would end of necessity by a coup d'état, and the deputies declared in their address of reply to the king's speech, that the ministry did not possess their confidence. The Chamber was dissolved, but the 221 signers of the address were reelected. Royalty, vanquished in the elections, decided to make its own revolution.

The military success of the Algerian expedition encouraged this resolve. Thirty-seven thousand French troops, under the Count de Bourmont, had landed in Africa to avenge an affront to a French consul and had taken possession of the country and city of Algiers. The booty seized defrayed the cost of the expedition. Since that time Algeria has been a possession of France.

**The Revolution of 1830.** — On the 26th of July ordinances appeared which annulled the liberty of the press, rendered the last elections void and created a new electoral system. This was a coup d'état against public liberty. It overthrew the Charter, on which the return of the Bourbons to the throne of their fathers had been conditioned. The magistrates declared these ordinances illegal. Paris replied to

the provocation of the court by the three days of July 27, 28 and 29, 1830. This time resistance was legitimate, since both the burghers and populace fought those who had infringed the Constitution. Despite the bravery of the royal guard and of the Swiss, Charles X was vanquished. When he offered to withdraw the ordinances and then abdicated in favor of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux, he was answered by the watchword of revolutions, "It is too late." He again went into exile. Six thousand men had been slain or wounded. They were victims to the obstinacy of an old man, who, in the words of Royer-Collard, "had set up his government counter to society as if it existed against society, as if to give society the lie and defy it."

France saluted with almost unanimous acclamations this separation from the men and ideas of 1815. In again adopting the flag of 1789, she seemed also to be regaining possession of herself. She seemed to be winning the liberties which the Revolution had promised but had not yet bestowed. Reverentially she was about to divorce religion from politics in order to restore it to the place which it ought never to have quitted, in the temple and the individual conscience.

## XXXVI

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION OF JULY IN FRANCE. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LIBERAL CONSERVATIVES AND THE REPUBLICANS

(1830-1840)

**Character of the Period comprised between 1830 and 1840.** — Under the Restoration only two policies found themselves face to face. These were the policy of the Holy Alliance and that of the liberals. Thus the victory of that period is a summary of the obscure or brilliant, the generous or criminal, struggle between these two principles. After 1830 this conflict continued but was complicated by new interests.

The revolution of July, 1830, which in certain countries assured the victory to liberal ideas, seemed to promise it to others which it incited to insurrection. Meanwhile the half-ruined alliance of 1815 made an effort to maintain itself. If the western Powers, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal, escaped therefrom forever, the central and eastern states, Prussia, Austria and Russia, remained faithful to that alliance. But the principle of free society daily enlarged its scope like a sea which eats away its shores and thrusts its waves always farther inland. Thus gradually spreading it agitated Italy, shook Germany and raised Poland a moment from her bier.

The principal representative of the spirit of reaction in the preceding period had been Prince Metternich, with his calm skill and his cautious and temporizing policy. Now the Emperor Nicholas was its highest expression by his implacable energy and his activity as well as by the grandeur of his plans.

But new questions arise and divert attention from internal anxieties. The immense heritage of the Turkish Empire seemed about opening up, and men asked themselves uneasily who were to be its heirs. Egypt, on the shortest

road to India, was becoming civilized under a barbarian genius and the maritime powers were quarrelling over their influence on the Nile. Central Asia became the battlefield for the rival intrigues of England and Russia. The barriers which shut off the extreme East opened a little and were soon to fall before the commerce of the world. The activity of mankind expanded. From 1789 to 1815 men thought only of France, victorious or vanquished, and forgot Asia, where England was growing strong, and the New World, where the American Republic was noiselessly becoming a giant. Between 1815 and 1830 attention, still centred upon Europe, turned aside for a moment only to behold the birth of the new states of Spanish America. In the third period one must go from pole to pole, would he keep pace with civilization which wishes to complete its possession of the globe by commerce or by war, its two mighty instruments.

**King Louis Philippe.** — La Fayette said to the people at the city hall, pointing toward the Duke of Orleans, "There is the best of republics." Many thought like La Fayette. The private virtues of the prince, his noble family, his former relations with the leaders of the liberal party, the carefully revived memories of Jemmapes and Valmy, his simple habits and the popular education given to his sons in the public schools — all encouraged the hopes of the people.

The Duke of Orleans, the head of the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, was proclaimed king on August 9, after having sworn to observe the revised charter. The changes then made in the constitutional compact, or during the following months in the existing laws, were unimportant. The heredity of the peerage and the censorship of the press were abolished. The qualification for election was fixed at 500 francs and the qualification to serve as an elector at 200 francs. Thus the political rights of persons of fortune were maintained without specially stipulating those of intelligence. The article was suppressed which recognized the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion, and all the peerages created by Charles X were abolished. But in 1814 Louis XVIII had seemed to grant a charter of his own good will. In 1830 Louis Philippe accepted one which the deputies imposed. Therein lay the whole revolution. Nevertheless the fact must not be for-

gotten that rights, first violated by royalty, had been again violated by the Chamber, since the deputies had disposed of the crown and re-made the Constitution without a mandate from the country. This will prove for the Orleans dynasty an incurable source of weakness. The government, born of a fact and not of a principle, will not enjoy either the force formerly conferred by legitimacy or that which is to-day conferred by the national expression.

**The Laffitte Ministry** (1830). — The shock caused by the fall of the Restoration had imparted an unexpected strength to the republican party. This party must be taken into account first of all. It was flattered for awhile in the person of two men whom the republicans respected, General La Fayette, who was appointed commander of all the national guard of France, and M. Laffitte, who was called to the ministry (November 2). The popularity of the former was cleverly exploited until after the trial of the ministers of Charles X, and that of the second until the moment when it became necessary to make a plain declaration of sentiments on foreign policy.

France had the distinguished honor of riveting the attention of the world upon herself. At the crash of the throne which crumbled at Paris all the unpopular powers were compromised. We shall soon see that in Switzerland the aristocratic governments fell, and that liberal innovations were introduced into Germany. Italy was quivering with excitement. Spain was preparing a revolution. Belgium was separating from Holland. England herself, troubled and agitated, was on the point of wresting the Reform Bill from the Tories. Peace was more profitable to liberty than war and French ideas re-won the conquests which French arms had lost.

But was France to champion every European insurrection at the risk of inciting a general war and of shedding torrents of blood? The new king did not think so. Belgium had separated from Holland and wished to unite with France. Her advances were discouraged for fear of exciting the jealousy of England. The Spanish refugees wanted to make a revolution in their country. They were arrested on the frontier so that international law should not be violated even against a prince who was a secret enemy. Poland, liberated for a few moments by a heroic effort, appealed to France. Was it possible to save her by arms? As the

Poles themselves said in their national calamity, "God is too high and France is too far." The meagre assistance sent to her did not prevent Warsaw from succumbing. Its fall found a sad echo in the heart of every Frenchman. Italy, bound hand and foot by Austria, strove to break her chains. M. Laffitte wished to aid her. The king refused to follow his advice and called Casimir-Périer to the presidency of the Council.

**The Casimir-Périer Ministry** (1831). — This policy was esteemed too prudent. Casimir-Périer imparted to it a momentary grandeur by the energy with which he supported this system of moderation. He made two distinct declarations. The first was, that he desired order and legality, and consequently would combat the republicans and legitimists to the death if they employed riots to effect the triumph of their opinions; the second was that he would not plunge France into a universal war and consequently for the sake of peace would make every sacrifice compatible with the honor of the country. This haughty language was supported by deeds. Dom Miguel in Portugal had maltreated two Frenchmen. A fleet forced the defences of the Tagus, which were reputed impassable, and anchored 300 fathoms from the quays of Lisbon. The Portuguese ministers humbly made proper reparation. The Dutch invaded Belgium. Fifty thousand French entered the country and the flag of the Netherlands retreated. The Austrians who had once left the pontifical states returned thither. Casimir-Périer, determined to enforce the principle of non-intervention, sent a flotilla into the Adriatic, and troops landed and seized Ancona. This appearance of the tricolored flag in the centre of Italy was almost equivalent to a declaration of war. Austria did not accept the challenge but withdrew her troops.

At home the President of the Council followed with the same energy the line of conduct which he had marked out for himself. The legitimists were disturbing the western departments. Flying columns stifled the revolt. The workmen of Lyons, excited by their misery but also by agitators, rose, inscribing on their banners this plaintive and sinister motto: "To work and live or to fight and die." After a horrible conflict in the heart of the city they were disarmed and on the surface order seemed to be restored. Grenoble was a scene of blood in its turn. The so-called

plots of Notre Dame and of the Rue des Prouvaires broke out in Paris.

Such was the ministry of Casimir-Périer, an energetic struggle in which his strong will did not recoil at any obstacle for the cause of order. Colleagues, Chambers, the king himself, he dominated over them all. Such a life had exhausted his strength when he was stricken down by cholera (May 16, 1832).

**Ministry of October 11, 1832.** — Society was profoundly undermined by the partisans of Saint Simon and Fourier, who demanded another social order. These men as yet played the part of pacific apostles only, but the insurrection in Lyons had revealed the masses as an army fully prepared to apply their doctrines. The national guard with energy defended royalty when, after the funeral of General Lamarque, the republicans fought and lost the battle of June 5 and 6 behind the barricades of Saint Méry. This check disconcerted their party for a time. A month later the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of Napoleon, removed a formidable rival from the Orleans dynasty, which at the same time seemed to gain support by the marriage of Princess Louise to the king of the Belgians.

Another claimant also lost an opportunity. The Duchess de Berri had secretly landed on the coast of Provence with the title of regent, and endeavored to kindle civil war in the west in the name of her son, Henry V. But there were no longer either Vendeans or Chouans. The new ideas had penetrated thither almost more than elsewhere. "These people are patriots and republicans," said an officer, charged with fighting them. The country was promptly pacified and the duchess, after wandering from farmhouse to farmhouse, entered Nantes disguised as a peasant woman. Her adventurous freak showed the weakness of the legitimists. To complete their overthrow, M. Thiers, then minister, caused active search to be made for the duchess. She was found and confined at Blaye, where circumstances forced her to acknowledge a secret marriage which rendered all similar attempts in the future impossible.

**Success Abroad.** — Certain results of the French foreign policy reacted on their domestic policy. Thus the capture by French troops of the citadel of Antwerp, which the Dutch refused to restore to the Belgians, terminated a critical situation which might any moment have brought

on war. Further acquisitions in Africa as well as an expedition to the banks of the Scheldt cast a little glory on the French army.

In the East French diplomacy mediated between the Sultan and his victorious vassal, Mehmet Ali, the pasha of Egypt. The treaty of Kutaieh, which left Syria to Mehmet Ali, strengthened the viceroy of Egypt, the guardian in behalf of Europe of the two chief commercial routes of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf which England wished to seize.

In Portugal Dom Miguel, an absolutist prince, was dethroned and replaced by Doña Maria, who gave her people a constitutional charter (1834). In Spain Ferdinand VII died (1834), excluding from the succession his brother, Don Carlos, who was upheld by the retrograde party. Thus the whole peninsula might escape at the same time from the absolutist party had England and France been ready to combine and prevent another Congress of Laibach or Verona. The treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, signed on April 22, 1834, between the courts of Paris, London, Lisbon and Madrid, did, in fact, promise to the new Spanish and Portuguese governments the support of the two great constitutional countries against the ill-will of the northern courts. An army corps of 50,000 men was formed at the foot of the Pyrenees for the purpose of supporting, in case of need, the young Queen Isabella against the Spanish legitimists, the natural allies of the French legitimists.

**Insurrections at Lyons and at Paris** (1834). **Attempt of Fieschi** (1835). — At home the Chambers had at last passed a law organizing primary instruction (1833). In Parliament, on important questions, the ministry was sure of the majority. Though the jury often acquitted persons accused of political crimes, the army was faithful, and the first attempt against the life of the king caused royalty to profit by the horror which such crimes always inspire. "Well! They have fired at me," said the king. "Sire," replied Dupin, "they have fired at themselves."

The insurrections of April, 1834, at Lyons and at Paris, and the dramatic incidents of the trial of 164 republicans before the Court of Peers, led to the imprisonment or flight of nearly all their leaders and the momentary ruin of that party as a militant faction.

Meanwhile the violent had recourse again to assassina-

tion. At the review of July 28, 1835, Fieschi, a returned convict and forger, directed an infernal machine at the king. Eighteen persons were killed and twenty wounded. Among the slain was Marshal Mortier.

This horrible attempt appalled society. The ministry took advantage of the universal indignation to present the Laws of September concerning the Court of Assizes, the jury and the press. They were planned to render punishment for crime more severe and more prompt. They prohibited all discussion as to the principles of the government and curtailed the press.

**The Thiers Ministry** (1836). — The cause of order, earnestly upheld at home, was now triumphant. M. Thiers, President of the Ministerial Council after February 22, 1836, wished to repeat the foreign policy of Casimir-Périer. The Spanish Carlists were making threatening progress in the peninsula. M. Thiers decided to interfere. England herself requested it. This course indicated closer relations with that power and the intention of defending liberal ideas in Europe. The memory of the unfortunate intervention of 1823 would thus have been gloriously effaced.

The same ministry conceived and prepared another expedition. Desirous of further acquisitions in Algeria, M. Thiers ordered Marshal Clausel to attack Constantine, one of the strongest fortresses in Africa. He also intended to have General Bugeaud enter Spain at the head of 12,000 men. Thus the government, which had put down troubles at home, was about to exercise the activity of France abroad. The timorous king gave his consent to the expedition against Constantine, because cannon-shots fired in Africa, he said, were not heard in Europe; but he would allow no intervention in Spain. M. Thiers, rather than yield, quitted the ministry, where he was replaced by M. Molé as President of the Council.

**The Molé Ministry** (1836–1839). — The first part of M. Molé's ministry was marked by misfortunes. Marshal Clausel, whose forces were insufficient, failed in the expedition against Constantine. Prince Louis, the nephew of Napoleon, tried to rouse the garrison of Strasburg to revolt. He was arrested and conducted beyond the frontiers. His accomplices were brought before the jury, which discharged them because the principal culprit had been removed from its jurisdiction. This verdict displeased the

court. The ministry proposed a peculiar law which aimed at trying citizens and soldiers by different courts though accused of the same crime. The Chamber rejected it.

These checks were relieved during the following year by some successes. The army at last planted its flag upon the walls of Constantine (1837). To end a long standing quarrel with Mexico an expedition was despatched which took possession of Vera Cruz. Mexico paid a war indemnity. The Prince de Joinville was on the fleet. He displayed the same courage which his brothers had often shown in Africa. The birth of a son to the Duke of Orleans, to whom the king gave the name of Count of Paris, seemed to consolidate the dynasty.

But vigorous attacks upon the ministry were already preparing in the heart of Parliament. M. Molé had just recalled the French troops from Ancona in compliance with the terms of the treaty of 1833. It was asserted that the removal of the tri-colored flag from Ancona was a humiliation to France in Europe and the abandonment of a precious guarantee against Austria. French diplomacy was no more happy in the final regulation of the Dutch-Belgian affair. The Belgians by their revolution had aimed at separating two peoples of different language, religion and interests. But the treaty of the twenty-four articles, accepted by the French ministry, ceded to the king of Holland Belgian populations which had fought against him. Europe would not allow the friendly province of Luxemburg to be annexed to France, which would have covered a vulnerable point in the French frontier.

With a little more regard for the national honor and with a little more confidence in the national strength, it was said that those concessions for peace at any price might have been spared. But the real pretext of these attacks was what was called the insufficiency of the ministry. M. Guizot, the leader of the doctrinaires, who were a small but talented and ambitious party; M. Thiers, the leader of the Left Centre which vigorously condemned personal government; and M. Odilon Barrot, leader of the deputies opposed to the policy, but devoted to the person of the king, formed a coalition with the motto of 1830: "The king reigns, but does not govern." The ministry wished to resign. The king, whose cause was at stake, refused to allow it, and appealed to the country by dissolving the

Chamber. The ministry fought vigorously in the electoral battle, but was vanquished and fell. Jealousies in the distribution of offices caused the coalition to disband the day after its victory. Difficulties over the formation of a new ministry kept Paris in suspense for more than a month. Certain republicans, with more faith in gunshots than in the propaganda of ideas, attempted a revolution. They could not even get up a riot.

**Ministry of Marshal Soult** (1839). — At last a cabinet was formed under the presidency of Marshal Soult. None of the leaders of the coalition were members of it. Therefore it could be nothing but a Ministry ad interim. It did not last ten months.

Meanwhile, the Emir Abd-el Kader in Africa proclaimed the Holy War. Within two months the regular infantry of the Moslem chieftain was crushed at the battle of Chiffa. Still the great concern of this cabinet was not Algiers, but the redoubtable Eastern question, as we shall see later on.

# XXXVII

## CONSEQUENCES IN EUROPE OF THE REVOLUTION OF JULY

### (1830-1840)

**General State of Europe in 1830.** — The revolution of July was not the cause of the memorable events which occurred in Europe after the three days of Paris. Everything was ripe in England for the fall of the Tories; in Belgium, Italy and Poland for a national insurrection; in Spain and Portugal and in the bosom of the Germanic Confederation for enforcing the complaints of the constitutionals. The repressive policy, followed by the great states after 1815, had prepared the inflammable materials upon which fell a spark from the conflict at Paris. Then the fire burst out in every direction. At certain points it did its work and cleared the ground for new edifices. At others it was stopped, smothered for the moment. Some of the nations abandoned the system of authority for the contract system. That is, they repudiated the theory of aristocratic or royal rights and adopted that of the rights of the nation. Other peoples, held to the earth by powerful hands, moved restlessly, but were unable to gain their feet.

**England. Whig Ministry** (1830). **The Reform Bill** (1831–1832). — The first Parliament which assembled at London after the French Revolution of 1830 overthrew the Tory ministry, despite its illustrious leader, the Duke of Wellington. The Whigs assumed the direction of affairs and introduced a Reform Bill which suppressed fifty-six rotten boroughs, gave representation to the towns which had none, and created a multitude of new electors by lowering the electoral requirement in the towns to a household franchise of ten pounds sterling. Thus the English reform was much more liberal than the French. Thus the number of electors was almost doubled. England alone then had more than 800,000. But we shall see in 1848 the

fate of the Orleans monarchy staked on the question of adding 24,000 electors to a body of voters only a fourth as numerous as the voters in aristocratic England. Yet the population of the latter country was only half that of France. For fourteen months the Lords resisted the Commons, the ministers, the king himself, as well as popular demonstrations which brought together as many as 300,000 persons. They only yielded before the threat of the creation of enough liberal peers to change the majority. The Whigs also made Parliament pass two other liberal measures. The one in 1833 emancipated 600,000 negroes. This cost England 16,500,000 pounds sterling. The other in the following year was the new Poor Law which, while relieving distress, diminished the expenditure. In order to induce the Lords to accept the Reform Bill, Wellington, the Tory leader, had acknowledged sadly that the time was when the upper Chamber could make its sentiments prevail; that England must resign herself to wishing what the Commons wished. The English aristocracy, the strongest and richest in the world, and also the one which, during the past century and a half, had displayed the most political sagacity, announced in plaintive words its abdication as a governing class. The useful function was left it, which it has well fulfilled even to the present hour, of acting as a moderator or restrainer. Such a curb is as necessary in those great organisms called states as in powerful and dangerous machines of industry.

Thus, in the credit column of the revolution of July must be set down its influence upon the English people. This influence was bloodless and useful to both countries. In helping to hurl the Tories from power and elevating the Liberals to their place, France secured friends on the other side of the Channel. King Louis Philippe was able to offset the cold and haughty attitude of the courts of Germany and Russia by the "cordial understanding" with England. Hence the two western Powers, united for many years by a community of ideas and interests, were able to check reactionary ambitions and favor the legitimate aspirations of the peoples.

The first fruit of this alliance was the pacific solution of the Belgian question.

**Belgian Revolution** (August and September, 1830). — In 1815 the English had had Belgium given to Holland as in-

demnity for the Dutch colonies which they wished to keep. Moreover, they had descried in this combination a means of repressing and keeping watch upon France from the north-east. But Belgium, which had the French language, French laws and the French religion, felt the same repugnance as in the sixteenth century to joining the Batavian provinces. The king of the Netherlands increased this antipathy by quarrels with the Roman Catholic clergy and with the court of Rome. He prohibited French in the schools and law-courts and forbade the students of his kingdom to attend foreign universities. Writers were thrown into prison; journalists were condemned. Such was the irritation of the Belgians in 1829 that innumerable petitions addressed to the two Chambers protested against the abuses of authority perpetrated by the government. Thus, one month after the Paris revolution Brussels took fire. All the towns of Brabant and Flanders followed its example, and the Dutch army was driven back upon the citadel of Antwerp, the only point in the Belgian territory which remained to it.

England had viewed with displeasure this overthrow of the work of 1815. She lived in dread that France would occupy Antwerp and thus hold the mouths of the Scheldt and Meuse. The Speech from the Throne, drawn up by the Tory Ministry, censured the Revolution of Brabant. The broader spirit of the Whigs, aided by the moderation of Louis Philippe, prevented complications. In the conference which assembled at London on November 4, 1830, the northern Powers themselves acknowledged the impossibility of maintaining the union under the same sceptre of two so different populations. It was decided to permit the organization of a Belgian kingdom on the sole condition that the king should not be selected from any one of the five royal houses whose representatives sat in the conference. Thus, when the Congress of Brussels elected the Duke de Nemours, the second son of Louis Philippe, that prince refused for his house an honor which would have imperilled France (February, 1831). A few months later another election called to the throne of Belgium the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, whose sagacity assured the new state an unflagging prosperity through forty years. The conference finished its work by deciding that 50,000 French troops should enter Belgium to repel the aggression of the Dutch. The capture of Antwerp, after operations memorable for the

skill of both the besiegers and the besieged, settled the question from a military point of view. Diplomacy spent more than six years in reaching the point of persuading the two parties to sign the definite treaty in April, 1839. The perpetual neutrality of Belgium was recognized by all the Powers.

**Liberal Modifications in the Constitutions of Switzerland (1831), of Denmark (1831) and of Sweden (1840).** — In northern countries, whether it be those regions which incline toward the pole or those which, under a less elevated latitude, lie at the foot of Alpine glaciers, passion is less vigorous and action is more restrained. Switzerland in 1815 was compelled to conform to the Holy Alliance. The wealthier classes of Europe and America did not then as now every summer flock to the mountains and spend their money. The principal source of revenue was the wages of Swiss regiments at Rome, Naples, Madrid, in France, and even in the Netherlands. Until 1830 Switzerland was necessarily deferential to the powers of the day. She tolerated the Jesuits in the Valais and at Freiburg. At the demand of foreign ministers she dealt severely with the press and restricted the right of asylum which refugees from every land invoked on her soil. On the news that France was freeing herself from the reactionary policy, nearly all the cantons, by legal means and the pressure of public opinion, demanded more liberal institutions. Austria massed troops in the Vorarlberg and the Tyrol to intimidate the Liberals, but the Diet decreed a levy of 60,000 men and 100,000 took up arms. The sovereigns, menaced by the Belgian revolution and the ever increasing agitation of Italy and Germany, made haste to send assurances of peace. Abandoned to themselves the aristocratic governments of Switzerland crumbled to pieces. The nobles lost their former immunities, and that wise people effected its political evolution without shedding a drop of blood. Only later on were there violent disturbances at Neuchâtel, whose inhabitants rebelled against the king of Prussia, their sovereign, and at Basle, where the burghers insisted upon retaining privileges to the detriment of the rural communes.

Denmark did not experience even these slight disorders. The king, of his own initiative, instituted four provincial assemblies for the Islands, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein (1831). Later on he gave a General Diet to the

whole kingdom (1849). Sweden was still more patient. Permeated after 1830 by liberal ideas, she waited until 1840. Then she reconstructed her government by instituting two elective chambers, made the ministers responsible, and abolished the hereditary rights of the nobility, although maintaining the distinction of orders.

**Revolutions in Spain** (1833) **and in Portugal** (1834). **Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance** (1834). — The South, where passions are more ardent, was disturbed by armed insurrections and revolutions. At Madrid Ferdinand VII still satisfied the heart of the absolutists. At first he refused to recognize the new king of France and encouraged by sympathy at least the mad enterprise of the Duchess of Berri. But he exhumed a secret declaration of Charles IV in 1789 which revoked the pragmatic sanction of Philip V. That sanction allowed a daughter to ascend the throne only in default of sons. This declaration was a return to the ancient law of succession, which had formed the greatness of Spain by the union of Aragon and Castile under Isabella the Catholic, and which had bestowed the crown on Charles V. Moreover, the king felt no scruples at dispossessing his brother, Don Carlos, who had twice tried to dethrone him. Maria Christina gave birth to a daughter, Isabella, who, on the death of Ferdinand, became queen in September, 1833, under the guardianship of her mother. The "apostolicals," trampling on national traditions and faithless to their principle of the divine right of kings which had permitted Charles II in 1700 to bequeath his peoples as his own property even to a stranger, took the part of Don Carlos. He prepared to claim the throne sword in hand. In consequence the regent, to save the crown for her daughter, was obliged to seek the support of the constitutionals. Thus a family quarrel was destined to restore the Spanish government to the Liberal party; but a civil war of seven years' duration was unchained upon the peninsula.

Don Carlos first took refuge with Dom Miguel who, aided by Marshal Bourmont, by French legitimists, and the absolutists of Portugal, was defending his usurpation against his brother, Dom Pedro. The latter was upheld by the effectual sympathy of France and England. On July 8, 1832, the constitutionals seized Oporto. In the following year the victories of Saint Vincent and Lisbon put them in

possession of the capital. At last the treaty of the Quadruple Alliance was concluded in April, 1834, with England and France by Dom Pedro and Maria Christina in the name of their daughters, the young Queens Doña Maria and Isabella II. This constrained Dom Miguel to leave the kingdom.

Thus defeated in Portugal, the absolutists understood that they must hold their ground in Spain or their cause would be lost in Western Europe and compromised everywhere. Don Carlos raised the northern provinces to insurrection, and especially the whole Basque country, which was still devoted to its ancient fueros and hostile to centralization at Madrid. The Carlist bands infested all the Pyrenees. Under Gomez and Cabrera they penetrated to the environs of Madrid. Zumalacarreguy even succeeded for a time in substituting the guerilla conflicts, which settle nothing, by war on a great scale, which might end everything. He was mortally wounded in 1835 before Bilbao.

The Carlists had summoned to their aid all those whom the revolution of July had vanquished or menaced. As a matter of course the partisans of Henry V upheld the Spanish pretender. But it was impossible for the northern courts to send him regular forces. The fleets of England and France barred the sea and the Pyrenees were remote from Vienna, Berlin and Moscow. The Tsar looked with wrath upon this struggle which was going on far from his reach. Secret encouragement and subsidies came above all from Naples and St. Petersburg. For their part the western Powers encouraged the formation of English and French legions, which were veritable armies. The French legion numbered 7000 men (1835). Thus the two policies, which divided Europe between them, did not dare to come into direct collision, but fought at a distance, and by intermediaries, on the banks of the Ebro. This was because Austria and Prussia, who felt Italy and Germany quivering beneath them, hesitated to unlease the dogs of war, and because Louis Philippe, despite his alliance with England, did not wish to endanger the general peace by less discreet and indirect intervention.

The struggle was conducted with the horrors usual in Spanish wars, although in the ranks of both parties were many volunteers. Some had joined out of devotion to a cause or to serve a military apprenticeship. Others came

from the curiosity of a tourist or even to give vent to restlessness and love of adventure. Instead of hunting the wolf and the wild boar a man passed a spring or autumn in hunting the Christinos or the Carlists in the mountains. This lasted until 1840 amid sanguinary vicissitudes and political intrigues which overthrew many ministries at Madrid. Espartero, whom the regent pompously created Duke de la Victoria, put an end to the Carlist war and then expelled Maria Christina (October, 1840) and usurped her place as regent. Three years later he was expelled in turn by Narvaez (July, 1843). Under the hand of this rough soldier the Spanish monarchy became almost constitutional though strongly conservative.

**Impotent Efforts of the Liberals in Germany and Italy** (1831). **Defeat of the Polish Insurrection** (1831). — Thus, Northern Europe and all the West entered into the movement which began on the fall of Charles X. Other countries would gladly have followed this example, but they found themselves restrained by bonds too strong to be broken. Their princes cherished aversion and wrath, which they did not always control, for what had just taken place in France.

The consequences of the revolution of July did not make themselves felt, at least ostensibly, in the two great German monarchies. Absolute power in Austria and Prussia was protected by a powerful military establishment, by the alliance of the government at both Berlin and Vienna with the state church, by the support of a numerous nobility which took for its motto "God and the king," and by the politic reserve of a burgher class on whom manufactures and commerce had not as yet bestowed fortune, and with it the sense of strength and a legitimate pride. Frederick William III contented himself by relaxing the control of the press and by rendering censorship more mild. These concessions were not dangerous. Moreover, he counterbalanced them by the advantages which resulted for Prussia from the completion of the Zollverein. Thus he turned men's minds aside from burning questions of government and paved the way for the political hegemony of Prussia by her commercial hegemony (May 11, 1833).

Things went on otherwise in the petty states. Brunswick, the two Hesses, Saxony, Hanover, Oldenburg and Bavaria were agitated by movements which dethroned many

princes and obliged others to concede charters and reforms. But, when Russia had "caused order to reign in Warsaw" and when the French government had triumphed over the revolutionary spirit by its victory over both the legitimists and the republicans, the diplomats of Austria and Prussia returned to the stage and again put in action the Diet of Frankfort, a convenient instrument on which they played to perfection. The Diet was still presided over by Austria and was under her influence. In June, 1832, it decreed that the princes required the coöperation of the representative assemblies only for the exercise of certain rights, and that these assemblies could not refuse the means necessary for the execution of the measures which interested the Confederation as a whole. A commission was appointed to watch over the deliberations of the Chambers, as commissions had already been appointed to keep an eye upon the press and education. Of these three suspects Prince Metternich never lost sight. Another regulation ordered the princes to lend each other mutual aid and to surrender to each other political prisoners. A few months later (August, 1833) the two great Powers, who distrusted the activity of the Diet and the energy of its commissioners, had themselves authorized to constitute a commission whose task was to put a stop to revolutionary attempts. In this commission they admitted the representatives of Bavaria, so as to disguise the sort of abdication which the Diet had just made into their hands. Arrests and proscriptions began again all over Germany. The Tsar, who had come to Münchengrätz in Bohemia for the purpose of personally strengthening the sovereigns of Prussia and Austria in their ideas of resistance, obtained from them the expulsion of the Polish refugees who were to be transported to America.

One can realize how much liberty remained to the thirty-nine states whose independence had been recognized by the Congress of Vienna. From her hatred of liberal institutions Austria was constantly inciting the Diet to encroach upon the sovereignty of the princes. Thus, little by little, the Confederation became a motley body which lacked only a head. Austria was firmly convinced that she was destined to become that head. But on the day when the stage curtain of Frankfort was torn away, it was Prussia which was to appear, victorious and menacing with her motto, "Might makes right." Prince Metternich was to learn too late that

he had toiled for half a century only to aid Austria's rival and to enable her without scruple to dethrone kings and humiliate kings and effect the unity of Germany against Austria quite as much as against France.

In Italy the king of Naples, Ferdinand II, reassured by the paid fidelity of his Swiss regiments, waited for an insurrection which every one foresaw. Louis Philippe, his brother-in-law, sent him a memorandum of General Pepe, indicating the reforms which must be made in order to avert a catastrophe. He read it, returned thanks, and replied, like Cæsar, "They will not dare." He was right so far as Naples was concerned, at least during his lifetime. But on February 4, 1831, Bologna rose, then Umbria and the Romagna, and at the end of a month the Pope retained hardly more than the Roman Campagna. The brothers, Charles and Louis Napoleon, offered their aid to the leaders of the insurrection, in which the former lost his life. Parma and Modena also expelled their princes. The Austrians seized upon this pretext to cross the Po, reëstablish the fugitives, and crush the movement in the Romagna.

The Italian patriots had counted upon France. The French government announced to the Powers that its foreign policy would be regulated by the principle of non-intervention; but it had no idea of going to war for the purpose of forcing this principle into European law. So the Austrians were left free to overwhelm the inhabitants of the Romagna and to violate the conventions which they had signed. Only when they seemed to be establishing themselves permanently in Ferrara and Bologna Louis Philippe occupied Ancona for seven years. This action possessed a certain grandeur and exercised due influence. Following the example of the king of Naples, the Pope hired a small army of mercenaries. The States of the Church presented the singular spectacle of the sovereign pontiff living under the protection of foreign bayonets; for the Swiss were at Rome, the French at Ancona and the Austrians at Bologna. In the midst of these trans-Alpine troops the cardinals and legates administered affairs and judged and condemned to exile, to prison and the galleys just as under the paternal absolutist governments. But the five great Powers recognized the fact that the spirit of revolt was being nursed in a manner dangerous to the repose of Europe by such a detestable administration. At the

invitation of France they drew up the memorandum of May, 1831, in which they begged the Holy Father to grant certain civil rights to laymen and to introduce certain reforms. Cardinal Bernetti promised "a new era," but, the danger once past, everything went on as before. From one end of the peninsula to the other, except in Tuscany and Piedmont, the rigors of 1816 and of 1821 appeared again. Military commissions were formed, severe measures were taken against the universities, foreign books were prohibited, men were condemned to the galleys for a word, for a thought. After a riot at Syracuse, Ferdinand II ordered fifty-two persons to be shot. Never were rulers and ministers blinder to the dangers with which an unseasonable policy is attended. They did not perceive that by repressing the legitimate aspirations of the constitutionals they were forming republicans. Mazzini was replacing Pepe and Santa Rosa.

In Eastern Europe a most formidable insurrection began. Poland rose as one man, set up a regular government, organized a powerful army, made war on a great scale and for a time held in check all the forces of the Russian Empire. Here again as in Italy, men desired political freedom, but national independence above all. The movement broke out on November 29, 1830. Through excess of prudence, after an excess of rashness, no attempt was made to propagate the insurrection in the Polish provinces outside the eight palatinates that formed the kingdom as constituted by the Congress of Vienna. The partitioners of 1773 were of one mind in upholding their work. While 100,000 Russians marched on Warsaw, 60,000 Prussians in the Duchy of Posen and as many Austrians in Galicia guarded against the revolutionary contagion the share of Polish spoils which had fallen to them. Moreover, the two governments of Vienna and Berlin agreed to intercept all communication of the insurgents with Europe and to unite their forces with those of Russia if the revolt invaded their provinces. Prussia did even more. After the sanguinary battles of Wawre and Grochow in February, 1831, and of Dembe and Ostrolenka in March and May, Marshal Paskevitch changed his plan of forcing Warsaw from the front and resolved to attack the city by the right bank of the Vistula. This bold and dangerous march would separate him from his base. Frederick William III opened to him

Königsberg and Dantzic, so that he might be able to revictual his army. This was direct coöperation in the war and a violation of the principle of non-intervention professed by the western Powers. Nevertheless they raised no serious objection, although the Polish cause was very popular in France and England. In those two countries committees were formed which sent to Poland money, volunteers and arms. But at Paris, as at London, the governments were fully resolved not to intermeddle in a quarrel which lay outside the sphere of their military action.

King Louis Philippe negotiated, so as to have the air of doing something. The British Cabinet, which also held hostile nations, like Ireland and India, in harsh dependency, declared that the rights of the Tsar were indisputable. Abandoned to their own resources, the Poles were doomed to succumb. Warsaw fell on September 8, 1831, after a heroic resistance. Nicholas, erasing from the treaties of 1815 the articles which conceded to Poland an independent existence with national institutions, converted her territory into Russian provinces. The patriots were exiled and suspected persons were stripped of their possessions. Russian became the official language. Roman Catholicism was the religion of the land. It was deprived of a number of churches which were bestowed upon the Orthodox Greek faith. While all Roman Catholic propaganda was prohibited, religious apostasy as well as political desertion was encouraged. Nicholas would have liked to suppress even the history of Poland. At all events he blotted out her name. In official documents Poland is now called the governments of the Vistula.

# XXXVIII

## THE THREE EASTERN QUESTIONS

### (1832-1848)

**Interests of the European Powers in Asia.** — The Eastern Question is threefold rather than single or double. The first form is discussed on the shores of the Bosphorus, and the second in the centre of Asia. In both the antagonists are Russia and England. It is of prime necessity to the latter to control every route which leads to her Indian Empire. Therefore she desires the maintenance of those states in Western Asia which Russia menaces by her arms or her diplomacy. The third form of the Eastern Question concerns the eastern portions of the Asiatic continent, including China and Japan. It interests Russia and Great Britain primarily, but in less degree the United States and all maritime nations. Such questions require many years to settle. Although puzzled over so long by the world, they are still only in their preliminary stages.

This portion of modern history does not present the spectacle, which we have just considered in the West, of two societies in the name of different ideas striving with each other for universal acceptance. In place of a war of two abstract principles, we shall behold a hand-to-hand conflict of mercantile interests and territorial expansion. The two Powers which play the principal part in these events seek mainly the acquisition of provinces or guineas. Moral considerations are constantly lost from sight. Thus British cannon force the Chinese government to allow the introduction of opium from British India, so that the deficit of the East India Company may be made good. But man often accomplishes a better work than he designs. After the violent deeds of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings and the aggressive wars and cruel sentences of the Tsars, India is being covered with a network of railroads, and the Siberian waste dotted with commercial cities. Security and social

life are transforming the steppes of the nomads which they never visited before.

**The First Eastern Question. Constantinople.** — The Tsar Nicholas cherished vast designs. His states already covered half of Europe and a third of Asia. But Russia had no outlet of the south, and her ports on the Baltic were frozen up a large portion of the year. Only by the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles could she reach the Mediterranean, and they were closed against her. "Constantinople is the key of the Russian house." It dominates Greece, Western Asia, and the passages to the Indies by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Between the Russians and most of the Christian subjects of the Sultan there was strong religious affinity, as both were members of the Orthodox or Greek Church. In 1829 the troops of Nicholas had captured Adrianople and advanced within a few leagues of the Golden Horn. His eyes were still fixed upon the "second capital of the Roman Empire." Once established in that impregnable position, he could have undertaken the project of Napoleon against the British domination in India.

But, though Austria was in political alliance with the Russians, their ambitious hopes caused her great anxiety. Herself a half-Slav state, she dreaded to have them penetrate the valley of the Danube and wave the flag of pan-Slavism before her populations of the same blood. Moreover, herself a maritime power, their establishment in the seaports of the Levant would ruin her commerce. But the Tsar could not reach Constantinople by land without a sort of permit of transit from the Austrians, and the English would bar his path by sea. By securing Galicia and Bukovina as her share of Poland, Austria had occupied the upper valleys of the Pruth and Dniester. Hence the road which the Russian army must follow to the Marmora was a line 400 miles in length, perpendicular to the military roads of Austria, and might be cut at a thousand points, whenever the Sultan should summon that power to his aid and throw open to its armies the valley of the Danube. Certain of finding the Austro-Hungarian forces on this road and the English in the Dardanelles, Nicholas waited for fresh complications and contented himself with imposing on the Sultan his haughty protection.

**Decline of Turkey. Power and Ambition of the Viceroy of Egypt.** — Turkey was rapidly descending that declivity

which is so difficult for a nation to reascend. In 1774 she had lost the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper; in 1772, the left bank of the Dniester; in 1812, Bessarabia as far as the Pruth; in 1829, the mouths of the Danube and a part of Armenia. Thus the bulwarks of the empire had been falling away one after the other. Greece had won her freedom. Montenegro had never been subdued. The Servians, Moldavians and Wallachians under the protection of Russia had formed national governments and owed only a small tribute to the Porte. Although the rebellion of Ali Pasha of Yanina had been put down, the reforms of Sultan Mahmoud for the time being weakened rather than strengthened this state because they roused the indignation of the faithful and of the Oulema. Thus the domination of the Sultan was seriously threatened in Europe. The four or five million Ottomans, swallowed up in the midst of twelve or fifteen million Christians, seemed destined to retain their supremacy only a short time longer. The intervention of Europe had been required to save them when the treaty of Adrianople was made. They maintained a precarious existence, partially through their ancient habit of command and specially by the quarrels of their subjects, who belonged to different races and had conflicting passions and interests.

While everything was on the decline in the north of the empire, a new power was forming in its southern provinces. Mehmet Ali, a Roumelian adventurer, had taken advantage of the disorganization of Egypt, after the departure of the French, to carve a place for himself and in 1806 to grasp the power. He had crowned this usurpation by throwing into the sea an English corps which had seized Alexandria (1807). Then he had fortified his authority after the Oriental fashion by massacring the Mamelukes whom he had lured into an ambush. The fierce Wahabites, the Protestants of Islam, had captured Mecca, Medina and Damascus. He exterminated them in a war which lasted six years. Thus to Mussulman orthodoxy he restored its holy cities and its sanctuary, and enabled it in safety to make the annual pilgrimage. His conquest of Sennaar, Kordofan and Dongola, in the valley of the upper Nile, restored some pride to that empire which was wasting away everywhere else. After the terrible expedition of his son, Ibrahim, to the Morea, it was believed that he would have crushed the

Greek insurrection had not the European powers interfered at Navarino. In consequence, in the East the viceroy of Egypt was encircled with a double halo as religious restorer and invincible conqueror. In Europe, and especially in France, he was considered a reformer. With the aid of French engineers and officers he created a merchant and a war-fleet, organized an army, which was drilled in European style, constructed various arsenals and workshops, and founded schools. To render these enterprises possible, he had effected such a revolution as was possible only with the fellahs, one of the meekest peoples on earth. They had been trained by sixteen centuries of servitude to endure everything without a murmur. Not only had he as sovereign declared himself sole proprietor of the soil, which in Mussulman countries is in full accordance with the written law, but he had gone still farther and appropriated to himself the monopoly of agriculture and trade. Hence, as sole proprietor, sole producer and sole merchant in all Egypt, he never lacked money for an undertaking or soldiers for his regiments.

**Conquest of Syria by Ibrahim Pasha** (1832). **Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi** (1833). — In all ages the masters of Egypt have been desirous to possess Syria and the great islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Thus they might obtain building timber, in which Egypt is absolutely lacking, and harbors to supplement Alexandria, which until the creation of Port Saïd by M. De Lesseps was the only port in the Delta. To reward his services in Greece, Crete was added to the provinces of Mehmet Ali. This did not satisfy his ambition, which could only content itself by regenerating or dismembering the empire. For his share he aimed at Syria, whose mountain fastnesses covered the approach to Egypt and overhung the route to India by way of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. Under the pretext of pursuing some fellah fugitives and ending a personal quarrel with the pasha of Saint Jean d'Acre, his son, Ibrahim Pasha, in 1831 attacked that stronghold which had resisted General Bonaparte. He captured it and subdued the whole of Syria. The first army sent by the Sultan against him was destroyed in many encounters. A second Ottoman army lost the great battle of Konieh, north of the Taurus, in December, 1832. The road to Constantinople was open, and Ibrahim was hurrying thither. Mahmoud in

terror implored the assistance of Russia. The fleet from Sebastopol immediately entered the Bosphorus, where 15,000 Russians landed while 45,000 crossed the Danube "to save the Sultan." France and England were in consternation at the arrival of the Russians, and persuaded Mahmoud and his vassal to accept the Convention of Kutaïah in May, 1833, which gave over Syria to Mehmet Ali. The Russians withdrew, but by the treaty of Hunkiar Iskelessi, signed in June, 1833, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Tsar and the Sultan. A single clause, aimed at France and England, stipulated that the Dardanelles should be shut to all foreign warships.

The Treaty of Adrianople had closed one act in the momentous drama of the Eastern Question. That of Hunkiar Iskelessi closed another. After having begun the dismemberment of Turkey, the Tsar placed that empire under his protection. Had Europe interposed no obstacle to that protection, it would soon have reduced the Ottoman Empire to a Russian dependency.

**The Treaty of London (1840) and the Treaty of the Straits (1841).** — Six years passed, during which Sultan Mahmoud made every preparation to overthrow the pasha by whom he had been humbled. In 1839 he thought that his troops were sufficiently disciplined to cope with the Egyptians, and he confided to them the task of regaining the provinces which the Convention of Kutaïah had wrested from him. Ibrahim Pasha at the battle of Nezib again destroyed the Ottoman army. By that victory, for a second time the road to Constantinople lay open. But if he marched upon it, he was sure to find it defended by the Russians. The intervention of Europe brought the victorious Egyptian to a halt.

Sultan Mahmoud died six days before the news of the fatal battle of Nezib reached Constantinople. He was succeeded by his son, Sultan Abd-ul Medjid, who desired peace with his resistless vassal. The Kapoudan Pasha, Achmet, through hatred for the grand vizier, surrendered the entire Ottoman fleet to the viceroy of Egypt in the harbor of Alexandria. The Ottoman Empire, then without ships and soldiers, could be saved from annihilation only by the interference of the great Powers.

England was haunted by the dread of a Russian army in

Constantinople. Nor was she willing that Egypt, which lay upon one route to India and in which French influence was then paramount, should become too strong. Austria and Prussia followed in her wake. Russia, who was not then ready to act alone, preferred to have the feeble Ottomans at Constantinople rather than the energetic and successful viceroy. France only was warmly on his side.

On July 15, 1840, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria signed the Treaty of London. It specified that Mehmet Ali should enjoy the hereditary possession of Egypt and should retain Saint Jean d'Acre during his life, but that within the space of ten days he should evacuate all his other provinces and restore them to Turkey. The four Powers charged themselves with the execution of these terms and also agreed to depose Mehmet Ali in case of his resistance.

The viceroy refused to submit. Thereupon an English squadron bombarded Beyrout, burned the Egyptian fleet, and almost destroyed Saint Jean d'Acre, the base of Egyptian supplies. The contest was too unequal. Mehmet Ali yielded, being guaranteed the possession of Egypt.

France had not even been invited to the congress which drew up the Treaty of London. The tortuous and ignoble policy of Louis Philippe which, while sacrificing much to retain alliance with England, was making overtures to the absolutist Powers, had gained France only isolation and humiliation. The tidings that she had been utterly ignored, while the other states decided the question of the hour, caused intense indignation throughout the country. The timorous government seemed at first to sympathize with the explosion of national sentiment. It commenced fortifying the strongholds, increasing the army and throwing up extensive works around the city of Paris. It seemed threatening to draw the sword, which, however, it did not draw.

The king became alarmed. He abandoned the ministry, which he had followed at first. M. Thiers yielded his place to M. Guizot, and the new head of the Cabinet made haste to offer his hand to the Powers from whom his country had just received an insult. On July 13, 1841, he signed the Convention of the Straits. This was a double success for Lord Palmerston. He could point at the humble return of France to "the European concert" and at Russia under compulsion renouncing the secret clause of the treaty of

Hunkiar Iskelessi, for the new treaty closed both the straits to ships of war. So this third act in the drama, acted around Constantinople, terminated to the advantage of England.

**The Second Eastern Question. Central Asia.** — The English had taken possession of India, and the Russians of Siberia. Between them there intervened the whole breadth of China, Turkestan, Persia and Afghanistan. The two nations might well imagine that their frontiers would never touch. But during half a century they were drawing ever nearer. To-day they stand almost face to face. To-morrow they may be engaged in a hand-to-hand death struggle.

**Progress of the Russians in Asia.** — The king of Georgia, a country on the southern slope of the Caucasus, in 1796 implored and obtained the assistance of Catherine II against the Persians. For the purpose of affording him better protection the Russians took possession of Derbent on the Caspian, of Daghestan, and of nearly the whole country as far as the Koura. Gradually the entire kingdom became a Russian province. Later on they seized from the Ottomans the mouth of the Faz (1809), and from the Persians Shirvan (1813), and Armenia south of the Koura as far as its tributary, the Aras (1828). They had reached Mount Ararat. The central barrier of the Caucasus was not yet crossed, but it was flanked, and some day was sure to fall. This occupation of the trans-Caucasian isthmus gave moreover to the Russians an excellent base of operations, either to attack Turkey from the rear and threaten Persia, or to control the Caspian and the Euxine. The Koura emptied into the one sea, and the Faz into the other. The lawless Circassian mountaineers were still unsubdued. A line of fortified posts was drawn year by year more closely around them, and by degrees forced them back into the wild gorges and upon the desolate mountain tops. Nevertheless Schamyl, their hero and prophet, maintained the "holy war" for twenty-five years and wore out successive Russian armies. In 1859 he was surrounded and captured. With him fell the independence of those restless tribes. South of the Caucasus the Tsar then possessed eight provinces, buttressed by the mountains which were occupied by his troops and covered on their flanks by strong fortresses and two great seas. United in one great military government, of which Tiflis is the centre, these provinces

form an impregnable advanced post for the Russian Empire. Thence her armies can take, on the right, the road to Scutari, whose heights command Stamboul, or, on the left, the road to Teheran, the capital of Persia. The merchant marine of Odessa and Taganrog, protected by the fleet of Sebastopol, the new military post, commanded the Black Sea. The Caspian became a Russian lake, for an article of the treaty of Tourmantchai stipulated that the Russians should have full liberty to navigate its waters and that no other nation should maintain armed vessels thereon. Thus steamer-landings, even in Persian waters, might be converted into small forts and mark out the track of future expeditions, either toward the south shore, not far distant from which rises the capital of Persia, or toward the eastern shore in the direction of Khiva and Turkestan. At the same time, Russia was advancing toward the latter countries over the immense steppes of the Kirghiz Kazaks. Stationing a war flotilla on the Sea of Aral and staking out the desert with fortresses, they would be able some day to reach the fertile regions of ancient Bactriana.

**Progress of the English in Asia.** — While Europe was occupied against republican and imperial France with wars, which England subsidized, England was completing the subjection to herself of the 200,000,000 inhabitants of India. In 1816 Nepaul, in the north of Hindustan, and two years later, the valiant Mahratta tribes in the Deccan, were forced to submit to British control. Each prince received at his court a resident or officer of the Company who exercised supervision. At each capital, to hold the native sovereign in submission, an English garrison was stationed, the pay of which was guaranteed from the revenues of one district in the state. Thus, without any cost to themselves, the English provided themselves with a numerous army, which ruled the Deccan and the valley of the Ganges. In 1824–1826 they made their way into India beyond the Ganges, wrested 200 leagues of sea-coast from the people of Burmah, rendered the kingdom of Assam tributary and seized Singapore and Malacca. Thus the Bay of Bengal was converted into an English sea and the great commercial highway to Indo-China was commanded. In that quarter they were thinking only of their commercial interests. On the northwest they had to take measures for their security.

**Underhand Conflict between the English and the Russians in Central Asia.** — After the treaty of Tourmantchai (1828), the Russian influence was predominant at Teheran. When the populace of that city, angry at the harsh conditions of peace, massacred the Russian ambassador, his family and all the members of his household, the king of kings hastily sent his grandson to St. Petersburg to make the amplest reparation. The Tsar was merciful. But Feth Ali, the founder of the Khadjar dynasty, who since 1797 had bravely resisted his formidable neighbor, was forced to realize that the glorious days of Nadir Shah, when Ottomans, Mongols and Russians retreated before the Persian armies, were passed and would probably never return.

The two great cities of Herat and Caboul command the communications between Persia and India. The check of General Bonaparte at Saint Jean d'Acre prevented his undertaking a march to the East. After Tilsit, Napoleon proposed to the Tsar Alexander that they should unite in that grand enterprise. For years one of his secret agents traversed Mesopotamia and Persia to prepare the way. Nicholas inherited the plan and at first assigned the chief part in its execution to the Shah, who had become his vassal. Herat was in the hands of an Afghan prince. He urged the shah to attack him. A first attempt in 1833 failed. A second in 1837 succeeded no better. A third was made the following year. The operations of the siege were conducted by Russian officers. Great Britain watched these movements with a jealous eye. Russian spies were supposed to be travelling over India. Greek and Armenian merchants, settled in Calcutta or Bombay, were suspected of furnishing the court of St. Petersburg with information concerning the army, the finances and all the affairs of the East India Company. The natives themselves were affected by rumors, shrewdly put in circulation, concerning the decline of the power of England and the grandeur of the Muscovite Empire. "You cannot imagine," wrote a governor-general a few years later to the queen's ministers, "what an idea the peoples of India have of the strength of Russia." The Tsar Nicholas hardly made a secret of his purpose some future day to haul down the English flag in India. One of his official organs declared before the Crimean War that, "If an attempt were made to place obstacles in his way in Europe, he would go to Calcutta and

there dictate the terms of peace." Herat was one of the stages of the Russian army on its way to the valley of the Ganges, and consequently it was an advanced post of the Company. The two rivals met under its walls. Before the Persian troops had arrived in sight of the city, the English were inside to direct the defence. Also a squadron had sailed up the Persian Gulf and was making a demonstration against the southern provinces of Persia. The Shah was obliged to call back his forces (1838). This was a check to the Tsar. The following year he tried to indemnify himself by an expedition against Khiva, which his own generals conducted. This city lies on the second highway to India which passes by the Amou Daria and Bokhara. Frightful deserts separate Khiva from the Caspian, and the Russian army corps perished almost to a man.

Before the failure of this expedition, the English had decided to forestall the Russians, or at least to occupy on the other side of the Indus the lofty chain of the Afghan Mountains. By so doing an impregnable bulwark would defend their Indian empire on the west. Early in 1839 the army of Bengal crossed the river, marched through the Bolan Pass, and took possession of Candahar, the fortress of Ghazni, and Caboul. It placed on the throne Shah Soujah, who had been deposed and banished thirty years before. The valiant native tribes, though disconcerted for a time, speedily recovered their courage. When the governor-general tried to curtail the subsidies, at first furnished the chiefs, a general insurrection broke out. Fifteen thousand English soldiers, hemmed in on all sides, perished. Only one man, Dr. Brydon, survived to recross the Indus and tell the story (1842). The East India Company could not rest under the blow of so terrible a disaster. A fresh army entered the country, devastated it frightfully, and then marched away. That catastrophe was a warning to the English not to spread outside of their peninsula, but rather to fortify themselves in it and allow no independent state to exist there which might serve as the rallying point of a revolt or of an invasion. In 1843, by the submission of the emirs of Scinde and Beloochistan, they became masters of the mouth of the Indus. On the upper course of that stream they established the system of residents. Thus was indicated the speedy annexation of the Punjaub or Country of the Five Rivers, a vast region inhabited by

the warlike Sikhs. Six years later the Punjaub was united to the other domains of the Company. The famous valley of Cashmere shared the fate of the kingdom of Lahore on which it depended. This was also one of the gates of India. Not far distant, on the right bank of the Scinde, rises the chain of the Bolan Mountains, whence flows the Amou Daria, which empties into the Russian waters of the Sea of Aral. The English wished to close this gate. Thus before 1848 they had a firm hold of the whole course of the Indus. They were trying to submit Afghanistan to their influence, having failed to place it under their control. Meanwhile they were pushing toward the Pamir plateau, the ancient cradle of the European races and the point where the principal mountain ranges of Asia converge.

**The Third Eastern Question. The Pacific Ocean.** — The Pacific Ocean, formerly an untravelled sea, is now the meeting-place of all the navies of the world. Upon its shores dwell ancient and industrious nations, which even in our time have closed their gates with jealous care against foreigners, and youthful colonies of Europeans or Americans which have rapidly become flourishing. Toward the northwest are 400,000,000 Chinese producers and purchasers and 40,000,000 more active Japanese. Toward the southwest are the English colonies of Australia, importing goods the value of which is reckoned by hundreds of millions. The Moluccas or Spice Islands lie between. At the southeast of the Asiatic continent is Cochin-China, where France planted her flag in 1860. Still farther west are the 300,000,000 Hindus, among whom civilization creates wants and from whom it demands products. On the eastern shores of the Pacific stretch the Spanish American republics and the United States. Railways, traversing the whole American continent, connect New York, the great port of arrival for European goods, with San Francisco. From the latter port steamers sail regularly for Chinese and Japanese waters, where other steamers arrive twice a month from Marseilles and Southampton. Therefore the Pacific Ocean, upon which open the great markets of the world, has in our day acquired a commercial importance like that of the Mediterranean in ancient and mediæval times. An economical revolution has been here accomplished, almost as great as that which followed the discoveries of Columbus and far more rapid, being the creation of hardly a century.

**Isolation of China and Japan.** — For a long time foreigners knocked at the doors of China. Roman Catholic missionaries went there to evangelize the people as early as 1581. The Portuguese had preceded them and were followed by the Dutch, and then by France and England. The Jesuits succeeded in obtaining due admission at Pekin under the name of literati, and a Russian religious mission was also established. Foreign merchants could only obtain permission to open trading-houses outside the walls of Canton. Such a station Russia had at Kiakhta, where Siberian furs were exchanged for Chinese tea and silk. In vain did England (1793–1806) and Russia (1805) send solemn embassies. The Son of Heaven required the ambassadors to undergo a humiliating ceremony as condition of their reception. Some refused. Others reached Pekin only as prisoners. All returned without the commercial treaty which they had been commissioned to obtain. Said the eyewitness of one of the least unsuccessful of these embassies, "We entered Pekin as beggars. We remained there as captives. We departed as condemned criminals." The situation became even worse. In 1828 the Roman Catholic missionaries were expelled, despite the religious toleration professed by the government. China remained walled in. Japan, no less tightly closed, tolerated the presence of the Dutch in the harbor of Nagasaki only on condition of their confining themselves to an island in the roadstead, and permitted no other nation to approach its coast.

**Opium War** (1840–1843). — All the nations, barbarous or civilized, have created for themselves artificial wants and indulgences. Some chew the betel nut, others smoke tobacco, and the Chinese intoxicate themselves with opium, notwithstanding the injurious effects upon the human system. The English found this vice to their financial advantage. They covered Bengal with fields of poppies and, when the Chinese government strictly prohibited the introduction of opium, organized a vast contraband trade. The Middle Kingdom continued to be inundated with the fatal drug, from which the English made a yearly profit of several million dollars. In 1839 the imperial commissioner ordered 20,000 chests of opium, worth about $18,000,000, to be seized and thrown into the sea. This seizure was legal, and no just claim could be entered against it. But several acts of violence, committed against Englishmen, were grasped

at as a pretext. An expedition sent to Chinese waters occupied the island of Chusan and destroyed the forts which commanded the entrance to the river of Canton. The first convention not being ratified, the English made two campaigns to dictate peace under the walls of Nankin. By the treaty of August, 1842, China opened five ports to foreign commerce, ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain, and promised an indemnity of nearly $21,000,000. The two governments in their official declarations continued to treat the opium traffic as illicit. Nevertheless smuggling was made easy by the opening of the five ports. During the following year 40,000 chests were introduced. This meant a profit of many millions to the landed proprietors of Bengal.

The Russians meanwhile had been careful not to displease the court of Pekin. The Tsar Nicholas had severely prohibited the introduction of opium into China through the Russian frontiers.

France tried to obtain a share in the trade of those regions. In 1844 she sent to China an embassy which signed a commercial treaty and caused the edicts against the Christians to be revoked. Confiscated churches were to be restored and the Roman Catholic missionaries were to enjoy freedom in disseminating their faith wherever they would. Such stipulations were honorable to France. Not only the danger but the distance was relatively greater than in these days of rapid communication. The French government assumed a heavy responsibility in declaring itself the official protector of Catholic missions among the Chinese.

**Summary. State of the Three Eastern Questions in 1848.** — In the extreme East the two chief antagonists are hardly aware of each other's presence. There the question is hardly more than at the beginning of its initial stage. In Central Asia both Powers have received disastrous checks at the hands of the fierce natives, and neither has fully retrieved its damaged prestige. The English are fortifying themselves behind the mountains and show no present intention of issuing westward through the Bolan or Khaiber Pass. Russia has not yet resumed her march toward Khiva. At Constantinople they are indeed face to face, but there the contest is diplomatic. It is waged by bringing to bear pressure upon the Porte, by successive and short-lived treaties, and by the search for allies among the other European states. Neither in China, Central Asia,

nor the Ottoman Empire have the two rivals met in arms. Nor are they so keenly conscious of their rivalry as they are to become in the succeeding fifty years. Not yet, not even at Constantinople, does any one of the Three Questions reveal all of its ultimate immense importance.

## XXXIX

### ANTECEDENTS OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

**Character of the Period comprised between 1840 and 1848. Progress of Socialistic Ideas.** — The treaty of the Straits marks a sort of halting-point for Europe. During several subsequent years we see hardly any risings or insurrections. The Powers talk of peace, and order reigns in nearly every state. In England the Tories return to power (1841). Prince Metternich continues his "paternal" rule in Austria. The Tsar Nicholas devotes his energies to organizing Russia like an immense barrack, whence can issue against Europe or Asia armies which he believes invincible. Narvaez recasts for Spain a constitution more monarchical than that of 1837.

France, which nearly every year since 1830 had beheld a new Cabinet, no longer has any ministerial changes. M. Guizot, the prime minister, or President of the Council, builds up a conservative party which, convinced that everything is for the best in a social order where it monopolizes the power and honors, believes there is nothing which needs change. A sort of temporary calm is the result. The political agitations of the preceding ten years are followed by the fruitful labors of manufactures and commerce. From one end of Europe to the other nothing is to be heard but the sound of railways in process of construction and of factories which spring up and work with feverish ardor. Financial institutions of all sorts are multiplied. Wealth is accumulated and the Exchange regulates business transactions.

And yet this society with its material interests so prosperous is approaching an abyss, because its leaders in their turn believe in the immobility of the world and forget to ask whether there are not other needs which must be satisfied. While official society was content with the tranquillity which reigned in the street and the activity which showed itself in business, the two already old ideas of na-

tional and individual independence were making converts. A new idea had risen at their side in the realization that the lot of the laboring classes must be improved.

In Poland and Italy the Russian and the Austrian were still odious. In Bohemia and Hungary the new study of national history and literature revived memories of autonomy which had seemed to be long effaced. Germany dreamed of her unity and of the fatherland. Some of her princes talked about it, for the sake of rendering themselves popular. To this idea the king of Bavaria erected a Walhalla, a Pantheon of all German glories. At Berlin the head of the Hohenzollern lauded "the German country."

After the nationalists came the liberals, some of whom asked for the liberties which had been promised and others claimed the enlargement of liberties already obtained. The inhabitants of the Romagna demanded from the papal government, sometimes with threats as in 1843, a regular administration with a code of laws. Each year the Rhenish provinces expressed a strong desire for a constitution. Even in the Prussian provinces of the Vistula and the Oder liberal tendencies were displayed which caused uneasiness at Berlin. Turin printed a journal whose very title was significant, *Il Risorgimento* or the "Resurrection"; and Count Balbo published his *Speranze d'Italie* (1843). The ambitions of the French opposition party were equally modest and even more legitimate.

But in the darkness a still more formidable faction was forming, which twice already has flooded Paris with blood, made illustrious victims, laid palaces in ashes, and which will, perhaps, long continue to be the terror of Europe, unless wisdom and energy provide a remedy.

The Revolution of 1789, accomplished by and for the burgher class, seemed complete wherever royal despotism and the privileges of birth had disappeared. This double conquest, equality in the eye of the law and the free discussion of national interests, satisfied the ambition of the middle class, every man of which was accustomed to be the architect of his own fortune and asked nothing of the state except assurance of public order without interference in private affairs.

The application of steam to manual trades and the invention of hand-machines, which were first seen in France at the Exposition of 1845, led to a revolution in the mode

of manufacture and in the very constitution of labor. Small workshops disappeared and gave way to immense factories, to which the railways brought the inhabitants of the country districts in crowds. In a few years the capitals and the manufacturing or mercantile cities of both hemispheres doubled the number of their inhabitants. In the bosom of these formidable agglomerations of humanity industry was carried to a high degree by the powerful means placed at its disposal, and created great wealth and also great wretchedness.

In order to compete, it was necessary to produce much and to produce cheaply. In other words, longer days were required of the workman, but the wages were so diminished as to prevent provision against sickness or cessation of work. Hence arose hardships which the utopians, some of whom were generous souls, proposed to suppress by causing indigence to disappear, as the two great miseries of times past, domestic slavery and serfdom, had disappeared. But instead of proceeding gradually, they undertook to change everything at a stroke. Their panacea might cause a thousand evils without even healing one, because their remedies ran counter to the very nature of man and of society. A convent can exist with community of goods or a religious or charitable association depend upon the devotion of each member to the good of all. But under such conditions no regular society is constituted. The Phalansteries and the Icaria, attempted in France, Belgium, Brazil and Texas, came to a miserable end. But the ignorant populace were not deaf to formulas like the following: "Property is robbery," "Every man has a right to work, even when there is no work to be done, or money wherewith to pay for it," "Wages shall be equal, however unequal the product," "The individual must disappear in a vast solidarity wherein each man will receive according to his needs and will give according to his ability."

These socialistic reveries, which are absolutely opposed to individual liberty, the most imperious need of our days, were destined to be put into political action through the alliance of certain republicans with the new sectaries. The latter, to give realization to their dreams, desired to make the state interfere in everything. But as the government was in the hands of the burghers, the first essential was to take it away from them. The masses trouble

themselves little about political questions which they do not understand. But, listening eagerly to those who promised them prosperity, they were ready to follow on being told that "social liquidation" could be attained only with a government of their own choice. Thus socialism, born under the Restoration amid apparently harmless humanitarian utopias, gave existence to a numerous party which included all the poor, and which the logicians of '48 strengthened by decreeing universal suffrage.

This movement was not peculiar to France alone. As early as 1817 England had had the Chartists, in 1836 the Workingmen's Association, and three years later disturbances in Wales. In 1844 a central association for the welfare of workingmen was formed in Prussia, and grave troubles agitated Silesia and Bohemia. This was the beginning of that war between wages and capital, between the workingman and the employer, which was to break out with violence.

Of this subterranean ferment official society, as is often the case, saw nothing. At least it troubled itself little about an evil from which the classes, accustomed for many centuries to suffering, were now suffering. Up to the eve of February 24, 1848, it was occupied with entirely different issues, yet a few months later it found itself obliged to wage a four days' battle with 100,000 men from the poorer classes.

**France from 1840 to 1846.** — The history of France during these years lies far more in the obscure facts just mentioned than in those stirring events of the time which a quarter of a century had sufficed to restore to their true proportions. This was a golden age of orators. Much eloquence was expended and only small things were done. A friend of the government summed up in 1847 this policy of mere words. "What have you done with your power?" he asked the ministers. "Nothing! Nothing! Nothing!"

The national feeling had been profoundly wounded by the events of 1840. M. Guizot as a compensation to French pride caused the sterile rocks of the Marquesas Islands in the Pacific Ocean to be occupied (May, 1842). New Zealand was more valuable. France was on the point of seizing it when England took possession of it first. A French officer planted the flag of France upon the great oceanic island of New Caledonia. The ministry had it torn down. The

states of Honduras and Nicaragua asked for the protection of France. Hayti wished to do the same. This protection was refused and the refusal was apparently inspired by England. Though France acquired the Society Islands, her commercial interests in those regions were not great enough to necessitate an imposing establishment. The acquisition of Mayotte (1843) was a wiser operation, because that islet provided French ships a better haven than the island of Bourbon could afford them and a naval station in the vicinity of Madagascar. At Tahiti an Englishman named Pritchard, at once consul, missionary and apothecary, stirred up the natives against France. The unworthy agent was driven from the island (1844). His complaints were listened to in Parliament, and the French Cabinet demanded from the Chambers an indemnity for the intriguer who had caused the shedding of blood. The official disavowal of Rear-Admiral Dupetit Thouars, who had tried to extend the French establishment in Oceanica, increased the public irritation. This disavowal was regarded as a humiliation before the British government. A more serious concession, made to the English, was the recognition of England's right of search for the suppression of the slave trade. This time the opposition was so vigorous throughout the land that the Chamber forced the minister to repudiate the treaty and to place the French merchant marine by fresh conventions once more under the exclusive protection of the national flag (May, 1845).

The Chamber and public opinion desired the conquest of Algeria to be completed. The ministry had the merit of choosing an energetic and skilful man, General Bugeaud, who was able to inspire the Arabs with both respect and terror. Abd-el Kader was preaching a holy war and by the rapidity of his movements had spread terror through the province of Oran and even to the gates of Algiers. The emir was defeated and his family and flocks were captured. Taking refuge in Morocco he prevailed on the emperor of that country to join his cause. In reply France bombarded Tangiers and Mogador and gained the victory of Isly. The emperor was glad to sign a treaty of peace on easy conditions. France was rich enough, said her minister, to pay for her glory.

The Anglo-French alliance was of no direct advantage to France, but was supposed to assure the general tranquillity.

Louis Philippe sought above all the welfare of his family. Marrying his son, the Duke of Montpensier, to the sister of the Spanish queen, he aroused the resentment of the British, who considered that the king was seeking to render France and his dynasty preponderant in the peninsula. Alarmed at the alienation of England and the general isolation of France, the ministry made advances to Austria, and in order to win her favor sacrificed Switzerland and Italy. Switzerland wished to remodel her constitution and give more authority to the central power. Such a change would have benefited France, whose frontier would be better protected by a strong than by a divided Switzerland. But this reform, urged by the liberals, was opposed by the seven Roman Catholic cantons. M. Guizot went so far as to accept the diplomatic intervention of the foreign Powers, although that might be followed by military intervention. However, the Separatists or Sonderbund, whom he favored, were defeated in a nineteen days' campaign, and the Jesuits were expelled (November, 1847).

On the banks of the Po the Austrians had occupied Ferrara. Pope Pius IX, who was then arousing Italy from her torpor, protested and was not supported. At Milan the Austrian garrison committed outrages in February, 1848. M. Guizot contented himself with negotiations in favor of the victims. Thus France became the ally of an empire which maintained itself only by causing the various peoples which it held in servitude to oppress each other. When the opposition complained, the minister replied by pointing to the national prosperity. Popular instruction was developing, the penal code had been modified and lotteries suppressed. The law of appropriation for public purposes rendered it possible to carry on works of public utility without hindrance from private interests. Industry sprang into life and vigor, commerce extended its domain, the sea-coasts were lined with lighthouses, the public roads were improved, and the construction of a vast network of railways was decided upon. This prosperity, as often happens, gave rise to frantic speculation. The evil was of wide scope. One of the king's ministers was condemned for having sold his signature, and a peer of France for having bought it.

The elections of 1846 were carefully manipulated by the administration and gave it a majority. But among the

deputies chosen were many officials. It became evident that in the very small class of electors, who numbered only 220,000, political feeling hardly existed and that calculation was taking the place of patriotism. Electors sold their votes to deputies. The persons elected sold their support to the ministers. Thus the representative system was vitiated at its source. Hence a ministry, rejected by public opinion, was retained in power by an artificial majority. The President of the Council thought himself strong because he counted upon a Chamber made up according to his will. So he assumed a lofty tone with the parliamentary opposition, the only antagonists whom he consented to notice. He had said at the time of the elections: "All platforms will promise progress; the conservative platform alone will give it." Meanwhile he granted no concessions under the pretext that one must not allow anything to be extorted from him.

**England. Free Trade. The Income Tax and the New Colonial System** (1841–1849). — Such resistance was very impolitic at a moment when liberal ideas, though repressed by the governments, were everywhere springing up again. The leader of the Tories, Sir Robert Peel, had kept his ministry in office from 1841 to 1846 only by becoming more of a reformer than the Whigs. Snatching from his adversaries their own weapons, the ideas of Huskisson and Canning, he abolished the corn laws, favored free trade, and reëstablished the income tax. In this manner he destroyed what had been looked upon as the corner-stone of aristocratic power. He abolished the Navigation Act, which had served to establish the maritime greatness of his country, but which had already become a piece of warlike machinery fit only for a place among other antiquated machines. Lastly, he made the rich pay in order that the poor might live cheaply.

Centuries had been required for the parliamentary institutions of Great Britain to react upon other governments. But only a short time was necessary for Sir Robert Peel's economical revolution to issue from the island where it had its birth. Enacted in the name of the principles of free trade and applied to the greatest market of the world, it possessed a character of universal expansion. This great act, which presented such a contrast to the trivial anxieties of France, was destined accordingly to exercise a great in-

fluence over the custom-house legislation of the continent. But things are bound together. The triumph of liberty in the realm of economics necessarily paves the way for its victory in the realm of politics.

Already, under the control of these ideas, England had renounced the colonial system which modern Europe had inherited from ancient Rome and which some states still retain. She no longer sought the absolute domination of the mother country over her colonies that they, like docile slaves, might exist only for her, and toil, produce and purchase for her profit. That outworn system had cost North America to the English; South America to the Spanish and the Portuguese; and Canada and Louisiana to the French. To the new system England was led moreover by her own genius. Reserving to the mother country only the appointment of a governor, the colonies were allowed to manage their own affairs by a legislative body elected by themselves. Thus was developed the prosperity of the colonists and that of the mother country. The constitutional liberty granted to Canada was productive of marvellous progress. All the English colonies, with the exception of India and the purely military outposts, found themselves endowed with this fruitful liberty in 1849. Liberty is not only a noble thing, but is also a useful thing. Thus England could abolish some of her taxes, while in the ten years between 1832 and 1842 her commerce nearly doubled. The budget of the continental states showed a deficit, while that of England presented a surplus.

England does not like revolutions. Her government resembles a skilful pilot who always keeps an eye on the horizon to discern the great currents and steer the ship into them. So, since 1832, she escaped political storms by following the impulse of the public mind. Thus between 1822 and 1826 Huskisson's reforms were accomplished. In 1829 came Roman Catholic emancipation. In 1832 electoral reform was decreed. In 1841 the income tax was revised, not indeed as a war measure, but for the purpose of freeing from all imposts bread, beer and the raw materials which feed manufactures. In 1846 the corn laws were suppressed and free trade established. For these reasons England escaped bloodshed and revolution.

**Establishment of the Constitutional System in Prussia** (1847). — In the time of Voltaire and Montesquieu echoes

from the House of Commons rarely crossed the Channel and reached only a few superior men. Now, thanks to the press, they were heard everywhere and awoke and excited men's minds. In 1845 the states of Silesia, of the grand duchy of Posen and of royal Prussia demanded freedom of the press, publicity of debate and a penal code in accordance with the principles of modern legislation. The king refused everything. To those who asked for a constitution, he replied that he would never allow a sheet of paper to interpose between his people and himself. Two years later he was obliged to convoke a general Diet, although he was willing to recognize in it solely a consultative character. But the Diet claimed the right of receiving the annual account of the administration of the public debt and of deliberating upon all general laws, including taxation. At once it arrogated to itself the superintendence of the finances with legislative power. To guarantee against all surprises it declared in advance that it would recognize in no other assembly or commission, even if sprung from its own ranks, the right of exercising its functions. Thus the constitutional system was set up in Berlin. Only two great states, Austria and Russia, were left to represent unyielding opposition to the new ideas.

**Liberal Agitations in Austria and Italy.** — Nevertheless the general movement was invading even changeless Austria. In Styria and Carinthia, her oldest duchies, men desired reforms. In Hungary a great constitutional party was already organized. Bohemia also was in a ferment. But, as the country was divided between two hostile populations, the Germans and the Czechs, Prince Metternich was able to rely upon the one to resist the other. In 1847 he deprived the state of Bohemia of the right to vote the taxes.

His policy had just suffered a signal check on the western frontier of the empire, by the prompt defeat of the Sonderbund which he had tried to save. The victory of the Swiss liberals was only one more bad example given to the docile subjects of the Hapsburgs and did not constitute a danger. But on the other side of the Alps a storm was muttering, all the more threatening because this time the tempest came from Rome.

The disastrous attempt of the Bandiera brothers, sons of an Austrian admiral, who tried to stir up the Calabrians

in 1844, and the insurrection of Rimini in 1845, undertaken to obtain the application of the Memorandum of the Great Powers in 1831, had been the last appeals to arms on the part of the Italians. But what the propaganda of gunshots did not succeed in effecting, the propaganda of ideas brought about among that intelligent people. Gioberti, with his book, *Del primato . . . degli Italiani*, in 1843 had won over a part of the clergy to the national cause. Later on he had tried in the *Modern Jesuit* to remove the Pope from the fatal influence of "the degenerate sons of Loyola." Father Ventura, a famous preacher, exclaimed: "If the Church does not march with the age, the nations will not halt, but they will march on without the Church, outside the Church, against the Church." What pontiff would be capable of comprehending that religion must be reconciled with liberty! The Italians believed they had found such a Pope, a reformer for the universal Church and a national ruler for Italy, in Pius IX, elected in June, 1846. At the very beginning he dismissed his Swiss guard, threw open the prisons, recalled the exiles, subjected the clergy to taxation and prepared the way for reform in the civil and criminal laws. He instituted an assembly of notables, chosen by himself, but possessing only a consultative voice. He created a Council of State, restored municipal institutions to Rome, and for the first time published the budget of the papal states. The king of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany followed his example. Italy again revived with the double hope of regaining her political liberty and her national independence. On December 5, 1846, fires were kindled from one end of the Apennines to the other. The hundredth anniversary of a defeat of the Austrians before Genoa was being celebrated to the cry of, "Expel the barbarians!" "*Fuori i barbari!*" England, governed after June, 1846, by the Whig ministry of Lord Russell, sent the Mediterranean fleet into Sicilian waters, and Lord Minto, her ambassador, travelled all over Italy urging the princes into constitutional paths. The opposition in the French Chamber cried aloud to the Pope, "Courage, Holy Father! Courage!" But the Cabinet of the Tuileries, while favorable to administrative reforms, discouraged political reforms, so as to keep on good terms with Austria, alliance with whom seemed necessary in consequence of the Spanish marriages.

By joining in the liberal movement Austria might have restrained and guided it; but that Power was still under the fatal influence of the party, which accused "the carbonaro Mastaï" of having usurped the Holy See by intrigue, and which even dared to call him, "A Robespierre wearing the tiara." She addressed to the Pope a severe note against his reforms in June, 1847, fomented a conspiracy in Rome itself, and, contrary to all treaties, occupied the city of Ferrara in August. Cardinal Ferretti sent to Vienna an energetic protest, which was backed up by the courts of Turin and Florence, but of which M. Guizot expressed disapprobation. "Father Ventura," said Pius IX, discouraged, "France is deserting us. We are alone!" "No," replied the Theatine monk, "God is with us. Forward!"

And Italy did move forward. At the end of November the Roman Council opened. Leopold II and Charles Albert effected reforms which were equivalent to the promise of a constitution and their ministers signed with the Papal Cabinet an alliance "for the development of Italian industry and the welfare of the peoples" on November 3. The Duke of Modena and the king of the Two Sicilies were invited to adhere to the treaty. This union was a threat against Austria, to which she replied by the military occupation of Parma and Modena in December. The extremities of Italy immediately caught fire.

Three months previously an insurrection at Reggio and Messina and a disturbance in Naples had been severely put down, but promises of reform had been made. On January 12, 1848, as these reforms had not been effected, Palermo took up arms to the cry of, "Long live Pius IX." On the 16th the insurrection had mastered the whole island. On the 18th 10,000 men marched upon Naples demanding, as in 1821, a constitution. On the 28th Ferdinand II yielded; two weeks later a charter, modelled on the French charter of 1830, was promulgated at Naples, and four days afterwards at Florence, and on March 4 at Turin.

The Italian peoples were quivering with excitement, especially in the Lombardo-Venetian territory, where exasperation against the Austrian had seized even the women and children. On January 3 Austrian dragoons put to the sword groups of people in the streets of Milan. Troubles broke out in Pavia and Padua on February 8; on the 15th at Bergamo. On the 22d Marshal Radetzki proclaimed

martial law at Milan, saying to his soldiers, "The guilty efforts of fanaticism and of rebellion will be shattered upon your courage like glass upon a rock."

Almost at the same moment a revolution burst out at Paris which, seventeen days later, found its echo in Vienna. Nothing remained to Austria in Italy at the end of March except the fortresses of the quadrilateral.

The general situation of Europe at the beginning of the year 1848 indicated that the critical hour had come. After a struggle, lasting more than a generation, between the old régime and liberal ideas, the latter felt themselves strong enough to look upon their approaching triumph as sure. But was that victory to be won peaceably, by intelligent and patriotic agreement of the government and the governed, or was a blind resistance to arouse useless riots and even war, and thus open up the way for republican adventures and socialistic violence? The answer depended upon France. If she leaned to the side whither all civilized Europe was proceeding, free institutions would be peaceably established. Prussia and Austria, weakened by internal disorders, would have recoiled before France and England, united in one thought and at need in one action. The old system, like a corpse still erect though long since bereft of life, would have fallen to rise no more. Such was the grand opportunity which the French ministry then held in its hand, and which it threw away.

## XL

### AMERICA FROM 1815 TO 1848

**American Progress. The Monroe Doctrine. Advantages of Liberty.** — During all this period the New World furnished little to general history. Spanish America writhed for a long time in periodical convulsions, the fruit of a double despotism under which the political education of the citizens was impossible. Portuguese America was slowly developing her riches and her population, under the protection of a constitutional government. Canada prospered through liberty. The United States, having behind them no past to arrest their movements or excite their violence, and having before them infinite space, were engaged in expending upon nature the forces of an exuberant youth without yet turning those forces against themselves, as in the old states of the European West. Faithful to the institutions with which they had endowed themselves, they tilled the prairies, cleared the forests, and covered the Indians' hunting-grounds with cities to which flocked a population that often doubled itself in twenty years.

Not to be disturbed in this work they had used haughty language toward Europe. After having recognized in 1821 the independence of the Spanish colonies, President Monroe, in 1823, in a message to the Senate, established the principle which has remained the rule of the Cabinet at Washington in its foreign policy. "The American continents . . . are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by European powers. . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. Any such interference would be regarded as the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit to the United States." This declaration was renewed in decided terms when the success of the French invasion of Spain aroused fear of an attempt at restoration in Buenos Ayres, Lima, or Mexico. The Old World, separated from the New by 1500 leagues of sea, dared not accept the challenge.

Nevertheless, although since the war of 1812–1815 against England, the United States had been at peace with Europe, and though the European courts received from Washington nothing but proposals for treaties of commerce or the regulation of unimportant matters, the spectacle of that nation waxing great day by day with the most liberal institutions in the world was contagious to the society of the Old Continent. Every year the latter sent across the ocean many thousands of their poor in quest of land and liberty. Every year, also, there returned engineers, merchants and politicians who had admired on the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi the power of individual energy. The tales which were told concerning the greatness of the American republic encouraged the liberal party and made it desire still more to limit the rights of the state and advance the rights of the citizens.

This young republic lacked, it is true, the elegances and distinction of old societies where aristocracy has left behind something of its refined manners, of its tastes for the arts, of its sentiment of honor which is a sort of personal religion. In haste to live and to enjoy life, the Americans advanced little beyond the useful. But the useful is one of the two necessities of life. The other, the ideal, was sure to come later on with hereditary wealth and leisure. Some day they would no longer be obliged to say, "Time is money." Some day, when their soil was placed under cultivation and their railways and canals were completed, they would devote time to solitary meditation, to pure art, to theoretical science, and in a word to all the glorious but immaterial pursuits which make great peoples.

Reading this history of Europe and of the New World between 1815 and 1848, it would seem as if kings and peoples all had but one idea during those three and thirty years; as if they sought only either to destroy or to save political liberty. Nevertheless men's minds were occupied with art, poetry, science, thought, religion, and a thousand matters besides. Manufactures and commerce were in process of transformation. Useful reforms were made. The general welfare increased. Ignorance and crime were on the decrease. In short, almost everywhere there was security for property and persons. But under absolute government those great and beneficent things which they enjoyed lacked guarantees and could possess them only under constitutional

government. Civil liberty is indispensable for every citizen. Each individual needs it that he may live like a man. Political liberty, on the contrary, would be merely a luxury, necessary to a few but useless to the majority, if, like a faithful guardian of a house, it were not there for the purpose of giving warning when thieves approach and of preventing their entrance. Since its part is to assure the safety of our welfare, we must draw the inference that, the richer and happier societies are, so much the greater is the fruitful development of the active faculties and so much the more indispensable is political liberty. It is the only pledge that their welfare shall endure. For this reason it was, and deserved to be, the object of the great battle which we have sketched so rapidly.

# XLI

## REVOLUTION OF 1848

The victory of liberal Switzerland and of the constitutional party in Prussia, the agitation of Germany, Hungary and the Austrian duchies, the conduct of Pius IX, and the efforts of Italy to escape from the despotism of her rulers as well as from the grip of the Hapsburgs, had caused an immense sensation in France. In the legislative body the deputies of the Left Centre and of the Dynastic Left, led by MM. Thiers and Odilon Barrot, called upon the ministry to fulfil its promises. They demanded the modification of certain taxes, and electoral and parliamentary reform. The latter had been proposed in vain at each session since 1842. The ministry rejected these harmless demands and ridiculed the opposition for its ineffectual efforts to awake the country from political torpor. To this challenge the opposition replied by seventy banquets in the most important cities. These national complaints found a voice. They deplored the degradation of France, which no longer possessed its legitimate influence in Europe. They showed how the most legitimate reforms had been refused, and denounced the electoral and parliamentary corruption fostered by the government. Their demands were most moderate. They asked only the addition of 25,000 persons to the voters and that government officials should be refused membership in the Chamber.

Paris, by instinct and tradition fond of fault-finding when free from fear, was entirely devoted to the opposition. In the recent municipal elections not a single candidate of the ministry had succeeded in the richest and, consequently, the most essentially moderate quarter. A journal founded by the conservatives was unable to live. Dissatisfaction showed itself in the very heart of that party. Many influential members of the majority passed over to the opposition. Prince de Joinville openly showed his disapproval and went to Algiers in a sort of voluntary exile with his

brother the Duke d'Aumale. Several members of the ministry even were disgusted with an extreme policy. M. de Salvandy, who had undertaken numerous and liberal reforms in the Department of Public Education, retained his place only from the desire to defend certain proposed laws which he had introduced. But the President of the Council began the battle by causing the king in his speech at the opening of the session on December 20, 1848, to declare 100 deputies enemies of the throne.

For the space of six weeks irritating debates kept public opinion in an uproar. The opposition made a final demonstration by appointing a banquet in the twelfth district. The republicans who had long been discouraged let things go on without opposition, but held themselves in readiness. "If the ministry authorizes the banquet," said one of their leaders on February 20, "it will fall. If it prohibits it, there will be a revolution." The Dynastic Left made a last effort to forestall the explosion. On February 21 M. Odilon Barrot laid upon the table of the Chamber an accusation against the ministers.

The latter prevented the banquet. Immediately vast crowds got together and here and there conflicts broke out. But on the evening of February 23 the opposition had won its case. A liberal ministry was appointed under the presidency of M. Thiers. But those who had so well begun the movement had made no preparations for arresting its course at the exact point which the majority of the country desired. Men, able to attack rather than to resist, critics rather than men of action, in a few hours they saw the control of the uprising slip from their hands and pass into those of a party which included professional conspirators and veterans of barricades. The latter were men of combat. They mixed among the masses, with whom the gayly decked and illuminated boulevards were crowded. A shot was fired by an unknown person at the guardhouse of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The troops replied by a discharge which killed fifty innocent promenaders. At the sight of these dead bodies borne into the city, the people of the faubourgs shouted, "They are assassinating our brethren! Vengeance!" and flew to arms. The king could count upon the army, commanded by General Bugeaud. That energetic leader had already taken measures to quell the riot, when, during the night of the 23d, he received

orders from the president of the new ministry to fall back with his troops upon the Tuileries. Rather than obey this senseless order he resigned his command, and the resistance was paralyzed. The national guard had been tardily assembled. They believed that the whole matter would be confined to a change of ministers, and allowed the movement to go on. Revolution followed. Soon they tried to arrest what their inactivity had aided, but it was too late. Even the Order of the National Guard, which dated from July 14, 1789, was morally overthrown on February 24. Abandoned by the burghers of Paris, Louis Philippe thought he was deserted by all France. At noon he abdicated, while fighting was still going on at the Palais Royal. He departed under the protection of several regiments without being either pursued or disturbed.

The Duke of Orleans, whose influence over the army had been great, was dead. The Prince de Joinville and the Duke d'Aumale, who enjoyed a well-earned popularity, were absent. There remained in addition to the Duke de Montpensier, who was still too young to be known, only a woman and a child, the Duchess of Orleans and the Count of Paris. The duchess, respected for her virtues and lofty spirit, but a stranger and alone, had no power. While the populace was entering the Tuileries, she went to the Chamber with the Count of Paris. The insurgents followed her here and caused a provisional government to be proclaimed.

Thus, through the incapacity of the government and the audacity of a faction, instead of legal accomplishment of requisite reforms, the monarchy was overthrown. The successful insurrection was to paralyze labor, waste hundreds of millions of francs and divert the country far from the path of peaceful progress. Two men above all others should have put on mourning for this useless revolution and for the overthrown dynasty. One of the two, the king, might have forestalled the insurrection by taking away its pretext. The other, the minister, might have crushed it by force, but did not dare.

# CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

## I

### THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN ITS INFLUENCE UPON EUROPE

**Contemporary History.** — The term "contemporary" may well be applied to the history of the world since 1848. The present leaders in all branches of activity were born before this period began. Many persons now living have watched the unfolding of each of its successive phases. It possesses a distinct character of its own. While preëminent in its scientific and humanitarian achievements, it has specially contributed to political progress, not so much in what it has originated as by what it has developed. More than most periods of like duration, it is the direct consummation of the years immediately preceding. It differs from them as the harvest differs from the seed-time.

Its most memorable achievements in the domain of politics have been along the lines of constitutional government and unification of nationality. Yet here as everywhere else human attainment is partial and incomplete, but these two contributions to the advance of humanity will be prominent as we narrate its story. Because we are so near the events to be described and because the sources of information are so many, the narration will be difficult. As contemporaries of these events we are ourselves tossed by the billows on which we gaze.

**Outbreak at Vienna and Fall of Metternich.** — The progress of the public mind is indicated as we compare the effect produced in foreign countries by the successive French revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848. The first revolution was attended nowhere by any immediate popular uprising and apparently concerned only the kings. The second

caused commotions and renewed demands for constitutions in some of the smaller states, but the disturbances were soon repressed. The third came upon Europe as an electric shock. West of Russia and of the Ottoman Empire every state was convulsed.

Reactionary Austria, of whose policy the astute Metternich had been for almost forty years at once the incarnation and the champion, was among the first to feel its effects. The Provincial Estates of Lower Austria were only the phantom of a deliberative assembly without power or influence. But they served as a rallying point to the excited populace of Vienna, destitute of organization or of a centre. The Estates were to convene on the 13th of March, seventeen days after the fall of Louis Philippe. When they assembled the whole city was in an uproar. Immense crowds, headed by students, surrounded the hall. They demanded that the Estates should be their messengers to the emperor and should make the following demands: regular publication of the state budget, open session of the courts, freedom of the press, reform in municipal administration, and a general parliament to which all classes should be eligible. The terrified Estates called the troops to their assistance. A hand-to-hand fight raged through the streets between the soldiers and the people, and many lives were lost. The tumult constantly increased, but the citizens could not reach the imbecile Emperor Ferdinand IV, who was kept in concealment. The battle-cry was "Down with Metternich!" The veteran statesman was forsaken by all his colleagues. At last he saw that resistance was useless. On the following day he escaped from the capital in a laundry cart. The emperor was induced by his attendants to give a verbal grant of all that the revolutionists demanded, but Vienna was placed under martial law. Finally, on April 25, an illusory constitution was proclaimed. Three weeks later the emperor fled to Innsbruck. Nevertheless his authority seemed at no time endangered. Metternich fallen, the people supposed that everything was gained.

**Troubles in Bohemia.** — The Bohemians had acted even more quickly. On March 11, at a public meeting in Prague, they drew up a petition, asking however little more than improvement in the condition of the peasants and a general system of public instruction. The news from Vienna made them bolder. The students formed an aca-

demic legion. A few days later a second petition demanded reconstitution of the Bohemian crown, a Bohemian Diet, a Bohemian ministry, and full equality between the Slavs and the Germans in the kingdom. A committee was sent to convey these demands to Vienna, where it was well received; but in the constitution promulgated on April 25 all their claims were ignored. The irritation of the Czechs became more intense. A congress of all the Slavic peoples assembled at Prague. Its chief object was to secure recognition of the race rather than the rights of individuals. Against such recognition the government and all the other nationalities of the empire were bitterly opposed. Prague was captured by the imperial troops and martial law proclaimed.

**Revolt in Hungary.** — A movement, in some respects similar to that in Prague, was meanwhile in progress under the lead of Kossuth at Pressburg and Pesth. There, however, the desire for reforms was subordinate to the still stronger desire for emancipation from Austria. Its dominant motive was the sentiment of awakened Hungarian nationality. But it in no way included antagonism to the sovereign, to whom on many occasions the Magyars have shown a loyalty surpassing that of the Austrians. Nor did it include recognition of the just demands of the various Slavic and other peoples who constituted a large proportion of the population. In April Ferdinand IV granted whatever was asked, practically recognizing Hungary as an autonomous state with himself as its sovereign. Count Batthyany was authorized to form the first Hungarian ministry.

These measures discontented the Slavs, especially the Servians and Croatians. The newly appointed Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, took up arms, proclaiming his opposition to those "who want liberty only for themselves and who wish to monopolize for the Magyar minority the treasures acquired by the sweat of the Slavs, the Germans and the Roumanians." A partisan of absolute rule and apparently in secret alliance with the emperor, Jellachich marched upon Pesth. Batthyany resigned, but Kossuth was appointed to organize the national defence. His volunteers defeated the Ban. The Viennese, through hatred of the Slavs, showed a momentary passionate sympathy for the Hungarians. They rose against the government on October 7, and begged the assistance of the Hungarians

against Jellachich, who now threatened Vienna. The new allies arrived too late, for the capital had been already stormed and the ringleaders put to death. Jellachich was appointed generalissimo. Now, in behalf of the emperor, he was about to turn his arms against the Hungarians, who boasted meanwhile that they were "faithful to the sovereign beloved by Hungary." Feeble-minded and exhausted, Ferdinand gladly abdicated in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph. The Magyars refused to accept this abdication and their excessive loyalty gave them the attitude of rebels.

**Commotions in Italy.** — Piedmont was independent, but Austria dominated almost all the rest of Italy by her arms or influence. Lombardy and Venice were subject provinces. The Milanese rose, and on March 18 they forced Radetzki, the Austrian commander, to evacuate the city and retreat to Verona. At Venice the Austrians seemed paralyzed. Daniel Manin was made the chief of the provisional government which proclaimed the Republic of Saint Mark. The fire of insurrection rapidly spread. Soon only a few fortresses were left on the Mincio and Adige, where Radetzki was resolved to hold out to the last. Forced by the clamors of his people Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, on March 26 entered Milan to support the revolution.

Rome and Florence were still racked by the agitations of the preceding year. The news of the French Revolution came like a wind upon smouldering embers. Pius IX was affrighted at the sweep of principles with which by nature he was in sympathy. But he granted the Romans a constitution and a government by two Chambers, and called his sagacious counsellor, Rossi, to the ministry. The Grand Duke of Tuscany hesitated but seemed to incline toward reform. The king of Naples, Ferdinand II, endeavored to temporize with his subjects, though granting a constitution and creating a united parliament for Naples and Sicily. The revolutionist Pepe even persuaded him to send an army of 13,000 Neapolitans to the assistance of Charles Albert. The impetuous Sicilians rejected all overtures from their sovereign and declared themselves independent.

**Popular Demands in Prussia and other German States.** — In Baden, Würtemberg, Saxony and western Germany repressed liberal sentiment at once found expression. Everywhere there were demonstrations, sometimes tumultuous

and often violent. In Bavaria the people forced Louis I to abdicate. But Berlin was the centre of agitation. There the fall of Metternich, the recognized exponent of the autocratic system, produced even more profound impression than in Vienna. Excited crowds filled the streets. In public meetings the popular grievances were incessantly and earnestly set forth.

Frederick William IV was slow in deciding whether to resist or to put himself at the head of the universal demonstration. Finally, on March 18, a royal edict announced that the king would favor the introduction of constitutional government into every German state and the establishment of a parliament wherein all Germany should be represented. The rejoicing citizens by thousands flocked to the palace. Their cheers were mistaken for an attack and the troops discharged their guns upon the defenceless masses. At once the burghers all over the city flew to arms. Nor was the riot suppressed until more than 200 citizens had been slain and as many soldiers killed or wounded in consequence of a terrible blunder. When order was restored, the king by a dramatic act gained immense popularity. At the head of a solemn procession he rode through the streets, ostentatiously wearing the gold, white and black, the colors he had formerly proscribed and which were the symbols of the German Fatherland. He furthermore announced that he assumed the leadership in the great work of German unification. Union was even dearer to the German heart than was liberty. But, in addition, the sovereign promised radical and comprehensive reforms in the whole system of government and administration.

**The German National Assembly.** — A few days later, in response to a general invitation, several hundred liberals met at Frankfort to prepare the draft of a constitution and formulate measures to be submitted to the forthcoming National Assembly. They frittered away their strength in political manœuvres and retarded rather than strengthened the triumph of principles they should have advanced. Meanwhile, everywhere throughout the German states the deputies were being chosen for the National Assembly. On May 18 they held their first session in the newly erected church of Saint Paul at Frankfort. That was the grandest and most inspiring political gathering Germany had ever beheld. It was composed of her most patriotic and illus-

trious sons. Now were brought together within the walls of a single edifice all who had most contributed to the common welfare, and to them was confided the task of national regeneration. In its promise this was the golden day of German history.

## II

### THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC

#### (1848-1852)

**The Provisional Government.** — It was installed by the mob on the day of revolution, and its title to authority was based upon the submission with which for a time its orders were received. The provinces as usual acquiesced in the government set up at the capital. The eloquent orator, Lamartine, was at the head as minister of foreign affairs and Ledru-Rollin was minister of the interior. The latter was a radical. The other ministers were moderate republicans. This suddenly improvised government was without cohesion or plan. Yet, while ruling as a despotic oligarchy, it seemed ardently though vaguely desirous of doing something noble. In order to furnish occupation to the unemployed it set up national workshops and guaranteed work with pay or pay without work to every citizen. Soon it had on its roll the names of over 120,000 men, one-half of the laboring population of Paris. Meanwhile it supplied bread to their families in proportion to the number of children. Private enterprise became disorganized, and those evils increased which the national workshops were designed to cure.

Universal suffrage had been proclaimed. On April 23 elections were held all over France for the choice of deputies to a national assembly. Ten days later the Assembly met. It reaffirmed the Republic and commended the provisional government, most of whose members it reappointed to office as an executive commission. The socialist leaders of Paris raised mobs and endeavored to seize the power, but their first attempt was put down by the national guard. The national workshops had become the greatest menace to the state. The Assembly ordered that all the younger men enrolled in them should enlist in the army or cease to receive pay.

**The Barricades.** — Then broke out a fearful insurrection at Paris. Barricades were suddenly erected all over the eastern part of the city and were defended with military precision by the rioters. In the emergency General Cavaignac, the minister of war, was appointed dictator. The pitched battle of the streets began June 23 and lasted four days. However disguised by party names, it was a conflict between the penniless and the moneyed classes and a menace to the rights of property. The insurgents held their ground with savage courage and were not subdued until 8000 persons had been slain and 12,000 taken prisoners. Among the victims were two deputies, seven generals, and the venerable archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre. Horrified at the fratricidal slaughter he had climbed a barricade, where the fighting was hottest, and was shot down while imploring the combatants to throw away their arms.

**General Discontent.** — The frightful victory left the government not the less humiliated and weakened. Apprehension and discontent pervaded all classes, not only at Paris but throughout France. The masses were sullen because none of the socialistic utopias, prophesied so often of late, had been realized. The well-to-do classes were panic-stricken at the peril property had just undergone and at future perils in store. The state revenues diminished, therefore taxation increased. But commerce and manufactures were paralyzed in the absence of confidence, and it was more difficult to pay.

The Assembly hastily laid the foundations of a new constitution. It confided the executive power to a president, elected for three years by universal suffrage and responsible only to the people. It confided the legislative power to a single chamber, elected to hold office for four years. In the president was vested all power of appointment in the various branches of administration. He was to negotiate treaties and exercise an indefinite control of the army, but he could not take command of the troops or dissolve the Assembly or veto a measure which he disapproved. His power was either too little or too great. While declared ineligible for a second term of office, it would not be difficult with the means at his disposal to regain or retain the presidential authority were he so disposed.

The two chief candidates for the presidency were General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon. The former was a

consistent republican, a soldier rather than a statesman, and the conqueror of the barricades. But the victory, won in the blood of Frenchmen, rendered him unpopular even with his own party. The latter was the nephew and heir of Napoleon. All his life an exile from France, he had returned on the fall of Louis Philippe, but when the provisional government requested him to leave the country, he had complied. In June, elected to the Assembly in four different departments, he had resigned, though reserving his liberty of action. Elected in September by five departments, he no longer withdrew, but took his seat. The romance of his personal history, his manifest calmness and self-control, and above all, the magic of the great name he bore, made him a formidable candidate. His electoral address to the nation was a model of tact and shrewdness. He received 5,434,226 votes, while General Cavaignac could secure only 1,448,107.

**Presidency of Louis Napoleon.** — His first year in office was marked only by the expedition to Rome, the election of a new Assembly, and a presidential message, memorable for its energetic and even agressive tone. The second year the inevitable divergence between the chief magistrate and the legislative body became more marked. The Assembly was composed of nearly equal groups of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans. The two former regarded the actual government as a makeshift or usurpation, which was to give way eventually to the coronation of the Bourbon, Henry, Count of Chambord, or of Louis Philippe, Count of Paris, grandson of the deposed king. All their energies were devoted to that end.

Public opinion overwhelmingly demanded revision of that clause of the constitution which declared a president ineligible to reëlection. Less than two-thirds of the Assembly voted for revision, but it could be carried only by a vote of three-fourths. In May a decree had been passed which deprived over 3,000,000 Frenchmen of the right of suffrage. It was a fair charge that the Assembly had destroyed universal suffrage and, by refusing to revise the constitution, had denied the people the exercise of choice. The third year was spent in irritating discussions and political manœuvring on both sides. On November 4, 1851, the president demanded the repeal of the law which restricted the suffrage. The Bill of Repeal was defeated by seven votes.

Between president and Assembly it was henceforth a question which should first be able to overthrow the other.

**The Coup d'Etat** (December 2, 1851). — The Assembly was at the disadvantage of being a many-headed, many-minded body. Louis Napoleon could take his measures with the effectiveness of profound secrecy. On the evening of December 1 he held the customary thronged reception at the Palace of the Elysée. Nothing in his bearing betrayed preoccupation or excitement. At the usual hour he withdrew and closeted himself with his half-brother, De Morny, the minister of war, St. Arnaud, and the prefect of the police, De Maupas. They alone were acquainted with his plans and upon them depended their execution. Before daybreak every formidable opponent of the president had been arrested, the principal quarters of Paris occupied by guards, and despatches sent out to the 40,000 communes of France announcing what had been done. Innumerable manifestoes, everywhere attached to the walls, proclaimed that the president on his own responsibility had dissolved the Assembly, restored universal suffrage, and appealed to the people to express its verdict on his acts in a plebiscite to be held within two weeks. He proposed a new constitution which provided for a senate, council of state, and legislative chamber, and which lengthened the presidential term to ten years. A glowing proclamation was also addressed to the army.

A portion of the Assembly on the next day endeavored to hold a session, but the deputies were arrested. Disturbances broke out in various parts of the capital and in the provinces, but were quickly suppressed. Sixty-six radical deputies were exiled as well as a number of monarchists. But Paris, as well as France in general, received the news of the coup d'état with indifference or satisfaction.

## III

### TRIUMPH OF REACTION IN EUROPE

**Subjugation of Hungary.** — The real ruler of Austria in December, 1848, was Prince Schwartzenberg, the head of the ministry. His political principles differed little from those of Metternich. He proposed to tolerate no reforms save such as should be extorted and to reduce all other ambitions in the empire to complete subjection to the Austrian Germans. Austria in its medley of races and of débris of other states is the most heterogeneous power in Europe. By a playing off of race against race and utilizing each to overthrow some other, Schwartzenberg proposed to attain his ends.

The Hungarians regarded the new emperor as a usurper, and hence must be reduced to subjection. Though fighting to preserve Magyar independence of Austria and to maintain the concessions granted them by Ferdinand, they treated their subjects in their Transylvanian and Slavic provinces as oppressively as the Austrians had treated them. The Austrian general, Puchner, subdued Transylvania. Windischgrätz, with the main army, invaded western Hungary and captured Pesth. Dissensions speedily broke out between the orator Kossuth, the head of the committee of defence, and General Görgei, commander of the army. Kossuth removed Görgei and appointed a Pole, the incapable Dembinski, to the chief command. The Austrians won a series of successes, but Schwartzenberg alienated the Slavs, who offered to unite with their hereditary foes, but the Hungarians rejected their overtures. Görgei was restored to his command and he and Bem swept the invaders from the country, leaving only a few fortresses in their hands. The Hungarian Diet declared that the house of Hapsburg had forfeited its rights to the throne and that Hungary was henceforth an independent state. Austria had been thoroughly defeated. The only resource left her was to entreat the willing intervention of the Tsar.

Eighty thousand Russians entered from the north while

equally overwhelming forces marched from the south and east. The Hungarians, though constantly defeated, fought heroically against hopeless odds. General Klapka made a magnificent defence at Komorn. The last battle was fought at Temesvar on August 10, 1849. Three days later Görgei, to whom Kossuth had resigned the dictatorship, surrendered with all his forces to the Russians at Villagos.

Exasperated by the consciousness that they had been rescued from defeat only by the intervention of Russia, the Austrians inflicted terrible atrocities upon the vanquished. Bem, Kossuth and other leaders with about 5000 Hungarians escaped to Turkey, where they found generous protection. The Sultan, although threatened with war by Russia and Austria, refused to surrender the refugees. Hungary was crushed. Its political existence, for a time at least, seemed annihilated.

**Return to Absolutism in Austria.** — A Constitutional Assembly had met on July 22, 1848. In the polyglot body eight nationalities were represented. It was a burning question as to which language should be declared official. The deputies sat like enemies in as many hostile groups. Every theory found fierce expression. Order and even decency of debate were impossible. Nevertheless at their request the emperor returned to the capital. In a street riot Latour, the minister of war, was stripped naked and hanged to a lamp-post. The timorous emperor fled to Olmütz, thinking he would find his most trusty protectors among the Slavs. But he left a manifesto behind, wherein he declared that he would take such measures as he thought best to repress anarchy and preserve liberty. An imperial rescript suspended the sessions of the Assembly, although authorizing them to meet some weeks later at the Moravian town of Kremsier. Only a meagre fraction availed themselves of the permission. Meanwhile Schwartzenberg was appointed to the Cabinet, inasmuch as he knew "how to put down revolutions." Yet the ministry made a general declaration in favor of constitutional liberty. Their most difficult task was to find an equilibrium between the various Austrian states and to regulate the relations of the whole with Germany, of which the Austrian Empire constituted a part. Yet by March 4, 1849, an anomalous and impracticable constitution had been devised. In the universal discontent it was never put into execution. So Schwartzenberg

could well declare that it was only "a basis on which to reëstablish the authority of the throne." On January 1, 1852, this figment of a charter was definitely suppressed. Nothing had been gained except a slight improvement in the condition of the peasants.

**Defeat and Abdication of Charles Albert.** — The king of Piedmont had staked his crown upon the issue of war. He dreamed of a reunited Italy under the leadership of his house. But provincial jealousies chilled enthusiasm and hampered unity of action. Each insurgent state concerned itself with its own interests and failed to realize that victory was possible only through concerted effort. The king was a royalist, suspicious of republicanism and of any popular movement. He even disdained the volunteers who were ready to flock to his standard. Nevertheless many of those volunteer bands were to show surprising military qualities when pitted against the veterans of the enemy. Radetzki was one of the few able generals whom Austria has produced. Though over eighty years of age, he was a most formidable antagonist.

On June 24, 1848, a day of intense heat, the decisive battle was fought at Custozza. The defeated Piedmontese withdrew to Milan where bitter quarrels broke out between them and the Milanese. The king surrendered the city and afterwards signed an armistice, agreeing to take no farther part in the war. He had hitherto refused the conditional assistance of the French. Now, when he implored it without conditions, it was too late.

Custozza had really decided the fate of Italy. Her chief soldier withdrawn from the conflict, the submission of the peninsula to the old system was henceforth only a question of time. But the patriots held out with surprising tenacity and with even increasing vigor. Both at Florence and Rome democratic republics were proclaimed and constitutional assemblies convoked. A new wave of resolution swept over the land. But the political question had become complicated with the ecclesiastical question. Cardinal Antonelli asked for the interference of the four Catholic Powers, Austria, France, Spain and Naples, in behalf of the Pope. Austria was ready to act, but Louis Napoleon despatched 7000 men to Rome, though the object of the expedition was not at first clear. Ferdinand of Naples had reduced Sicily and was trampling on his prom-

ises of reform. Bombardment of his Sicilian cities had given him the nickname of "King Bomba," which the subsequent atrocities of his reign were to render odious.

In Piedmont the vociferous populace and the parliament demanded that Charles Albert should again attack Austria, inasmuch as she was apparently the only foreign state which the Italian cause had to dread. The king yielded. But he counted on no assistance from Rome or Florence and he knew that his own army was disinclined to the war. He entered upon the campaign rather as a martyr than as a soldier. It was, and it could be, only disastrous. Despite the heroism of his troops, he met a crushing defeat at Novara. On the evening after the battle the unhappy sovereign abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel.

The heart of revolution was now at Rome. Mazzini, like a modern Rienzi, and the impetuous Garibaldi inflamed the resolution of the people not to submit. But it was the French under General Oudinot and not the Austrians who attacked and then invested the city. After a siege, lasting twenty-nine days, despite prodigies of valor on the part of the besieged, the capital was taken and the Roman republic overthrown by the soldiers of republican France (June 29, 1849).

The catastrophe of Novara and the fall of Rome could not shake the courage of Venice. Nowhere was the Austrian rule more abhorred, yet nowhere were fewer crimes and excesses committed in the effort to shake it off. Her resistance lasted seventeen months. During 146 days she experienced all the horrors of siege and bombardment. She succumbed only to the exhaustion caused by famine and cholera. To Venice and to her illustrious dictator, Manin, attaches purer glory than to any other Italian state or leader in the agony of the struggle. On August 28, 1849, the triumphant Austrian flag floated once more over the Piazza of Saint Mark. And the former rulers and the old ways were restored throughout Italy.

**Conservatism of Pius IX.** — On his accession he had shown sympathy with constitutional liberty. But he dreaded the excesses of the democracy. Desirous of reform, he wished it to come gently and gradually. The frenzied passion of Mazzini appalled him even more than did the iron rule of Radetzki. Though a temporal prince,

he shrank from military action because head of the church. So he refused to yield to popular clamor and declare war against Austria. But in September, 1848, he called Count Rossi to preside over the papal Cabinet, and thus indicated his fixed purpose to pursue a policy of moderate liberalism.

There was at that time safety for no man in Rome unless an extremist. Two months later the capable and patriotic minister was stabbed by an anarchist on the very day when he was to open the session of the Chambers with a speech, promising to abolish the rule of the cardinals, to institute a lay government and to insist upon the emancipation and unification of Italy. A radical mob attacked the papal palace. The Pope in disguise escaped to Gaeta. When the Roman republic was proclaimed his temporal power was abolished. Not till 1850 did he return to his capital. No longer did he manifest any inclination toward reform. No triumph of reaction anywhere was more to be deplored than that which it had gained over the mind of the sovereign pontiff.

**Dissolution of the General Assembly at Frankfort.** — Despite the patriotism and learning of its members, it is a melancholy fact that the Assembly was doomed to failure from the start. It had been elected to draw up a constitution for all Germany, but the degree of its authority was a disputed point and it possessed no means of enforcing its decrees. It could only discuss and recommend. There was not in Germany a race problem as in Austria, and on the part of the German peoples there was a common desire for union. But the country was still too torn by violent and determined factions and too distracted by the selfish aims of the different states to secure common and voluntary acceptance of the salutary measures which might be proposed. Furthermore the deputies were not practical men but theorists without tact or political experience.

For a time however its measures commanded respect. Thus, when it decided to replace the Diet by a central executive and elected Archduke John of Austria as administrator of Germany, the archduke accepted the office and the Diet resigned its authority into his hands. But when the troops of the confederation were ordered to swear fidelity to this administrator, Austria and Prussia ignored the order, and it was obeyed only in the smaller states. Fickleness in dealing with the troubles in Schleswig-Holstein weakened

its influence. Days were wasted in sterile debates on trivial matters.

At the same time, at Berlin, the Prussian national Assembly was holding stormy and fruitless sessions and the city itself was for months in a condition little better than anarchy. Tired of oratory and street turmoil, the Prussians were not displeased when royal decrees placed their capital under martial law and dissolved their Assembly. This failure of the Prussian Assembly at Berlin had an injurious effect upon the General Assembly at Frankfort.

Nevertheless, it patched together a constitution for the whole empire and elected as emperor Frederick William IV the king of Prussia. The constitution was at once rejected by Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover, and Frederick William in a guarded manner declined the crown. The Assembly daily dwindled away until less than a hundred delegates remained. It was removed to Stuttgart on May 30, 1849, and was finally dispersed by the police. Nothing had been gained. All things continued as they were before.

## IV

### THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

**The Plebiscites of 1851 and 1852.** — A French plebiscite is an expression by universal suffrage wherein only "yes" or "no" is answered to a question submitted for decision. The constitution proposed December, 1851, was accepted and the presidential power for ten years conferred on Louis Napoleon by a plebiscite of 7,437,216 "yes" and 640,737 "no."

The decennial presidency heralded the empire. A year afterwards the Senate asked for a plebiscite on the proposition that the empire should be restored in the person of Louis Napoleon and of his descendants. The affirmative vote was 8,157,752, the negative 254,501. So the empire was solemnly proclaimed on December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon. The crowned president was speedily recognized as Napoleon III by all the courts of Europe. In the following January he married a Spanish lady of Scottish ancestry, Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba.

Worn out by the turmoils of the preceding years, indignant at the secondary rôle she had filled in Europe since 1815, France desired a strong government which would ensure tranquillity at home, and hence restore credit and develop material prosperity while at the same time making her respected abroad. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of the people were content to leave in the hands of the new "emperor of the French" a power hardly inferior to that exercised by a sultan or shah. The constitution centralized all authority in the person of its elected chief. He alone could command the army, direct public policy, decide upon war, and conclude peace. The ministers, appointed by him, were responsible only to him. They were rather his secretaries or functionaries than a cabinet. The legislative body, elected for six years, voted upon the taxes and the laws submitted to it by the Council

of State, but could of its own initiative propose nothing. The Senate consisted of 150 members, who were appointed for life by the emperor. It revised the laws voted by the legislative body and could accept or reject them as it deemed best. The Council of State was likewise named by the sovereign.

**The Crimean War** (1853–1856). — A famous apothegm of Napoleon III, "The empire is peace," was to be refuted by events in Eastern Europe. Since the days of Francis I and Souleïman the Magnificent, France had been the traditional ally of the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes, as under Napoleon I, such relations had been interrupted, but the sentiment none the less existed. Furthermore, France was recognized by the Ottomans as the protectress of Latin Christians in the East. So, when troubles broke out in 1853 between Russia and Turkey, — nominally over a monkish question as to the guardianship of certain holy places in Jerusalem and as to the claim of the Tsar to exercise protection over the Orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan, — Napoleon found a felicitous occasion to draw the sword.

Great Britain was above all other states interested in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. The sovereign of the French, though officially recognized, was everywhere regarded as an imperial parvenu. An alliance between him and Queen Victoria, granddaughter of George III, — the only sovereign in Europe who had persistently refused to acknowledge Napoleon I as emperor, — would dazzle the French and add a peculiar splendor to his crown. His overtures were well received. When the Ottoman fleet in the bay of Sinope was destroyed by the Russians (November 30, 1853), the French and British squadrons entered the Black Sea. A few months later, France and Great Britain signed a treaty with Turkey and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with each other.

Prussia though inactive sympathized with Russia. Austria hesitated, remembering that her endangered political existence had been preserved by Russia in 1849, and yet not unwilling that the overshadowing Muscovite Empire should receive a check. Without allying herself with the Western Powers, she demanded that the Russians should evacuate the Danubian principalities which they had occupied.

Cronstadt in the Baltic was the key of St. Petersburg.

Failing in attack upon this fortress, which the British admiral in command, Sir Charles Napier, declared was impregnable, the allies resolved to concentrate their efforts in an invasion of Russia from the south. Odessa had been successfully bombarded in April.

A French army under Marshal St. Arnaud and an English army under Lord Raglan landed at Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. The Russians, who were furthermore threatened on the west by the Austrians, evacuated the principalities and recrossed the Pruth. Austria at once occupied the abandoned provinces, promising to restore them to the Sultan on the conclusion of peace.

It was decided to attack Sebastopol, the great arsenal of Russia in the Crimea and the military centre from which she threatened the south. The city was at that time utterly unprepared to withstand a siege. On September 24 a fleet of 500 ships disembarked 30,000 French, 27,000 British, and 7000 Turks at Eupatoria, thirty miles to the north.

The operations against the beleaguered city went on under various forms for 351 days. The Russian generals, Mentshikoff, Todleben and Korniloff, strengthened the defences and resisted with Russian obstinacy. The battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman were favorable on the whole to the allies. Meanwhile St. Arnaud died and was succeeded by Marshal Canrobert, who, exhausted, gave way to General Pélissier. Lord Raglan died and was replaced by General James Simpson. The soldiers, especially the British, suffered horribly in a winter of unusual vigor. In a single storm twenty-one transports were wrecked. Piedmont, glad to make its existence remembered, sent to the assistance of the allies a little army of 18,000 well-equipped men. Together with the French they won the battle of Tchernaya (August 16), the decisive action of the campaign. By September 8 everything was ready for the final assault. The two chief defences of the city were the Malakoff and the Great Redan. The French successfully stormed the former, but the British, despite their desperate courage, were unable to capture the latter. However, the Malakoff taken, further resistance was useless, and the Russian army withdrew.

In Asia the Russian arms had been successful and they had captured the stronghold of Kars, which commanded the eastern approaches to Asia Minor.

Sebastopol was in the hands of the conquerors. To make themselves masters of it, the allies had sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 of their troops. Russia's losses were even greater. Nevertheless the utmost efforts of four Powers, assisted by the military interference of Austria, had only sufficed to reduce a fortress on the extreme southern verge of her empire. Her frontier had been touched but she had not been really invaded. The Tsar Nicholas I had died on March 2, 1855, and been succeeded by the milder and less persistent Alexander II.

The treaty was signed at Paris on March 30, 1856. It neutralized the Black Sea, guaranteed liberty of navigation in the Danube, from which it removed Russia by a slight rectification of her western frontier, and abolished the protectorate of Russia over the Danubian provinces and over her coreligionists in Turkey. Turkey was admitted to the international concert of states, and the Hatti Sherif of the Sultan, promising religious privileges to his non-Mussulman subjects, was incorporated in the treaty as a contract between him and Europe.

However gravely accepted and proclaimed, most of these conditions could be regarded only in the light of temporary accommodation. The really important achievement of the congress was its enunciation of the four following principles in international law: privateering is abolished; the neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, except contraband of war; neutral goods, except contraband of war, are exempt from capture even under an enemy's flag; a blockade to be respected must be effectual.

It was a splendid triumph for the French emperor and for France when the congress assembled at Paris to determine the conditions of peace. In the eyes of his people Napoleon III appeared to be the arbiter of the continent. The distant campaign had been attended with frightful loss in money and men, but it was forgotten in such glory as had not attended the French arms since the first Napoleon invaded Russia.

**War with Austria** (1859). — Piedmont, the only independent and constitutional Italian state, had won the gratitude of France and of Great Britain by her coöperation in the Crimean War. Her prime minister, Count Cavour, had taken part in the Congress of Paris and had dexterously improved the occasion to denounce the mis-

government of central and southern Italy and to arraign the Austrian occupation of Lombardy and Venice. Thereby he thrust the Italian question to the forefront of Europe. In 1858 he made a secret treaty with Napoleon, the object of which was the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula, and in January, 1859, cemented the relations of France and Piedmont by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, cousin of the emperor, to the Princess Clotilda, daughter of Victor Emmanuel.

While all Europe was considering a proposition from the British court for general disarmament, Austria committed a political blunder disastrous to herself. She addressed a note to the Piedmontese court, demanding the disarmament of their troops in the space of three days. Cavour gave a diplomatic reply, though gross provocation had come from Austria. Six days later she crossed the Ticino, this act being equivalent to a declaration of war against not only Piedmont but France. Napoleon wished to win for himself some of the military laurels his generals had gained in the Crimea, and took command in person. In his progress southward through France he was hailed with tremendous enthusiasm by the citizens, who rejoiced that their armies were again to fight the battles of Italian liberty.

The campaign was short but eventful. A main factor in determining the result was the proverbial slowness and indecision of the Austrian generals. General Forey with inferior forces defeated the enemy at Montebello (May 20). Marshal MacMahon gained a battle at Magenta (June 2), where the Austrians lost 20,000 killed and wounded and 7000 prisoners. The victors entered Milan amid a delirium of joy. Abandoning Lombardy, the Austrians concentrated 160,000 troops for a decisive action at Solferino. The French and Piedmontese forces were almost as numerous. The two emperors were in command. After a ten hours' battle the Austrians were compelled to retreat, leaving 30,000 men upon the field (June 24). Napoleon slept that night in the chamber which his imperial antagonist had occupied in the morning.

Napoleon had declared that he would free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But his position was one of extreme peril. The famous quadrilateral was still held by the enemy. Numerous reënforcements were pouring into the

Austrian camp. Prussia and the southwestern German states, dismayed at the progress of revolutionary ideas and unwilling to see France too victorious, showed a disposition to take part in the war. A proposition for an interview was made to Francis Joseph, and at Villafranca the two sovereigns signed the preliminaries of peace, afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Zurich. Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont. The sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states, but no foreign armies were to aid them in securing repossession. An Italian federation was to be formed under the presidency of the Pope. Piedmont skilfully kept herself free from entangling promises as to the future of Italy. Savoy and Nice, after a plebiscite of their inhabitants expressing the desire therefor, were annexed to France.

**Material Progress** (1852–1867). — These years are marked by brilliant prosperity. Under a strong and presumably stable government the people were no longer disturbed by fear of revolution and devoted themselves with ardor to every branch of activity. Whoever wished could obtain work at a fair remuneration, and capital found lucrative avenues everywhere open. Private and public enterprise covered France with a network of railroads. Highways were laid out and bridges constructed in all directions. Easier and cheaper means of communication were both a cause and result of wonderful development in manufactures and trade. Docks were constructed and harbors dug or enlarged. Great loan companies assisted labor and savings-banks sprang up to receive its earnings. Numerous chambers of commerce and agriculture were founded. Duties on grain were abolished. Sagacious commercial treaties with Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and other states favored the export of French products and introduced foreign products at cheaper rates. In thirteen years the exports and imports trebled in value.

Hospitals were multiplied. Convalescent homes, as at Vincennes, Vésinet, and Longchêne, orphanages, asylums and all conceivable institutions of beneficence and philanthropy were established. Here governmental and private generosity rivalled each other. Popular education developed as never before in France. The pupils increased by 1,000,000 in fifteen years. Special attention was paid to professional, industrial and technical schools. The law

of April 10, 1867, specifically provided for the education of girls. An immense number of school libraries were founded. Instruction seemed an antidote for crime. "According as the schools filled up the prisons emptied."

Paris, congested in narrow and crooked streets, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale by Baron Haussmann, prefect of the Seine. Even the Louvre, hitherto unfinished, was completed. Lyons and Marseilles were almost transformed. The same thing went on upon a proportional scale in the other cities and towns. Public gardens and parks were created for the diversion and health of the people. Sanitary measures diminished the death-rate. A sense of well-being and comfort pervaded the country.

**The Universal Exposition of 1867.** — This was the visible expression of all the material prosperity under the empire. It may be called also the culmination of its glory.

The Champ de Mars was converted into a city of exhibition, or a world bazaar. In the centre rose an enormous palace in iron and glass, enclosing an area of thirty-six acres, packed in bewildering fashion with whatever was most valuable and rare. This palace was over 1600 feet long and almost 1300 in width. It was surrounded by gardens adorned with works of art and edifices representing the architecture, manner of life and occupations of all nations. From all over the globe manufacturers, inventors, agriculturists, artists, merchants flocked to Paris to there exhibit and behold all the achievements of peace and to vie with one another in the display of their various products. It was a tournament of all mankind, where international juries awarded prizes for the best things which the human hand and brain had done. No equal international exhibition had ever been held. It surpassed every other in the number, variety and excellence of the articles displayed, and these articles represented every department of human science and activity. There were 51,819 exhibitors, and it was visited daily during six months by over 70,000 persons.

Inevitably, because held in France and other nations were more or less remote, the French exhibit was superior to the rest. The French might take a legitimate pride, not only in the fact that the marvellous exhibition was devised by them, but in the preëminent splendor of their share in the exhibit. Napoleon and France occupied

the proud position of hosts. The most enlightened foreigners by tens and hundreds of thousands thronged their capital as guests. The emperors of Russia and Austria, the queen of Great Britain, the kings of Italy, Prussia, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and numerous other rulers of civilized or barbarous states by their presence added to the dignity and enhanced the magnificence of the occasion. Paris for half a year was decked as in a perpetual fête.

**Humiliations of the Empire.** — Two were of such a nature as to be peculiarly galling to a sensitive people. The first and most important was administered by the United States. In 1862 France, Great Britain and Spain sent a joint military expedition to Mexico to enforce the payment of certain claims. When their ostensible object was attained Great Britain and Spain withdrew. The United States were then engaged in a civil war, which Napoleon believed would end in the dissolution of the Union. Therefore he judged the occasion favorable to set up a Latin empire, which should conterpoise any Anglo-Saxon republics in the Western world. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, consented to accept the crown to be wrung for him from Mexico, Napoleon promising to maintain an army of 25,000 French soldiers for the protection of the new emperor. The American government had refused to recognize any authority in Mexico except that of the dispossessed president, Juarez, but, its hands tied by the civil war, was unable to do more. After the confederacy was overthrown, it notified Napoleon that his soldiers must be withdrawn. The French emperor judged it expedient to comply, though in so doing he violated his promise to Maximilian and ignominiously left him to destruction. Meanwhile Carlotta, the devoted wife of Maximilian, journeyed from court to court in Europe, entreating assistance for her husband and denouncing the desertion of him by Napoleon. Successive disappointments overthrew her reason. The Mexican Empire was destroyed by Juarez, and Maximilian was finally captured and shot as a usurper (June 19, 1867). The news of the terrible disaster reached Europe while Paris was in the full tide of the Universal Exposition and cast a gloom upon the gayety and brilliancy of the occasion. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure.

The second humiliation was the work of Count von Bismarck, president of the Prussian Cabinet. In the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866 it was of supreme importance to the Prussians to prevent the interference of France whose sympathies lay with Austria. So Bismarck gave Napoleon to understand that in case Prussia was victorious and increased her territory, France should receive an equivalent by the annexation of Luxemburg on her northeastern frontier. The war ended in the aggrandizement of Prussia. Thereupon Napoleon demanded the cession of Luxemburg, but Bismarck now informed him that the Germans were opposed to any such arrangement, and that hence it was impossible. Napoleon had thus been ridiculously outwitted in the face of all Europe. But France was utterly unprepared for war and could only submit to the blow dealt her own and her emperor's prestige.

The third humiliation of the empire was inflicted upon it by the people in the plebiscite of May 8, 1870. By various modifications, introduced voluntarily by the sovereign, the government had passed from the absolute autocracy of 1852 to the constitutional or parliamentary monarchy of 1870. Political exiles had been amnestied and made eligible to office. Gradually concessions, although not extorted, had been granted until the country enjoyed freedom of the press, of parliamentary criticism and debate, responsibility of the ministers to the Chamber, and a constitution revised in a liberal sense. By the latter, granted April 20, 1870, the legislative power was shared by the Senate and the Chamber, while all power to further change the constitution was intrusted to the people. Upon the advice of his minister, M. Rouher, the emperor asked a plebiscite concerning the reforms successively introduced and the revised constitution. An affirmative vote was furthermore understood to mean attachment to the reigning dynasty. Though there were only 1,500,000 nays to over 7,000,000 yeas, the negative vote was surprisingly large and also alarming in what it represented. While the rural districts were to all intents unanimous, an immense dissatisfaction with the state of things was revealed by the vote of Paris, the larger cities, and the army. Moreover, many of its adherents were indignant at the recent course of the government in despatching French troops to put down Garibaldi and in declaring its intention to maintain by arms the temporal

power of the Pope. The plebiscite, despite the immense majority of 5,500,000, was considered a rebuff.

**The Franco-Prussian War** (1870–1871). — An increasing exasperation of the French against the Prussians and a growing animosity between the two states had existed ever since the Prusso-Austrian war. An ultimate conflict was inevitable. Events concurred to hasten the catastrophe.

The Spaniards, who had expelled their Bourbon dynasty, offered the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a near kinsman of William I, king of Prussia. All France was on fire with excitement. Nor was the agitation allayed when it was heard that the prince had declined the offer. The foreign minister, the Duke de Gramont, the Empress Eugénie, the Chamber and the populace of Paris did their utmost to fan the flames. Napoleon and the calmer heads, like Thiers, were averse to war. But the emperor, exhausted by the ravages of an incurable malady, was no longer the cool, firm man who had executed the coup d'état or commanded at Solferino. The Duke de Gramont asserted, "We are ready, more than ready," and the prime minister, Ollivier, announced, "We accept the responsibility with a light heart!" War was declared by France on July 15, 1870. Never was a war a more rapid succession of disasters.

Prussia, under William I, Von Moltke, minister of war, and Von Bismarck had for years been steadily preparing for the struggle which she knew was to come. No nation was ever more terribly ready. Not a shoe-latchet was wanting to the troops. Treaties assured her the active support of all Germany. Even the plans of campaign were all matured. France had not an ally on whom to depend. Her regiments were incomplete, ill provisioned and ill armed. Yet, intoxicated with rage and overweening confidence in herself, she threw herself into the conflict as a gambler risks his all upon a throw.

The French armies were mobilized with distressing slowness. Twenty days after the declaration of war the hostile forces had invaded France. The crown prince of Prussia defeated General Douay at Weissenburg (August 4), and, two days later, with 100,000 men destroyed an army of 45,000 men under Marshal MacMahon at Wörth. Then, as all through the war, the French fought with desperate courage and determination. But heroism without plan and

with inferior arms was of no avail against equal heroism attended by superior numbers and skill. The battle of Wörth was decisive of the campaign. By the victory the Prusso-German forces projected into France like a mighty wedge, and afterwards the French main armies, pressed to the right and left, could never unite. Moreover, Austria and Italy, who might have assisted France, were disinclined to join their fortunes to a lost cause. Skilful manœuvres and the victories of Forbach and Gravelotte succeeded in hemming the commander-in-chief, Marshal Bazaine, with 173,000 men, inside the fortifications of Metz. There he was at once besieged by the crown prince of Saxony.

**Sedan.** — A forlorn hope remained for the deliverance of Bazaine. Marshal MacMahon, the ablest general of France, with 130,000 troops marched to his relief. But he was hampered by the presence of the emperor, who had left the Empress Eugénie as regent, and by the constant interference of the French minister of war, Count Palikao. While in the valley of Sedan his army was surrounded by 250,000 Germans, who, by forced marches and in perfect obedience to concerted plans, had closed in upon them. Retreat or advance was impossible. After three days of hopeless fight and terrible loss, the French surrendered, Napoleon himself offering his sword to King William. Together with the emperor 104,000 men had been taken prisoners.

**Fall of the Empire** (September 4, 1870). — The news of the surrender was received at Paris with frenzy. The mob took control, pronounced the deposition of the emperor and proclaimed the republic. On the pillars of the Palace Bourbon they chalked the names of those whom they wished to direct affairs and who, without further election, assumed authority as the Government of National Defence. General Trochu was made President, Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs, Gambetta, minister of the interior, Jules Simon, minister of public instruction, and General Le Flô, minister of war. Their attempts to place the responsibility for the war upon Napoleon were coldly received by the Germans, who furthermore showed unwillingness to treat with an irresponsible government. M. Thiers was sent to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence to beg assistance, but everywhere in vain. Jules

Favre declared that France would not yield an inch of her soil, and the Germans had resolved to consider no propositions of peace that did not include the acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine.

**Surrender of Metz** (October 27). — Completely shut in, Marshal Bazaine received only such news of the condition of France as the enemy judged expedient. Cut off from all hope of rescue, his cavalry and artillery horses killed for food, his provisions exhausted, he surrendered. His army of 173,000 men was sent to Germany to share the captivity of the prisoners of Sedan. A capitulation on such an enormous scale was unexampled. No event in the war has been more bitterly criticised and its necessity more angrily disputed. After the cessation of hostilities Bazaine was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death.

In spite of obstinate resistance, Toul (September 23), Strasburg (September 28), Verdun (November 8), and all the fortified places of northwestern France, except Belfort, were one after the other forced to capitulate.

**Siege and Surrender of Paris** (January 28, 1871). — The siege of Paris began on September 19. Gambetta escaped in a balloon (passing over the German lines), and reaching Toul became a virtual dictator. Infusing his own wild energy into the people of central and southern France, he induced them to prolong a hopeless struggle. Yet each day's added resistance could only increase the general suffering and force harsher terms upon France in the end. Meanwhile the enemy, leaving sufficient forces for the siege of Paris, deluged the country on the west and south. The untrained levies under Generals Aurelle de Paladines and Bourbaki could only delay but not prevent their advance.

Paris held out for 142 days. The city, esteemed frivolous, showed such sternness and tenacity in defence as no other great capital has ever equalled. Each desperate sortie drew the iron bands tighter around her, and she yielded at last, not to the Germans but to famine. The German Empire had been proclaimed in the Palace of Versailles ten days before. Even then Gambetta was unwilling to give up, and resigned his office only when he had been disavowed by the government of Paris.

**The Treaty of Frankfort.** — In the hour of her extremest distress France turned to her one statesman, Thiers. He could not save her, but he might somewhat alleviate the

miseries of her fall. The National Assembly, elected by German consent, met at Bordeaux. The Government of National Defence laid down its powers. Thiers was appointed to form a ministry and negotiate terms of peace. With Count Bismarck he wrestled over each point in the Prussian demands. Hard though the terms imposed, they would have been still harder but for him. It was agreed that France should pay $1,000,000,000 indemnity in the space of three years, and that all Alsace except Belfort, and one-fifth of Lorraine including Metz should be annexed to Germany. The evacuation of territory was to take place proportionally as the indemnity was paid.

This preliminary treaty was approved by the French Assembly on March 2 and formally ratified at Frankfort on May 10, 1871.

## V

### GERMANY

#### (1848–1871)

**Rivalry of Prussia and Austria.** — Of the thirty-eight sovereignties which composed the German Confederation, Austria and Prussia were by far the most important. Both were disliked by the other German states, but Austria, although the larger and stronger, was dreaded less than Prussia. During the preceding 150 years they had gradually approached each other by an inverse process, the one by intermittent development and expansion, the other by intermittent decline, until they stood almost upon a par. Liberty had nothing to hope from the government of either. Nor could it be expected that either would advance the cause of German union except by making other and weaker states dependent upon itself. Prussia, because of her more restricted territory and smaller population, caused less anxiety to Europe than did Austria, who, because an agglomeration of races, never could rally the Germans to the cry of nationality.

The problem what to do with Austria had disturbed the wordy National Assembly at Frankfort in 1848 and 1849. Some of the delegates proposed that she should remain a state apart, either abandoning her German provinces or retaining them, but in any case to be reckoned outside of Germany. Other delegates proposed that all the German states and all the Austrian provinces of whatever race should combine in one enormous empire, spanning Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and that Austria should be its head. The first of these propositions may be called the Prussian, and the second proposition the Austrian plan. This crucial question received its solution only eighteen years afterwards, and meanwhile affected the whole current of German politics.

**Question of Schleswig-Holstein** (1848–1855). — Schleswig

and Holstein are two duchies lying between Denmark and Germany. The inhabitants of the former were mainly, and of the latter exclusively, German. Both enjoyed a separate political existence, with their own customs and laws, although their sovereign was the king of Denmark. Frederick VII at his accession incorporated Schleswig with his Danish states. But the German Diet as formally incorporated Schleswig with Germany and appointed Prussia by the sword to carry this action into effect. The Danes gained the advantage in battle. A protocol, signed at London in 1850 by Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, and another treaty in 1852, introduced diplomatic arrangements which decided little, contented no one, but contained the germ of future trouble.

The king went on with his attempted Danification of the duchies. In 1855 he published a constitution wherein the same laws were applied indiscriminately to them and to all his other provinces. The duchies protested, Germany threatened to interfere, and Frederick granted certain concessions. The general irritation did not diminish. Relying on the promise of Great Britain to protect the integrity of Danish territory and swept along by the enthusiasm of the Danes, the king persisted in measures that were both impolitic and unjust. In 1863 by a manifesto he assimilated Schleswig to his other possessions and declared that Holstein should pay certain taxes, which had not been voted by her Estates. After fruitless negotiations the German Diet determined on armed intervention and occupied Holstein by Saxon and Hanoverian troops (December, 1863). The Danish forces withdrew without resistance into Schleswig. Thus far the contention had been one of race. The Danes had determined to blot out the German character of the duchies, which the inhabitants of those duchies were as determined to retain.

**King William I and Otto von Bismarck.** — On January 2, 1861, William I ascended the Prussian throne. His brother, Frederick William IV, suffering from insanity, he had acted as regent during the preceding two years. He was a man of strong character and decided opinions, fully persuaded of the divine right of kings. His despotic sentiments often brought him into collision with the people, and he was by no means popular. A soldier from his birth, he believed the welfare of Prussia was bound up in the army.

Though otherwise evincing no extraordinary talents, he showed remarkable sagacity in the choice of men for important positions. Then he honored them with his full confidence, and, absolute as he was, allowed them wide latitude in carrying out his ideas. In the autumn after his accession he appointed Otto von Bismarck Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Cabinet. No other choice could have been equally felicitous. If the renown of the minister afterwards overshadowed that of the master, it was largely gained by the fidelity as well as the wonderful ability of his services. From 1862 to 1870 the biography of Bismarck is the history of Prussia; from 1870 to 1890 his biography is the history of Germany. In an epoch-making age he stands without a peer among the statesmen of continental Europe.

A conflict was pending in 1862 between the king and the Prussian parliament over the bill reorganizing the army. The scheme proposed more than doubled the numbers of its troops while vastly increasing their efficiency. But the people saw in the project only an additional weapon of despotism. The lower Chamber loaded the bill with amendments and finally rejected it altogether. Bismarck had no respect for popular votes or parliamentary majorities. Already he had declared that the great questions of the time were to be settled "by blood and iron." He advised the king to prorogue the Chambers, silence the press, and reorganize the army as he pleased. His advice was followed.

The military system of Prussia, which was to defeat Austria, crush France and reunite Germany, was the result. But it was founded none the less on a royal usurpation of legislative rights.

**Austro-Prussian Occupation of Schleswig-Holstein** (1863–1864). — The troubles in the duchies afforded Bismarck an admirable opportunity. First he strenuously persuaded Austria to join Prussia and interfere, regardless of the Diet and of the wishes of the other German states. After sending an ultimatum to Copenhagen, which was rejected, the Prussian and Austrian forces invaded Denmark, not as the armed agents of Germany or in behalf of the duchies, but solely on their own account. The little nation was helpless against their attack. Neither did she receive the promised aid of Great Britain. By the treaty of

Vienna (October 30, 1864) Christian IX was obliged to cede all the disputed territory to Prussia and Austria jointly. The odium of the conquest fell equally on the two Powers, but the gains were to be reaped only by Prussia. By the convention of Gastein — one of the most brilliant diplomatic triumphs Bismarck ever won — to her was assigned Schleswig with the seaport of Kiel in Holstein. Austria was to retain Holstein, a distant acquisition, which could only be to her a source of weakness and a cause of future trouble.

**Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria** (1866). — Prussia was at last ready for the final struggle against her adversary. Her army was fully disciplined and equipped. Great Britain, France and Russia endeavored to mediate and prevent the war, but to no purpose. Most of the German states sided with Austria. On June 15 Prussia declared war against Hanover, Hesse and Saxony. On the 20th Italy, whose offensive and defensive alliance had been gained by the promise of Venetia, declared war against Austria and Bavaria. Meanwhile Prussia had 500,000 men under arms. She struck with astounding rapidity, but Austria and her allies moved as in sleep or stupor. Within a week Hanover, Hesse and Saxony were subdued, their armies captured or destroyed and their kings in flight. Into Bohemia, whose passes were undefended, poured 280,000 men with 800 guns. Marshal Benedek had no more than 210,000 men and 762 guns of inferior calibre with which to oppose them. In two days' time he lost a sixth of his army and sent word to the Austrian emperor that his only hope was in peace. The reply was an order to give battle, and the order was obeyed.

**Sadowa** (July 3, 1866). — Benedek chose a strong position at Sadowa in an amphitheatre of wooded hills in front of Königgrätz, the Elbe being in his rear. With the precision of a machine his foes in three several armies under King William, Count von Moltke, the Minister of War, the Crown Prince, General von Roon, General Hiller, Prince Frederick Charles and other of the ablest commanders in Europe were marching upon him. Even Bismarck was there to rejoice in the ruin for which he had prepared the way and to conduct the negotiations after the already certain victory.

The Prussians began their attack at three o'clock in the

morning. The Crown Prince of Prussia with his army was to reach his position on the extreme Austrian right ten hours later. The Austrians held their ground with unflinching courage, but mere gallantry is a minor element in modern warfare. Even the fog fought for the Prussians and masked the movements of the Crown Prince until his army assailed and destroyed the Austrian right. Driven from their lines by the always mounting tide of the attack, the soldiers of Benedek at last gave way and in one enormous broken mass rushed toward the river. That day's fighting cost Austria 4190 killed, 11,900 wounded, 20,000 prisoners and 160 cannon. Above all, it hurled her out of Germany and crowned Prussia, her hereditary foe, with the leadership over the Germans.

It is common to ascribe the victory at Sadowa to the Prussian needle-gun, which, though carrying a shorter distance, could be fired five times as fast as the Austrian cannon and with far deadlier effect. The superiority of this weapon however was but one among the many factors that ensured Prussian success.

The road to Vienna was open. There was no army to oppose the advance of the invaders. After ineffectual attempts at negotiation, Austria implored the mediation of Napoleon to secure peace, thereby abandoning her as yet unconquered and unattacked allies, Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse and other south German states. They were subdued with celerity.

Meanwhile, Austrian dynastic pride was soothed by the victory of the Archduke Albert over the Italians at Custozza (June 24), an ill-omened field for Italy, and by the destruction of the Italian navy at Lissa (July 20) by Admiral Tegetthoff.

**Hegemony of Prussia** (1866–1871). — The conditions of peace were, as always, hard for the vanquished. Austria recognized her exclusion from Germany, abandoned her claims to Schleswig and Holstein, ceded Venetia to Italy, agreed to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers, and left Prussia free to organize Germany as she pleased.

Prussia added to her territory Hanover, despite the protests of Great Britain, the electorate of Hesse, Nassau, the free city of Frankfort, Schleswig-Holstein and certain smaller territories to facilitate her internal communications. Upon the states of southern Germany, Bavaria,

Würtemberg and Baden, she imposed treaties of offensive and defensive alliance, and was also guaranteed the command of their armies in case of war. These treaties however were to be kept profoundly secret.

The most manifest and imposing monument of Sadowa was the North German Confederation, of which the king of Prussia was president. It comprised Prussia and in general all the states north of the river Main. Though a federal parliament, the Reichstag, was created, each state retained its own chambers and local laws. A federal council, wherein out of forty-three votes Prussia had seventeen, regulated federal relations. Even the reluctant southern kingdoms were shrewdly interested in the new order, being requested to send delegates who, together with the members of the Reichstag, should decide the customs-dues and the tariff regulations of all Germany. The North German Confederation was the sure prophesy of the speedy German unification under a German Empire.

The colors of Prussia were black and white. The new national standard in its union of black, white and red proclaimed her hegemony.

**Unification of Germany** (1871). — It is a truism, but none the less true, that it was the Prussian schoolmaster who gained the battle of Sadowa. Success intensified rather than relaxed the efforts and ambitions of the mighty men who controlled the destinies of Prussia. Every energy was devoted to preparation for the next war, which, whoever the aggressor, all Europe foresaw would be with France. The Prussian generals, diplomats and statesmen formed a galaxy, rare in any age, and above them towered the king, Von Bismarck and Von Moltke. "Let us work fast, gentlemen," said Bismarck. "Let us put Germany in the saddle. She will know how to ride." In 1868 Von Moltke laid before the king his plan of campaign in case of the invasion of France.

In a mad hour like an angry child France drew the sword. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, with the dethronement of the Napoleonic dynasty, the captivity of 400,000 French soldiers, and the humiliations of Sedan and Metz, was the result. To Prussia and to Germany it wrought realization of the enthusiastic dreams of Arndt and of the calmer projects of Frederick the Great, Von Stein and Bismarck in the accomplishment of national unity. The blood,

which all the German states shed together on the fields of France, cemented the bonds of race as nothing else could have done. The factious opposition of feudal traditions and local jealousies could not longer continue. The Reichstag in an address to the king of Prussia, presented on December 18, 1870, employed these words: "The North German parliament, in unison with the princes of Germany, approaches with the prayer that your Majesty will deign to consecrate the work of unification by accepting the imperial crown of Germany. The Teutonic crown on the head of your Majesty will inaugurate for the reëstablished empire of the German nation an era of honor, of peace, of well-being and of liberty secured under the protection of the laws."

The Palace of Versailles is the architectural masterpiece and favorite residence of Louis XIV, the arch-enemy of the Germans. More than half a century ago it was converted into an enormous historical picture-gallery and its walls were covered with countless splendid paintings representing all the French conquests and triumphs during hundreds of years. In the gorgeous throne-room of this palace, hung all around with the royal glories of its founder, the German Empire was proclaimed on January 18, 1871, and the king of Prussia accepted for himself and his descendants the imperial crown. No coronation at Frankfort or Berlin could have been so eloquent and so impressive. The shouts of the victorious assemblage, hailing a resurrected and united Germany, announced a new era, and woke echoes in the neighboring room where Louis XIV had died.

## VI

### THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

#### (1871–1898)

**The Commune** (March 18–May 28, 1871). — A majority of the members of the National Assembly, though not venturing to overthrow the republic, inclined to a monarchical form of government. Therefore they were regarded with suspicion and even hated by a large section of the Parisian populace. The sufferings of the siege, indignation at the triumphal entry of the Germans and the exasperation of failure had wrought the lower classes to frenzy. It was easy for the so-called Central Committee, representing every radical and anarchistic notion and strong in the support of the dregs of the people, to rouse the mob, unfurl the red flag, seize the city and all the fortifications except Mount Valerian and proclaim the Commune. Some of the still armed national guard rallied to their side. Eager for blood, they assassinated General Lecomte and General Thomas, who had fought well for France. M. Thiers, the government officials, and the members of the Assembly had time to withdraw to Versailles.

Marshal MacMahon, now healed from his wounds, and many French prisoners of war had already returned. The marshal had the melancholy duty of placing himself at their head to put down an insurrection of their fellow-countrymen. It was necessary to undertake a regular siege and bombard the capital. Inside the city any semblance of order soon gave way to anarchy, but the insurgents fought with ferocity. They butchered Monseigneur Darboy, — the third archbishop of Paris who has fallen victim during this century to a Parisian mob, — the curate of the Madeleine, and the President of the Court of Appeals. In the quarter of Belleville they slaughtered sixty-two soldiers and priests whom they held as hostages. After the government troops had forced their way through the gates, a murderous hand-

to-hand fight in the streets continued for seven days before resistance was quelled. Maddened by rage at defeat the communists sought to destroy all Paris and bury themselves in its ashes. The women were more demoniac than the men. They succeeded in burning the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, and many other public and private buildings. The column of the Place Vendôme they threw to the ground. The horrified troops showed scant mercy to their miserable captives. For a year there were court-martials and executions. Thirteen thousand persons were transported or condemned to prison for the crimes of the Commune. In the wars of 1500 years Paris had never suffered as at the hands of her own children in this insurrection.

**M. Thiers, President of the Republic** (1871–1873). — Thus, at the beginning of his presidency had devolved upon Thiers two cruel tasks. The one was to make peace with a foreign invader gorged with victory. The other was to extinguish civil war.

The sight of an army of occupation wounded the nation to the quick. With tireless energy and wonderful skill Thiers devoted himself to discharging the war indemnity of $1,000,000,000. By September, 1873, it had all been paid, not in paper but in hard coin, and the last German soldier had recrossed the frontier. The president well deserved the title of "Liberator of the Territory," which was decreed him in public opinion.

How long the deputies of the Assembly should hold their seats had never been determined, and they governed without a constitution. Thiers was a liberal monarchist, but a patriot above all. He believed that under the circumstances only a republican form of government was possible for France. Thereby he incurred the hostility of the majority which was made up of legitimists, Orleanists and imperialists. These groups were at variance with one another and agreed only in antagonism to the republic. Some were moved by loyalty to a dynasty; others by the dreaded spectre of radicalism and the red flag. On May 23, 1873, by a test vote of 360 to 344 the Assembly expressed its desire that the president should change his policy. The old man, whose life of seventy-six years had been consecrated to his country, preferred to resign.

**Presidency of Marshal MacMahon** (1873–1879). — On the same day the Assembly elected Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, as his successor. This soldier of the empire was supposed to be Orleanist at heart. He was a man of upright character, universally esteemed, but cast in the mould of a general rather than of a statesman. The Orleanist Duke de Broglie was made minister of foreign affairs. In the new ministry all the three monarchist groups were represented. The republicans were likewise split into three sections: the Left Centre or conservative republicans; the Left or more advanced republicans; the Extreme Left or radicals. The last faction were under the control of Gambetta, a natural orator and skilled politician who, despite his restless temperament, knew how to temporize and wait.

The Republic existed de facto, but had never been officially decreed. The Orleanists fused with the legitimists and consented to proclaim the childless Henry, Count of Chambord, as king, the succession to devolve on the Count of Paris, the head of the house of Orleans. The vote of the Assembly seemed secured for the grandson of Charles X, when the monarchist schemes were wrecked on the question of the color of a flag. The Count of Chambord refused to recognize the tricolor, associated with the Revolution and the empire, and made his acceptance of the throne conditional upon the restoration of the white flag. Henry IV had declared that Paris is worth a mass. His descendant, Henry of Chambord, chose to reject a throne rather than abandon the symbol of his house. Negotiations could go no farther, for the tricolor was interwoven with all the later life of France. The disappointed monarchists together with the republican Left Centre voted that the presidency of Marshal MacMahon should continue for seven years (November 20, 1873). Alarmed by the progress of imperialism, the Assembly, on January 30, 1875, by a majority of one recognized the Republic as the definite government of France.

Meanwhile the deputies toiled laboriously at the formation of a provisional constitution, which was finally voted on February 25, 1875. This constitution was added to or modified several times in the course of the year. It provided for a Chamber of 733 deputies elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years, and for a Senate of 300

members, 225 to be elected by the departments and colonies for a term of nine years — seventy-five going out of office every three years — and seventy-five by the national assembly for life. The president of the Republic was to be chosen, not by a plebiscite, but by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting in joint session. He was to hold office for seven years and could be reëlected. His power was to resemble that of a constitutional sovereign and his ministers were responsible to the Chambers. The attributes of the two houses were poorly defined, and were sure to be the cause of future contention. Distrust of or indifference to the will of the people was a marked feature in the elaboration of the constitution. Thus Versailles, and not Paris, was declared the seat of government and legislation. Moreover, each faction sought to so adjust the provisions as to perpetuate itself. The Senate was carefully designed as a bulwark of conservatism or an obstructive force.

The Assembly dissolved in December, 1875. The elections gave a strong majority in the Chamber to the republicans. M. Dufaure became President of the Council, or prime minister, with M. Leon Say as minister of finance. He was succeeded a few months later by M. Jules Simon, an orator and versatile writer as well as accomplished statesman. He endeavored to serve the nation rather than a party, and to maintain a middle course between the conservatives and the radicals, who daily became more hostile to each other. Religious questions intensified the dispute. The prime minister satisfied none and alienated all.

The republican sentiment was daily becoming stronger in the country, but Marshal MacMahon was too much bound by traditions and of too inflexible a nature to understand or conform to the march of public opinion. On May 16, 1877, he brought about the resignation of M. Simon, and appointed a monarchist ministry whose principal members were the Orleanist Duke de Broglie and the imperialist M. de Fourtou. The Senate was compliant and approving, but the refractory Chamber of Deputies was prorogued for a month. When it reassembled, by an immense majority it passed a vote of lack of confidence in the ministry. The Senate authorized the dissolution of the Chamber, which was at once dissolved. A coup d'état was dreaded, whereby some sort of monarchy should be imposed, but the monarchists could not agree upon whose brow to place the crown.

Then followed all over the country the most genuine electoral campaign in which France had ever engaged. The government applied all the pressure in its power to determine the result. The marshal traversed the country, his partisans believing many votes would be influenced by his military renown and by the memory of his great services under the empire. Gambetta organized the opposition and everywhere delivered impassioned and convincing speeches. For a time he allowed his radicalism to slumber that he might rally under one banner all the anti-monarchists of whatever camp. A practical theorist, he had declared that a principle must not be pushed too far and that one must make the best of opportunity rather than risk everything and so perhaps lose all. For this he was later called an opportunist, and the name was applied to those who followed his lead.

In the heat of the electoral battle Thiers died at St. Germain. He, more than any other man, had been the acknowledged chief of the liberal party. National gratitude conspired with party loyalty to make his funeral the occasion of an imposing and overwhelming demonstration.

The republican victory was magnificent. In the new Chamber the opponents of the marshal had a majority of 110, which was further increased by invalidating the elections of fifty-two government candidates. They refused to vote the budget unless the president chose his cabinet from the parliamentary majority. He yielded, and called to the ministry MM. Dufaure, Waddington, Marcère, de Freycinet and Leon Say.

The following year there was a truce in political strife. France and Paris united to further the International Exposition of 1878, endeavoring to eclipse its brilliant predecessor of 1867. The seats of seventy-five senators became vacant in 1879. The success of the republicans was so complete as to assure them henceforth a majority in that hitherto conservative body. Marshal MacMahon judged his position untenable and resigned the chief magistracy (January 30, 1879).

His presidency was the long crisis in the history of the France of to-day. The longer the crisis continued, the more definite and stable the result. Since then president, Chamber and Senate have been in political accord as to the

system of government. That 16th of May, 1877, when M. Simon was dismissed and the Duke de Broglie appointed prime minister, was the Sadowa of monarchical restoration in France.

**Presidency of M. Grévy** (1879–1887). — M. Grévy was at once elected president of the Republic. Gambetta succeeded him as president of the Chamber of Deputies. Frequent changes in the ministry followed one another, the conservatives growing weaker and the radical tendency becoming continually more marked. The death of the Prince Imperial in South Africa (June 8, 1880), where he had joined a British expedition against the Zulus, blasted the rising hopes of the imperialists, who could not agree as to who should be regarded as heir of his claims.

The seat of government was removed from Versailles to Paris. The schools and convents of the Jesuits were suppressed. A special authorization was required for the existence of the other religious orders. Public education was extended while removed from the hands of the clergy. All persons still under condemnation for participation in the commune were amnestied. The 14th of July, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile, was declared a national holiday. M. Jules Ferry replaced as prime minister M. de Freycinet, who was not considered sufficiently energetic in enforcing the decrees against the religious orders. An expedition to Tunis forced the bey to sign a treaty, placing his country under the protectorate of France. Gambetta at last became prime minister (November 14, 1881). Much was expected of him, but his old-time energy and fire seemed to have disappeared. Nor did he receive the support of the Chamber in the measures he proposed. After holding office for a little more than two months he resigned, and died soon after, never having attained the presidency, the goal of his ambition.

In Egypt complications arose. The khedive had confided the supervision of the finances to two controllers, appointed by Great Britain and France respectively, so as to protect the French and British holders of Egyptian bonds. Judging the interests of their subjects endangered, the two Powers determined to interfere (1882). After much indecision France refused to coöperate in the military intervention, which was carried out by Great Britain, and the dual control abolished.

In Madagascar the Hovas encroached on the privileges of certain French residents. The French admiral who commanded the squadron in the Indian Ocean demanded that the northwestern part of the island should be placed under a French protectorate and a large indemnity be paid (1883). The queen of the Hovas refused. Her capital, Tamatave, was bombarded, but the French afterwards were signally defeated. Finally by treaty it was arranged that administration of internal affairs should be left to the queen, but that France should control the foreign relations of the island.

Then followed (1884) an inglorious war with China, in consequence of French incursions into territory over which the Chinese asserted suzerainty. After terrible loss and expense the French were confirmed in the possession of Annam and Tonquin. The by no means fruitful expeditions to Madagascar and China caused the fall of M. Jules Ferry (1885), who had been prime minister for twenty-five months. In 1885 the constitution was revived and some of its conservative features expunged. The Senate was deprived of any right to interfere in the budget, and it was determined that henceforth no senator should be elected for life. A law was also passed enforcing scrutin de liste, or the election of deputies upon a general departmental ticket. By the previous system of scrutin d'arrondissement each deputy had been elected singly by the vote of the district which he represented.

In the elections of 1885 the radicals and socialists, as well as the monarchists, made large gains at the expense of the moderate republicans. Thereupon the government took stringent measures against the princes of houses formerly ruling in France. It was intrusted with discretionary power to remove them all from the country, and was furthermore ordered to expel all claimants of the throne and their heirs. Therefore a presidential decree banished Prince Napoleon and his son, Prince Victor, and the Count of Paris with his son, the Duke of Orleans. The names of all the members of the Bonaparte and Orleans families were stricken from the army roll.

On the expiration of his term M. Grévy had been reelected president. His son-in-law, M. Wilson, became implicated in scandals arising over the sale of decorations and of appointments in the army. M. Grévy unwisely

interfered to protect his son-in-law from justice. Though not accused of complicity in the crime, he was forced by the indignant Chambers to resign (December 2, 1887). He was then eighty years of age.

**Presidency of M. Sadi Carnot** (1887–1894). — The choice of the Chambers fell upon a worthy and illustrious candidate, M. Sadi Carnot. He was a grandson of that Carnot who, in 1793 during the Revolution, had proved himself unequalled as a military organizer and was called by his countrymen "the genius of victory."

The most prominent figure at that time in France was General Boulanger. His theatrical bearing and his supposed, but unproven, abilities made him a popular idol. For insubordination in the army he had been placed upon the retired list. A duel, in which he was worsted by a civilian, M. Floquet, the prime minister, did not damage his prestige. Elected deputy by enormous majorities, first in the department of Dordogne, and then in the department of Nord, he resigned his seat, but was then triumphantly elected on one and the same day in the departments of Nord, Charente-Inférieure, and the Somme. His political platform of revision of the constitution and dissolution of the Chamber enabled him to draw into his following all the disaffected and discontented of whatever party or class. The government was alarmed at his intrigues and prosecuted him before the High Court of Justice. Struck with sudden panic he did not present himself for trial, but fled to Great Britain. The trial proceeded in his absence. It was proved that he had received 3,000,000 francs from the Orleanist Duchess d'Uzès to further his political machinations. His popularity at once vanished. Finally (September 30, 1891), he committed suicide on the grave of Madame de Bonnemain, who had followed him in his exile and supported him by her bounty for two years.

Despite the fiasco of General Boulanger an urgent demand continued for a revision of the constitution. The revision bill introduced by M. Floquet was received coldly in the Chamber, whereupon he resigned, and M. Tirard, an economist, formed a new ministry. Scrutin d'arrondissement had previously been restored, the government considering the scrutin de liste more favorable to the scheme of political adventurers. Also a law was passed forbidding a citizen to present himself as a candidate for more than one

seat in the Chamber. After long debate a new army bill was adopted, making three years' service requisite instead of five, and compelling students and priests to serve one year.

The ministry of M. Tirard and of his successor, M. de Freycinet, devoted special attention to industrial questions. The system of free trade which had prevailed in France since 1860 was succeeded by high duties on nearly all imports. A special tariff with far lower rates was drawn up to secure reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. Great discontent prevailed among the working classes. The annual May-day labor demonstrations had become a menace to law and order. Frequent strikes produced armed conflicts between the soldiers and the mob. To appease the agitation the government founded a Labor Bureau and introduced bills for the protection of women and children in the factories.

So far the Catholic Church and the Republic had been generally regarded as hostile to each other. This feeling was an injury to both. In 1890 an illustrious prelate, Cardinal Lavigerie, archbishop of Algiers, published a letter, declaring it the true policy of the Catholic Church to support the Republic. At once the cardinal was bitterly denounced by the reactionary section of his coreligionists, but his policy was warmly commended by Pope Leo XIII. In consequence there have been far more amicable relations between the church and state, and the prevailing system has received the adhesion of many who had formerly opposed it.

In 1892 France was convulsed by the Panama scandal. Twelve years before M. de Lesseps, to whom the Suez Canal was due, organized the Panama Canal Company to construct a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. His immense reputation was supposed to guarantee success. Shares were eagerly subscribed for, especially by the laboring classes, and the government also advanced large loans. In 1889, after $280,000,000 had been expended and small progress made, the company dissolved. Thousands of subscribers were ruined. The government prosecuted the directors for misappropriation of funds and for bribery of public officials. M. Baïhaut, minister of public works in 1886, was proved to have received 375,000 francs, though he demanded 1,000,000. Other deputies and state officers were convicted

and sentenced. M. de Lesseps himself, though on his death-bed, was condemned to five years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of 5000 francs. During the investigation one cabinet toppled after another. In April, 1893, as the storm abated, M. Dupuy formed a ministry. While the French were punishing civilized criminals at home, they were carrying on a tedious war in Africa against the barbarous king of Dahomey. Finally, his capital, Ahomey, was taken, and in 1894 his territories made a French protectorate.

The elections of 1893 revealed the marked progress of socialism, and a corresponding decrease of conservatism among the voters. When M. Dupuy proposed an anti-socialistic programme to the newly elected Chamber, he could not obtain a vote of confidence. M. Casimir-Périer was invited to form a cabinet. Anarchism seemed to terrorize Paris and France. Many magistrates were attacked. In the Chamber of Deputies an anarchist, not a member, hurled a bomb at the president. Though laws were enacted against the propagation of anarchistic doctrines, "there was an epidemic of bombs in Paris in the spring of 1894."

On June 24, 1894, President Carnot paid a formal visit to Lyons. As he rode through the streets an Italian rushed before him and stabbed him, shouting, "Long live anarchy!" The illustrious victim died that same night.

He was universally mourned. His dignified and courtly manners, no less than his spotless character, had commanded the admiration of his countrymen. The perfection of address, with which he had met the Assembly at Versailles on May 5, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the convocation of the States General, and had inaugurated the International Exposition at Paris the following day, indicated the ideal of a French chief magistrate. But it was as a statesman-president, lifted above the burning but puerile contentions of party politics, that he enhanced the reputation of the French Republic and won the respect of the world.

**Presidency of M. Casimir-Périer** (1894). — M. Casimir-Périer, the candidate of the moderate republicans, was elected by the Senate and Chamber three days after the assassination of M. Carnot. But he was passionately hated by the socialists and radicals, who employed every weapon to break down his authority. Corruption in connection with certain railway franchises was proved against

some of his friends, and this compelled the Cabinet to retire. Finding it difficult to form a new ministry and disheartened by sudden unpopularity, M. Casimir-Périer resigned the presidency.

**Presidency of M. Faure** (1895– ). — The three candidates were M. Brisson, President of the Chamber, M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Felix Faure. The latter was elected (January 17). His occupancy of the chair has been marked by shrewdness and tact. During a tour through southeastern France in 1897 his democratic ways and close attention to whatever had to do with the army increased his popularity. An intimate alliance with Russia has of late years been greatly desired by the French, who regarded themselves as otherwise politically isolated in Europe. They were much gratified, when at the opening of the Baltic Canal in 1895, the Russian and French fleets in company entered the harbor of Kiel and when General Dragomanoff and the Russian ambassador attended the manœuvres of five army corps, numbering more than 120,000 men, in eastern France. Enthusiasm reached its limit on October 5, 1896, when the Tsar and Tsarina reviewed the French fleet off Cherbourg. Afterwards their majesties visited Paris, and the capital abandoned itself to festivities for three days. In August, 1897, President Faure returned the visit of his imperial guests, and was magnificently entertained. Afterwards he received such an ovation in France as is rarely extended a conqueror.

His first prime minister, M. Ribot, was replaced (October 30, 1895) by M. Bourgeois, and France had for the first time a cabinet composed wholly of radicals. Then the newspaper, *La France*, raked over again the embers of the Panama scandal, publishing the names of 104 members of the Chamber belonging to different parties, who, it asserted, had received bribes from the Panama Canal Company. There was a furious stir and further investigation was ordered, but little came of it. Another scandal, as to the concession of phosphate lands in Algeria, also made much noise. The socialists in the two Houses and all over the country redoubled their activity. They determined, on the anniversary of the death of the communist Blanqui, to make a demonstration at his grave in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, but it was broken up by the police and their red flags confiscated. For months the Senate and House were

at variance over questions of taxation, over the appropriation for the International Exposition of 1900 and the policy of the government in Madagascar. M. Bourgeois gave way to M. Méline as prime minister, who formed the thirty-fourth cabinet which had administered affairs since the resignation of M. Thiers in 1873.

During the last two years much progress has been made in reconciling moderate republicanism and the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the antagonism to the Jews has permeated almost all classes. The socialists started the movement, denouncing them as holders of property; but the aversion now shown them in France is based upon religion and race. The Dreyfus case furnishes a deplorable example. Captain Dreyfus, one of the few Jewish officers in the army, was arrested in 1894 on a charge of selling military plans to foreigners. He was tried by secret court-martial. Incriminatory documents were shown the judges, which neither he nor his counsel was permitted to see. He was declared guilty and sentenced to transportation for life. It is commonly believed that he was denied a fair trial because a Jew, and that on a fair trial his innocence would be made clear. When the famous novelist Zola made an effort to have the facts brought out, every obstacle was put in the way by the populace and courts. M. Zola was twice brought to trial on charge of libelling the government. Though he was twice condemned, the agitation increased rather than diminished.

The question took on an international phase. The German government had been accused of complicity in the supposed revelations of Captain Dreyfus. It branded these accusations as falsehoods and demanded that they be officially withdrawn. Careful investigation (August, 1898) proved the truth of the German statement and made evident that at least a portion of the papers employed to convict Captain Dreyfus were forgeries. The chief of the French intelligence bureau confessed a share in these forgeries and committed suicide. The chief of the staff, General Boisdeffre, and some of the highest officials resigned. The government now faces a terrible dilemma. If it revises the trial of Captain Dreyfus and his innocence is demonstrated, popular confidence in the management of the army will be shaken and perhaps destroyed. If it does not

revise that trial, it rests under the imputation of denying opportunity for justice to a cruelly accused man.

**France in 1898.** — The Third French Republic is now completing its twenty-eighth year. It has thus already lasted longer than any other form of government — empire, absolute or limited monarchy — which has arisen in France since 1789. Though differing in many respects, both as to theory and practice, from American ideas of republicanism, it nevertheless appears to be the system most appropriate to the genius of French character and most acceptable to the French people. The French have not long centuries of self-government behind them, and for generations a French republic must be a trial of experiments. This Republic has reorganized an effete and shattered military system and has rendered the French army to-day one of the most powerful militant forces in Europe. It has reorganized a defective system of instruction and developed and popularized both lower and higher education. Though attended more than once with corruption and scandal in high places, it has surpassed both the empire and the monarchy in official purity and honesty, and under it the public conscience has become more enlightened and hence more sensitive.

At the same time in few preceding periods of twenty-eight years has French influence counted so little among the nations. The Franco-Prussian War left France politically effaced. Her ablest foreign ministers, like M. Hanotaux, when dealing with the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions, have been able to do nothing more than follow in the wake of the great Powers.

Since 1824 every French ruler — Charles X, Louis Philippe, Napoleon III, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, Carnot, Casimir-Périer — has been driven from his place by revolution or assassination or the overwhelming force of hostile public opinion. It may be so eventually with M. Faure. But, while his three and a half years of presidency offer little as yet of permanent interest or importance, he certainly has consolidated the Republic and brought Frenchmen nearer each other.

## VII

### THE GERMAN EMPIRE

#### (1871-1898)

**The Imperial Constitution.** — The Constitution was promulgated on April 16, 1871, in the name of the king of Prussia, as head of the North German Confederation, of the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse. It was thus granted by five accordant princes and not wrought out in a constitutional assembly. It formed the code of twenty-six distinct states now all united under the iron rule of the Hohenzollerns and submitted to the same rigid discipline in war and diplomacy. Surfeited with such military glory as has been seldom achieved, the Germans, content for a time to forget their old aspirations after liberty, hailed the new system with transport. Hitherto one had been a Prussian, Bavarian, Hessian subject. Now the local name was obscured by the larger title of German subject. A man's civil rights were no longer local, but equal and similar all over the empire. The former German Empire was centrifugal, each emperor being chosen by election and each state retaining its feudal laws. The modern German Empire is centripetal, heredity in the Prussian house transmitting the succession with the precision of a well-oiled machine, and the imperial Constitution paramount to all customs and enactments of the various states. The former Empire of Germany was a vague political expression. The modern German Empire is a definite political fact.

The legislative authority was exercised by a Bundesrath or Federal Council, composed of representatives of the vassal princes of the empire, and by a Reichstag, or Imperial Diet, composed of deputies elected by the people. There was one deputy for each 100,000 inhabitants, and he held his seat three years. In the Federal Council Prussia had only seventeen votes out of fifty-eight. The consent of

the Bundesrath was necessary to declare war, except in case of the territory being suddenly invaded. Whenever one-third of its members desired, it was to be convoked in special session. All foreign policy was to be directed by the imperial chancellor. Berlin was in general the centre of imperial government and legislation, but the seat of the Imperial Tribunal was at Leipzig, and the accountant-general's office at Potsdam. The army on a peace footing numbered more than 400,000 men. Its military organization, in awful efficiency hitherto unapproached in human history, enabled it in case of war to put into the field 1,456,677 men, perfectly disciplined and equipped.

**The Alliance of the Three Emperors** (1871–1876).—All Europe might well be alarmed for its own safety after the victories and consolidation of Germany. There was no continental power, except Russia, which was not certain to go down before the new state in case of war. Not only smaller neighboring states but France herself trembled before the armed colossus which had arisen among them. Austria had nothing to hope except by peace. She manifested a strong desire to be on amicable terms with the new Power which had thrust her out of Germany. The Tsar Alexander II, a man of peace, was the friend and admirer of the Emperor William. The three emperors, Alexander II, William I and Francis Joseph drew together in a friendly understanding, which is called the Alliance of the Three Emperors. It was only when Russia drew her sword in 1877 to rescue her coreligionists, the Bulgarians, from further outrages at the hands of the Ottomans, that this friendly understanding was disturbed. It is to be said however that imperial Germany, while prepared for any eventuality, has attacked none and has pursued a policy of peace with all.

**Organization of Alsace-Lorraine** (1871). — The inhabitants of the annexed territory, though German in origin, were intensely French in sentiment. With indescribable sorrow they saw themselves transferred to Germany. Many emigrated rather than submit to foreign domination, and a large number abandoned their homes and removed to France. Alsace and Lorraine were at first governed as an imperial province under military dictatorship and dependent upon the imperial chancellor. Allowed representation in the Reichstag in 1874, their fifteen deputies unitedly and

boldly protested against their annexation by force and then solemnly withdrew. Bismarck believed that by shrewdly permitting them a degree of home rule their opposition might be gradually undermined. They were granted a Provincial Committee to sit at Strasburg and discuss all bills, which were afterwards submitted to the Reichstag, concerning their domestic and fiscal affairs. Gradually the functions of this committee were enlarged. In 1879 the government of the province was removed from the direction of the chancellor and intrusted to a statthalter or imperial envoy to reside at Strasburg. Marshal Manteuffel, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was appointed to the position. By mild and conciliatory measures he did his utmost to reconcile the people, but in vain. Their aversion was only the more openly expressed. Then followed a policy of violent repression. The chancellor, Caprivi, declared in 1890 that the attempt to foster German feeling having failed, nothing was left but to dig deeper the ditch which separated Alsace-Lorraine from France. Though powerless to resist, the Alsace-Lorrainers have become no less sullen and determined in their anti-German sentiments.

**The Culturkampf** (1873–1887). — Bismarck, now a prince and chancellor of the empire, had met nothing but success. In the Culturkampf, or civilization fight, he undertook a task beyond his powers, in which he was to encounter his great political defeat. He had unified Germany by merging it under one central power. The Catholic Church in Prussia, as well as all other churches, must pass through the same process of centralization and be merged in and made subordinate to the state. In 1873 the Prussian minister of public worship, Dr. Falk, introduced and succeeded in passing the so-called Falk or May Laws. Ostensibly these laws aimed at securing liberty to the laity, a national and German rather than an ultramontane training to the clergy and protection for the inferior clergy against their superiors. They provided that all theological seminaries should be controlled by the state, that the state should examine all candidates for the priesthood and should furthermore have the right to approve or reject all ecclesiastical appointments. Pope Pius IX remonstrated in an urgent letter to the emperor. The Catholic bishops collectively declared they could not obey these laws. But they

were none the less vigorously enforced by fine, imprisonments and exile. It was religious persecution on an enormous scale in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Within eight years' time the parishes of more than one-fifth of the 8500 Catholic priests in Prussia were vacant, and no successors could be appointed. The perfect union of the Catholic clergy and laity with no weapon but passive resistance won the victory in the end. The May Laws were suspended in 1881 and later on practically repealed. After 1887 all state interference in the administration of the church and in the education of the priesthood was wholly abandoned.

**Economic Policy** (1878–1890). — Up to 1848 the Zollverein had favored a protective policy. Afterwards in the sixties had followed a system of reciprocity treaties with France, Austria, Great Britain, Italy and other countries showing a marked tendency toward free trade. The national liberals advocated abolition of all duties on raw materials, a policy supposed to enjoy the approval of Prince Bismarck. But in December, 1878, the chancellor sent a communication to the Federal Council, wherein he condemned the existing policy and advocated higher rates as a means to increase the revenues of the state. His will was law. A new tariff was introduced and passed. It placed heavy duties on raw materials and considerably increased the duties on textile goods and other articles already taxed. Subsequently, until his fall in 1890, the tariff was forced higher and higher.

**The Triple Alliance** (1879– ). — Only the principal facts and not all the details are known in reference to the triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. Austria, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, whereby she had secured Hertzegovina and Bosnia, was uneasy on the Russian frontier. Neither Austria nor Russia was likely to forget the part the former had played in the Crimean War. So she concluded a secret treaty with Germany in 1879, "an alliance for peace and mutual defence," in case either Power should be attacked by Russia or by some state supported by Russia. Italy, without reason to dread attack, but probably desirous of imperial fellowship and recognition, asked to be admitted to this alliance. Meanwhile, from 1887 to 1890 another secret treaty existed between Germany and Russia which only became known to the world by the revelations of Bismarck in 1896.

**Death of Emperor William I** (March 9, 1888). — The absolutist policy, with which he began his reign as king of Prussia, had been maintained by him as German emperor and won a magnificent success. The astounding growth of the socialist party was demonstration against a principle rather than against a man. The appreciation of his great achievements had made the sovereign, who was hated and hooted at the beginning of his reign, the idol of his people at the end. His simple and homely ways, his blunt soldierly bearing and his chivalric devotion to his mother's memory won the hearts even of those Germans who were the most hostile to his political principles. His death at the age of ninety-one was received with a consternation of grief. Though Bismarck and Moltke outlived him, it was an anxious question in the minds of many whether the imperial fabric he had built up would survive his departure.

**Frederick I** (1888). — The Crown Prince Frederick succeeded. He had made a splendid record as a soldier in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars. On several occasions he had shown liberal tendencies, which his marriage with Victoria, crown princess of Great Britain and eldest daughter of Queen Victoria, was supposed to fortify. He had even protested against the Army bill of 1862 and given public expression of his dissent from a subsequent despotic action of the government. But a fatal throat disease had fastened upon him before his accession. It was only as a doomed and speechless invalid that he occupied the throne. His three months' reign is memorable for his spirit of self-forgetfulness and devotion to duty.

**Reign of William II** (1888– ). — William II was twenty-nine years old when he became emperor. His first proclamation was addressed to the army and navy, and he has manifested ever since an almost passionate interest in these branches of the public service. His speech on opening the Reichstag, as well as his first address to the German people, indicated his absolutist policy. Louis XIV himself was in the seventeenth century not a more convinced impersonification of the divine right of kings. "The supreme guardian of law and order," he regards himself as crowned by God, as the anointed elector of the divine will, and as entitled to the unquestioning obedience of his subjects. A wonderful activity or restlessness has been the most prominent characteristic of his reign. No other

European sovereign has been such a constant traveller to foreign lands. No other European sovereign has so interfered not only in all branches of administration, but in all matters relating to public, social and religious life. A ready speaker, there is hardly a topic left untouched in his speeches, and his speeches have been delivered on all occasions. Always the dominant sentiment, whatever the theme, is the doctrine of autocracy.

The first year of his reign was marked by an event of historic significance. In October, 1888, the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen, whose right to remain free ports had been ratified in the imperial constitution of 1871, renounced their special and ancient privileges and completely merged themselves in the common Fatherland. Great pomp attended the ceremony. The emperor came in person to accept their patriotic sacrifice. Except that their sovereignty was represented in the Bundesrath by the side of that of princes, the last vestige of the Hanseatic League had disappeared.

Between the veteran chancellor, who had controlled the helm for almost a generation, and the youthful emperor, eager to exercise his power, there was sure to be friction. The temper of Bismarck, by no means pliable, had not softened with success and age. The chief of the staff, the Count of Waldersee, and other courtiers fostered the growing alienation. The chancellor persisted in a bill which the emperor disapproved. The emperor issued a decree in a sense which the chancellor had always opposed. The chancellor refused to repeat a certain conversation, although urged to do so by the emperor. On March 17, 1890, came a message from the emperor that he was waiting for the chancellor's resignation. The chancellor refused to resign. Then followed a direct order demanding his resignation. Bismarck in his fall did not manifest the self-control he had shown in his powerful days, and filled Germany with his complaints. It was his mistake to believe himself still essential to the state, when his work had been long since done. Yet the emperor might have dealt more gently with the old man, to whom the empire owed its existence and to whom he himself was indebted for his imperial crown. In 1894 the sovereign and the subject were publicly reconciled amid universal rejoicing, and the latter received an ovation from all classes at Berlin. Afterwards he exercised

no further influence upon affairs, but quietly resided at his castle of Friedrichsruhe until his death (July 30, 1898).

A work of immense utility was officially inaugurated in 1891. This was the Baltic Canal. Beginning at Holtenau on the Bay of Kiel, it joins the Elbe fifteen miles from its mouth. Although sixty-one miles in length it requires no locks. By means of this stupendous achievement the German navy can pass from the Baltic through German territory to the North Sea, and is no longer compelled to make the tortuous and dangerous voyage among the Danish islands and through the Cattegat and Skager Rack.

Since 1871 the empire has engaged in no foreign war. But not for a moment has been relaxed the policy which renders Germany, and hence all Europe, a camp of soldiers and which secures only the anxieties and uncertainties of an armed peace. Because of her strategic position and the acknowledged efficiency of her troops, until Germany disarms, none of the other great Powers can afford to do so. In December, 1897, her standing army on a peace-establishment comprised 607,000 men. Thus the most vigorous of her population were withdrawn from the ranks of producers. As yet she only begins to show the inevitably destructive consequences of an unnatural militarism. The increase of socialism, which does not so much menace the state as its prevailing military and political system, here finds its cause. German socialism is the appalling protest against inequality and government by the sword. Under William I, Bismarck endeavored to prevent its expansion by restrictive laws and employment of force. William II has been slightly more sagacious because more mild in dealing with it. But all measures to suppress it must be abortive as long as the chief causes remain. In 1872 there were but two socialists in the Reichstag. There were forty-four in 1893 and in 1898 fifty-four. These figures give an unfair indication of their strength, inasmuch as in the cities is the hotbed of socialism, and the cities have a smaller number of deputies in proportion to population than do the rural districts. In 1874 the socialists polled only 340,000 votes. In 1890 they polled 1,427,000; in 1893, 1,786,000; and in 1898, 2,120,000. No other political party could muster so many adherents. The future of Germany is the gravest problem now confronting Europe.

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# VIII

## ITALY

**Condition of the Italian Peninsula in 1850.** — The present of Italy was never darker and her outlook upon the future more discouraging than in the summer of 1850. The revolutionary war of 1848, that had swept over the country from the lagoons of Venice to the extremities of Sicily, had receded, and left nothing but defeat and disappointment behind.

Italy at that time comprised the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, the grand duchy of Tuscany, the duchies of Parma and Modena, the Lombardo-Venetian territory and the kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia. In the Two Sicilies Ferdinand II, no longer dreading popular outbreak, had suspended the constitution which he had granted, and from his palace in Naples worked his brutal and bloody will without check or hindrance. In the States of the Church, stretching in irregular diagonal across Italy from the Tuscan Sea to the mouths of the Po, Pope Pius IX threw the influence of his exalted office on the side of despotism. Under the influence of Cardinal Antonelli and the protection of French bayonets he ruled as tyrannically as any temporal prince. In Tuscany the Archduke Leopold II, himself the grandson of an Austrian emperor, turned his back upon his brief compromise with the partisans of reform and maintained an Austrian garrison in Florence. In Parma and Modena Charles III and the cruel Francis V, by the aid of Austrian troops, restored an absolute government and terrorized over opposition. Lombardy and Venetia, placed under martial law, were governed from the fortress of Verona by the merciless Radetzki and Haynau, the "hyena of Brescia."

The only exception to the universal darkness was found in Piedmont. In that tiny country of 4,000,000 inhabitants, the "Fundamental Statute," a sort of charter, was still in force. It possessed a dynasty of its own and a

national flag and a national army. Though defeated, it had in two campaigns dared to resist Austria. But the heroic Charles Albert, by failure, had been forced to abdicate and die in exile, leaving his throne to his son, Victor Emmanuel. The young king had borne himself bravely at the battle of Novara. But his queen was an Austrian archduchess, he was unpopular with his subjects and his abilities were a matter of doubt. There was little cohesion or sympathy between the four territories making the kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia. These were Piedmont proper, buttressed against the Alps and inhabited by a brave and simple people; southern Liguria, with Genoa, a republican centre, ill disposed to the dynasty; Savoy, on the western slope of the Alps, French in language and sentiment; and the island of Sardinia, which remained apart from the life of Europe. Yet in this sparsely populated, ill-connected country the expulsion of the Austrians and the political unification of the peninsula were preparing.

**Count Cavour.** — In every other respect no two men are more dissimilar than Prince Bismarck and Count Cavour, but they parallel each other in the main purpose of their lives and the magnificence of its accomplishment. Cavour is the Italian Bismarck. Unlike his German prototype he did not live to see his work complete, but he set in motion those forces which were to expel Austria from Italy as Bismarck expelled her from Germany, and to place on the map a kingdom of Italy as Bismarck placed there a German Empire. Himself a less spectacular figure and moving in a more contracted arena, he does not so centre the gaze of mankind. Yet no other statesman of contemporary times is equally worthy to be placed next to the great German.

By birth an aristocrat, always a monarchist, a Catholic but a moderate, Cavour was detested by the extremists of all parties. Prime minister in 1852, he welcomed to Piedmont the political exiles from all over Italy, and thus early caused it to be understood that in his little country was the only refuge of Italian patriotism and liberty.

**Piedmont in the Crimean War** (1855–1856). — When the Crimean War broke out, Cavour determined that Piedmont should actively participate in the conflict. Great Britain, in need of troops, proposed to subsidize the Piedmontese. Cavour offered to enter the Franco-British alliance, not as a mercenary, but as an equal. His proposal to maintain

an army of 15,000 men in the Crimea as long as the war lasted was gladly accepted. He more than kept his word. At the decisive battle of Tchernaya the discipline of his countrymen and the accuracy of their aim provoked admiration. The timid and hesitating course of Austria during the war had exasperated France and Great Britain. When at the Congress of Paris Cavour, as representative of Piedmont, skilfully drew the attention of the plenipotentiaries to the evils of Austrian rule in Italy and the deplorable state of the peninsula, his words fell upon sympathetic ears. Thus the Italian question was definitely posed. It could not be henceforth forgotten till it received definite solution.

**The War of 1859.** — At first Cavour had counted on the active assistance of Great Britain. Disappointed in his hopes, he made overtures to Napoleon. In his secret interview with Napoleon at Plombières (July, 1858), the conditions and terms of alliance between France and Piedmont were verbally agreed upon. In April, 1859, Austria made the diplomatic blunder of taking the aggressive and forcing on the war. Victor Emmanuel appealed to his compatriots of the centre and south. For years secret societies had existed over Italy, united under the mystic symbol, *Verdi*, the initials of the words Vittorio Emmanuele Re d'Italia. The French and Piedmontese victories of Montebello and Magenta inspired them to courage and action. Popular risings in Tuscany, Parma and Modena drove out the dukes. The Romagna, the papal territories along the Adriatic, likewise took fire and the papal officials were expelled. The overwhelming victory of Solferino was followed by the sudden peace of Villafranca, agreed upon by Napoleon and Francis Joseph. This treaty seemed to shatter all the hopes of Italian union and independence.

By its terms Lombardy was to be united to Piedmont, and Venetia, still under the rule of Austria, was to be made part of an Italian federation under the presidency of the Pope. This petty gain was trivial compared with what Cavour and the Italians had hoped. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states. The formidable quadrilateral — Peschiera, Mantua, Verona and Legnago — was retained by Austria. Victor Emmanuel could do nothing but accept the hard conditions as far as he himself and his country were concerned, but he would promise nothing farther. Cavour was broken-hearted. Utterly losing his

self-control, in a bitter two hours' interview, he overwhelmed his sovereign with reproaches and withdrew from the ministry. The definite treaty of Zurich (November 10) confirmed the decisions of Villafranca.

**Successful Revolutions. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi** (1859–1865). — The king took possession of Lombardy. For the banished dukes to regain their duchies was more difficult. In August the assemblies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany declared that their former rulers had forfeited all their rights, demanded annexation to Piedmont and recognized Victor Emmanuel as their sovereign. The Romagna did the same. Plebiscites by almost unanimous votes confirmed these acts. The son of Charles Albert had become king of 11,000,000 people. In January, 1860, Cavour again became prime minister.

In Naples Francis II had succeeded his father, Ferdinand II of evil memory. Deaf to the counsels of the French and British cabinets, he resolved to continue the same policy. All Sicily rebelled. Because of diplomatic pressure from abroad, the astute Cavour could not interfere or accept the propositions of the revolutionist Mazzini, but he could allow others to act. Garibaldi, with 1000 resolute men, hurried from Genoa (May 5, 1860) and landed at Marsala in Sicily. He was not a statesman, hardly a general, but only a hero who rushed on in his red shirt sure that others would follow and careless whether they did or not. In three days he stormed Palermo. The battle of Milazzo gave him Messina and the whole island (July 20). He crossed the strait and marched on Naples. Francis II fled from his capital (September 6). The next day Garibaldi entered Naples without opposition and was hailed as a liberator. He was at once accepted as dictator of the Two Sicilies.

But the tempestuous success of the revolution was a danger and menace to Cavour. Mazzini, the republicans of the south and even Garibaldi had no love for the house of Piedmont. They might easily become its foes. Meanwhile the courts of Europe held Cavour responsible for the whirlwind that was unloosed. The government of every European state was unfriendly or openly hostile. The storm that had swept Sicily and Naples was ready to burst on Rome; but Rome was garrisoned by French troops and behind them was the threatening form of Napoleon. A

single false step on the part of Cavour might ruin all that Italy and Piedmont had gained in twelve anxious years. Indecision was fatal. Should Cavour yield to the conservative warnings of Europe, or should he now without reserve head the party of action? There could be no compromise with Garibaldi, who was resolved to proclaim Italian independence from the top of the Quirinal.

The prime minister invited the Pope to disband his foreign army. When Pius IX refused, he ordered the Piedmontese generals to invade the papal states and rescue them from despotism and anarchy. After a brave defence by the French general, De Lamoricière, all the still remaining papal territory on the Adriatic was in the hands of the Piedmontese, but the eternal city was left to the Pope. In a calm and sagacious speech, delivered before the Parliament, but really addressed to the bar of Europe, Cavour declared that he submitted the question of Rome and Venetia to the arbitrament of time. Francis II still resisted feebly, but obstinately. He then retained only a Sicilian citadel and the fortress of Gaeta. A plebiscite in the Two Sicilies and in the papal states of Umbria and the Marches by an almost unanimous vote declared for union with emancipated Italy and for Victor Emmanuel as king.

The monarch and the dictator held their formal but simple first interview near Teano (October 26). The Piedmontese troops and the Garibaldian volunteers threw themselves into each other's arms. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi galloped to meet each other. As they embraced, the armies shouted, "Long live Victor Emmanuel!" leaving it for Garibaldi to add, "king of Italy!"

All the Italian provinces, except Venetia and the papal territory on the Tuscan Sea, were now united under one flag. The tricolor of green, white and red sheltered them all. On February 18, 1861, the first national parliament assembled at Turin to enact laws for a people of 22,000,000 souls. Then (June 6) Cavour died, worn out by labor and success. He was succeeded by Baron Ricasoli, whom Signor Ratazzi soon replaced. The Roman question was keeping the kingdom in a ferment. Garibaldi resolved to settle it with the sword. Refusing to submit to the orders of the government, with a band of Sicilian volunteers he marched northward through Calabria. Encountered by the royal troops at Aspromonte, his followers were dispersed and he

himself was wounded and made a prisoner. The ignominious necessity of firing upon the liberator forced the Ratazzi ministry from office. In the autumn of 1865 the capital was removed from Turin to Florence.

**Alliance with Prussia against Austria** (1866). — This alliance was equally advantageous to Prussia and Italy. Thereby Austria was compelled to divide her forces and despatch to the southwest generals and troops sorely needed on her northern frontier. Italy lost rather than gained in military reputation by the reverses of General La Marmora and Admiral Persano at Custozza and Lissa. None the less her assistance had inclined the scale to the side of Prussia. She well deserved her reward in the acquisition of Venetia. Another almost unanimous plebiscite and Victor Emmanuel, on November 7, entered the city of the doges as its king.

**Rome the Capital of Italy** (1870). — The Italian heart was always turning to Rome. In 1866 Napoleon, according to his promise, withdrew the French garrison, but the Italian government was not free to interfere in the still remaining papal possessions. Garibaldi could not curb his impatience. A third time he marched an army upon Roman territory. In deference to the clerical party in France, Napoleon sent an expedition to support the Pope and Garibaldi was defeated at the battle of Mentana. The French prime minister, Rouher, formally declared, "Italy shall never enter Rome."

Again protected by French soldiers, the Pope felt himself secure, and assembled the Ecumenical Council (1869). Soon came upon France the disasters of the Franco-Prussian war, and she was forced to recall every arm on which she could rely. Her troops quitted Rome. The king, with earnest tenderness, implored the Pope to recognize the inevitable trend of events, and, while relinquishing his temporal sovereignty, to resign himself to that independent and exalted position which the Italians desired him to occupy. The inflexible pontiff declared he would yield only to compulsion. The Italian forces delayed no longer, but occupied the city. By one more plebiscite, this time the last, the life-work of the dead Cavour received its coronation, and the peninsula, reunited, had again the same capital as in the days of Cæsar.

**The Last Years of Victor Emmanuel** (1870–1878). — The

new state at the start was surrounded by peculiar difficulties and dangers. Foremost were those arising from the religious question. The Pope was not merely a dispossessed temporal prince, but the spiritual head of Catholic Christendom. He was bitterly opposed to everything in the new order. He would tolerate no suggestions of compromise. Against the excommunicated government of Victor Emmanuel he threw the whole influence of the Catholic priesthood and appealed for help to the Catholic powers of Europe. The country was covered with monasteries and churches, which had absorbed the material wealth, while the people were stricken with poverty. To touch a convent or a priest was denounced as sacrilege.

In the enthusiasm of revolution and conflict the Italian provinces had come together. At bottom they were antagonistic in ideas, customs, history and local prejudices. They had no traditions of headship or union. Distinct idioms of language emphasized their separation. How were they ever to be moulded into one people?

The military system of Europe laid upon Italy a heavy burden. When the United States of America became a fact, they could dismiss their troops to civil life, because alone upon a continent and protected by 3000 miles of ocean. But the safety and the very existence of Italy depended on her immediate development and maintenance of an immense standing army. The latest arrival among the nations had to conform herself to the situation as she found it.

Ages of oppression had given the people few roads or bridges or means of communication. They had neither schools, courts, effective police nor equitable system of raising revenue. Brigandage was a profession over a large part of the territory. Ignorant and lawless, they were generations behind the civilized world.

The king and his advisers applied themselves with patience and good sense to the organization of the kingdom. They accomplished much in every department of administration, but evils which had been growing for centuries could not be radically cured in a single reign.

By the guarantee law of May, 1871, they endeavored to regulate the relations of the papal and royal courts. They declared the person of the sovereign pontiff inviolable, decreed him sovereign honors and a military guard, assigned

him an annual income of 3,225,000 francs, the possession of the Vatican, of St. John Lateranus and the villa of Castel-Gandolfo and their dependencies. They carefully left him perfect liberty in the exercise of his spiritual functions, while reaffirming that his temporal sovereignty had departed. But the Pope was willing to accept nothing from a government which he considered irreligious and anti-Christian, and once more protested solemnly against all the measures taken.

Victor Emmanuel died on January 9, 1878, at the age of fifty-eight. It is pleasant to remember that on his deathbed he received a kindly message and absolution from the Holy Father, who in that supreme hour allowed his natural tenderness as a man to triumph over his rigid dogmatism as priest. One month afterwards, at the age of eighty-six, after a pontificate of thirty-one years — the longest in papal history — the Pope followed the monarch to the tomb. The conclave of cardinals, on February 10, elected Cardinal Pecci, chamberlain of the Sacred College, to the Holy See.

**The Reign of King Humbert** (1878– ). — This year Italy celebrates the twentieth anniversary of his accession. His reign presents less general interest than his father's. Its electoral struggles have been waged rather upon the personality of leaders — Depretis, Cairoli, Crispi — than upon party platforms. A leading question was that of alliances, whether Italy should follow France or Germany. Gradually the centre of influence has shifted from the north to the more democratic provinces of the south. Burdens of taxation to further colonial projects and maintain an enormous army and powerful navy have fallen heavily upon an impoverished people. On this account during the present year disorders in the chief Italian cities have broken out. In Milan in a street fight in May, 1898, several hundred persons were killed and over 1000 wounded. Yet there has been progress in the tranquillization of the country and in the application of constitutional government. Specially has there been a remarkable development in education.

Italy had counted upon Tunis as a future acquisition, a sort of colonial counterpoise to the neighboring French province of Algeria. But in 1881 Tunis was seized by the French. The angry Italians were powerless. Indignation at the French and national vanity made them join Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. They sought for some

equivalent for Tunis and believed they had found it on the western shores of the Red Sea. By holding Massowah on that sea, they imagined that all the trade of Abyssinia would flow through their hands. It was gratifying to think of sharing with the other great Powers in the spoils of Africa. Costly wars followed with the negus of Abyssinia, but they gained the colony of Eritrea (1890), South Somali (1889), the Somali coast (1893) and Tigré (1895). Though all Abyssinia was declared an Italian protectorate (1889) the negus, Menelek, continued his resistance. General Baratieri met a terrible reverse at Amba Alaghi (1895). Commandant Galliano made a heroic defence at Makallé, but on March 1, 1896, General Baratieri was crushed by the negus at Adowa, losing all his guns and one-third of his troops. This frightful disaster caused the fall of Crispi, who had been prime minister since 1887. Finally, the humiliating treaty of Adis Abeba (October 26, 1896) closed the ill-judged and ill-advised expedition. The absolute independence of Abyssinia was recognized and almost all the Italian conquests restored.

**Italia Irredenta.** — All ancient Italy, as indicated by geography and extending southward from the Alps, had been brought under one sceptre. Beyond those mountain barriers or inhabiting the islands of the sea were people whose language was Italian and who were claimed as belonging to the Italian family. Such were Nice, Savoy and Corsica, occupied by France, Malta by Great Britain, and South Tyrol, Trieste and the islands and shores of the northwestern Adriatic by Austria. To these territories in common the name of Italia Irredenta or "not emancipated Italy" is applied. To repossess or acquire them is the ambition of to-day. So little is said concerning it that the idea seems to slumber, but it is no less real and deep-seated.

## IX

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

**Accession of Francis Joseph** (1848). — The reign of Francis Joseph fills the history of Austria during the last fifty years. A youth of eighteen, he ascended a throne that seemed tottering to its fall. In every part of his dominions there was disorder or open rebellion. In the proclamation announcing his accession he declared, "We hope with the aid of God and in concert with our peoples to succeed in reuniting in one great state body all the countries and all the races of the monarchy." This ambition was worthy of a great sovereign. It was possible only under some form of centralized federation, which, while grouping all around a common point, left individuality to each. It was a programme which every people under the monarchy except one was ready to ratify. The one dissident and opposing member in the body politic was the German minority. Accustomed to rule, it would not descend to a plane of equality with the other races, on whom it looked with the contempt of a superior. And they, proud of their traditions and confident in their strength, asked not for favors, but for rights. As a result the agitation was smothered for a time and Austria entered upon bleak years of pitiless reaction.

**Austrian Absolutism** (1850–1866). — Letters patent from the emperor (January 1, 1852) divided the different provinces into administrative circles and curtailed further the meagre powers of the various diets. Hungary was ruled by martial law until 1854. The attempt was made to Germanize all Austrian subjects. The German language was rendered obligatory in the civil administration, the courts and schools of the Hungarians, Servians, Roumanians, Croatians, Slavonians and Bohemians. For a Bohemian to publish a newspaper in his own language was a crime. The press was silenced and jury decisions were reversed by superior order.

In its measures of repression the government invoked the powerful coöperation of the Catholic Church. The Austrian bishops had declared "that sentiment of nationality was a relic of paganism; that difference of languages was a consequence of the original fall of man." Hence all were to be Germanized! The concordat of 1855 placed all private and public education under the control of the bishops, and allowed the circulation of no book which had met ecclesiastical censure. It gave to the high clergy the right to imprison and inflict corporal penalties on whom they pleased, and for that end put at their disposal the governmental police. Prince Schwartzenberg had died in 1852. But under Alexander Bach, minister of the interior and negotiator of the concordat, the dark ages settled down upon Austria.

In the Crimean War Austria willingly played an ignoble part. She owed to the Tsar Nicholas an eternal debt, because he had rescued her in the Hungarian revolution. But she dreaded the might of Russia and would gladly see her crippled. Moreover, it was her interest to uphold the authority of the Sultan over his Christian subjects. Though ostensibly on the side of Great Britain and France, her dilatory tactics and irresolution angered the allies. When, by the alliance of France and Piedmont in 1859, Austria was swept out of Lombardy, she was reaping as she had sown. Her Bohemian and Hungarian subjects rejoiced in her reverses at Magenta and Solferino. In Bohemia the peasants said, "If we are defeated, we shall have a constitution; if we are victorious, we shall have the Inquisition."

The emperor had grown older and hence stronger and wiser. He dismissed Bach and ventured on some timid reforms (1860). Goluchowski, a Galician, neither German nor Hungarian, was called to the ministry and allowed to elaborate a partial charter. The Schmerling ministry was charged with its application. There was to be a Chamber of Nobles, named by the sovereign, and a Chamber of Deputies, named by the provincial Diets. But all was so devised as to swamp the other nationalities under the preponderance of the Germans. The scheme was a dismal failure. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia refused to send their representatives. The Hungarian leader, Deák, planted himself firmly on the abrogated Hungarian constitution of 1848. The Hungarian legists asserted that Francis Joseph

was not legally their sovereign as he had never come to their country to be crowned. The emperor paid a formal visit to Pesth. He dismissed Schmerling from office and replaced him by Belcredi, a Moravian, who cared far less for the Germanization of the empire. Prague, Pesth and Lemberg illuminated as for victory. In Galicia they even dared to teach the Polish language in the schools. Hungary awoke to new life, and in its Diet openly demanded all the rights and privileges which the Emperor Ferdinand IV had granted.

**The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Political Reforms** (1866). — The Austro-Prussian War, with its catastrophe of Sadowa, was in the end a blessing to Austria. Like Antæus, she rose the stronger for having been prostrated upon the ground. Her German inhabitants, as arrogant and self-assertive as before, remained to her, but her internal and foreign policy could never again be the same. She was no longer a German state. Even the loss of Venetia, though a humiliation, increased rather than diminished her strength. As long as Austria sought her centre of gravity outside herself, whether in Italy or Germany, she had defied with impunity all the aspirations of her subject races and had scoffed at their historic rights. Now it was forced upon the consciousness of the most obtuse that she must revolutionize all her antecedent policy or submit to speedy dissolution. The Emperor Francis Joseph keenly realized both the imminent perils and the rich possibilities of the situation. A new order of things could never be brought about by any statesman of his dominions, identified as was each of them with some grievance or faction. With insight akin to genius he discerned the man for the hour. He invited a foreigner and a Protestant, a former minister of Saxony, the Count von Beust, to accept the chancellorship and to undertake the complete reorganization — political, financial, military — of the most devotedly Roman Catholic and hitherto the most reactionary empire in Europe.

The new chancellor treated at once with the Hungarians. The terms of the Ausgleich or agreement with Hungary were submitted by a committee of sixty-seven members of the Magyar Diet, having at their head Francis Deák, "the Franklin of Hungary," the ablest, purest and most patriotic of her sons. Their first two proposals were, that

the emperor should recognize the independent existence of Hungary by giving her a ministry of her own and should himself be crowned as her king. Count Julius Andrassy, a political exile, who had been condemned to death for his share in the revolution of 1848, was appointed Hungarian prime minister (February 18, 1867). On June 8 the coronation of Francis Joseph at Pesth as king of Hungary was celebrated with all the ancient ceremony and pomp. Twenty days later he ratified the Ausgleich. The Hungarian crown and stripe of green were added to the imperial flag, which ever since has indicated the dual monarchy.

Every feature of the new political arrangement bore a dual character. The Ausgleich itself afforded a modus vivendi, but it was as much a formula of separation as a formula of union. It was like the hyphen dividing and joining the two words in the official title, Austro-Hungarian, by which the new empire was to be known. Henceforth there was Cisleithania or "Austria," a jumble of all the states and provinces supposed to be on the west of the Leitha, and Transleithania or "Hungary," another jumble of all the states and provinces on the east of that river. In each jumble there were two factors, a dominant and supercilious minority — Magyar in Hungary, German in Austria — and an overborne and refractory majority. The only cord which fastened Cisleithania and Transleithania together was possession of a common dynasty. Let that dynasty become extinct and at once they would fall apart. Affairs of foreign interest but common to the two — foreign relations, war, marine, imperial finances — were to be confided to an imperial cabinet responsible to the parliaments of the two states. Affairs of domestic common interest — coinage, customs-duties, military service, special legislation — were controlled by delegates of the two parliaments, sixty from each state, to meet alternately at Vienna and Pesth. Nor could these delegates do more than vote a temporary arrangement, a kind of contract, for ten years.

Such a system was an anomaly, a political experiment without precedent. Hungary entered upon it with her revived liberal constitution of 1848. She assumed three-tenths of the public debt. Austria likewise possessed a liberal constitution, in its present form dating from 1867. The seventeen Austrian provinces had each its Landtag or legislative body. Above them rose the Reichsrath, con-

sisting of a house of lords and house of 203 deputies, elected by the seventeen Landtags.

Hungary was appeased. The Austrian Germans were content, but a cry of indignation and rage went up from all the other peoples of the empire. The Slavs had received nothing but wordy concessions as to education and language, which were expected to be and were afterwards evaded.

The Bohemians or Czechs had historic rights as ancient and a political entity as definite and distinct as the Magyars of Hungary. Nor were they far inferior to them in number. But Count von Beust was seeking not justice but expediency, and believed that, since two races were satisfied, he could ignore the rest. Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, refused to send delegates to the Reichsrath. So skilfully had the electoral apportionments been manipulated that their abstention did not cause a deadlock, a minority of voters being represented by a quorum or majority of deputies. An ethnographic congress was then being held in Moscow (1867). It was natural that many Austrian Slavs should attend this family reunion of pan-Slavism. Their presence in the ancient metropolis of the Tsars produced a profound sensation all over Europe.

Meanwhile the concordat was practically abrogated, civil marriage authorized, education taken from clerical control, the jury restored, the press partially emancipated, the right of public meetings guaranteed, and the army reorganized on the Prussian model. Some of these reforms became sharp-edged weapons in Slavic hands. On August 22, 1868, the Czech deputies issued their declaration. By this memorable document, which constitutes the platform of the Bohemian nation to-day, in calm and dignified language they set forth their rights and their demands. Encouraged by the emperor (September, 1871) they submitted a programme, called the Fundamental Articles, which proposed autonomy for Bohemia under Francis Joseph, who was to be crowned its king. The furious outcry of the Hungarians and Germans prevented its being carried into effect. Shortly afterwards the title of chancellor was suppressed. Von Beust was succeeded as minister of foreign affairs by Count Andrassy. Thus a Hungarian had become the ministerial head of the dual empire.

The Hungarians continued to treat their Slavic and other

subjects as cruelly as the Austrians in their worst days had treated them. Their conception of freedom or toleration was limited to freedom and toleration for themselves. Difference of religion inflamed the hatred of race. They regarded the Croatians, Roumanians, Servians, Slovaks, not so much as members of other nationalities, but as dissenters and heretics who must be Magyarized at any cost. Nor were they at first inclined to renew the Ausgleich with Austria when its first term of ten years expired. In both countries local matters continued to absorb the public mind until the insurrection in Herzegovina against the Sultan and the massacres in Bulgaria roused the attention of Europe and thrust the Eastern Question again to the front.

**Acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina** (1878). — In 1877, after having exhausted all the resources of diplomacy to end the horrors in Bulgaria, Russia declared war against the Sultan and invaded the Ottoman Empire. The Austro-Hungarian government was involved in extreme difficulty. Its Slavic subjects sympathized keenly with their suffering brethren in Turkey and demanded coöperation with Russia. The Hungarians, blood kinsmen of the Turks, mindful of Turkish hospitality in 1849 and full of resentment against Russia, were as eager to coöperate with Turkey. General Klapka, the hero of Komorn, offered his services to the Sultan. The Turks were toasted and feasted at Pesth and the Russians at Prague. The Germans, dominant at Vienna, cared nothing for the Bulgarians. Above all, they dreaded the extension of Russian influence and territory which was certain to result from the war. But the racial condition of their empire made neutrality a necessity. To side in arms with either belligerent would rend the monarchy in twain. Yet, anxious to make the most of a difficult situation, the government intended that its enforced neutrality should be paid for. A quasi promise was obtained from the Tsar that on the conclusion of peace he would not oppose the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The Congress of Berlin (1878) authorized Austria to occupy and administer those provinces "in the name of the Sultan." Their conquest was bloody and costly. It added to the embarrassment of the empire even more than to its territory. It introduced a population difficult to amalgamate and increased the already threatening Slavic mass.

**Austria-Hungary from 1878 to 1898.** — Count Taaffe was minister-president from 1879 to 1893. An opportunist and a moderate, he endeavored to be hardly more than a political peacemaker. His efforts in that direction met little success, as did those of the Polish Count Badeni, who was in office from 1895 until November 30, 1897. Constantly the Austrian, and in less degree the Hungarian, parliament presented a scene of indescribable turbulence and confusion. Sometimes their disorder and lawlessness disgraced the name of legislation. Yet in their babel of languages and their bedlam of factional strife there was always something definite which the speaker or the party was seeking. What appeared to the ear or the eye mere wrangling was at bottom a serious assertion of principles, true or false, and a vindication or denial of rights. Hardly anywhere else has personality counted so little.

Since October, 1895, Count Goluchowski, a Pole, has been minister of foreign affairs. To him more than to any other statesman is due the policy of concert, followed by the six great Powers in reference to the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions of 1895–1897.

**Political Problems of To-day.** — In more than one respect the Austro-Hungarian rather than the Ottoman Empire is the sick man of Europe. The antagonism of its races was never more pronounced than to-day and their interests never more divergent. The general advance of education renders each more able to secure those ends on which it is fiercely determined. Circumstances have made Austria-Hungary a migratory state upon the map, moving toward the south and east. But farther progress in that direction is checked by the vigorous youthful states along the Danube and the Balkans, while further disintegration is probable on the north and southwest. Yet her internal weakness is not so manifest as in the dark days when the present sovereign assumed his crown.

# X

## RUSSIA

**Nicholas I** (1825–1855). — As ruler of Russia the Tsar Nicholas during his reign of thirty years exercised a threefold influence upon European politics. First, as heir, not only to the victorious empire, but to the ideas of his brother, Alexander I, he was the acknowledged head of the absolutist or reactionary party throughout Europe. Second, as sovereign of the largest Slavic state, he was the hope of an awakening pan-Slavism, that should reunite Slavic tribes. The overthrow and absorption of Poland, the second largest Slavic state, after an intermittent warfare of centuries between her and Russia, was congenial to the other Slavs. It was among the Western states that she found most sympathizers and not among peoples of the same blood. Third, as sovereign of the empire of orthodoxy, he was regarded, and regarded himself, as of right the protector and champion of his coreligionists, subjects of other rulers, specially of the Greek Orthodox Christians, subjects of the Sultan of Turkey.

This presumed right of a Russian Tsar had been recognized by treaties, such as those of Kaïnardji (1774), Yassi (1792), Adrianople (1829) and Hunkiar Iskelessi (1833), with the Ottoman Empire. In this respect Nicholas was the legitimate successor of Peter the Great. Yet unlike Peter he detested Western civilization. A young man of eighteen at the time of the French invasion, the horrors and the triumph of that gigantic struggle were burned into his soul. Russia unaided had then annihilated the hosts of the hitherto invincible Napoleon. It is not strange if Nicholas thought that Russia could withstand the world. By his accession in 1825, just a century after the death of the great Tsar, the Muscovite Empire, for the first time in a hundred years, had a sovereign who was wholly Russian at heart and who believed only in Russia. The Russians adored him with such loyalty as no other ruler of the house

of Romanoff had received. His unlooked-for advent to the throne was regarded as the special interposition of Providence. His brother, Constantine, seventeen years his senior, was the natural heir of Alexander I. But Constantine in 1820 had become devotedly attached to the Polish Countess Groudsinska. He could marry her only on condition of renouncing his rights of inheritance. He preferred the hand of the lady to the crown of Russia. "That, surely," said the peasants, "must have come from God."

**The Crimean War** (1853–1856). — Its apparent cause was a contention between Greek Orthodox and Latin priests as to the custody of certain holy places in Jerusalem (1851). The former were supported by Russia and the latter by France and Austria. A mixed commission to examine the matter was appointed by Sultan Abd-ul Medjid, which, while giving a temperate report, on the whole favored the Latins. The Russians and the Greek Orthodox rayahs of Turkey were indignant at the decision. It was a general Eastern superstition that the year 1853, which completed four centuries from the capture of Constantinople, would see the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. The Tsar believed all things were propitious to hasten that event.

He held two secret interviews (January 9 and 14, 1853) with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, wherein he spoke without reserve and asked the coöperation of Great Britain. He proposed to unite the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia into an independent state under the protection of Russia, and create two states of Servia and Bulgaria. He said nothing definite about Constantinople, but offered Crete and Egypt to Great Britain. It is interesting to remark that, with the exception of Crete, whose destiny is still undecided, the other propositions of the Tsar have become facts. "If we agree," he said, "I care little what the others" — France and Austria — "may do." The British ambassador shrewdly made public all that had been said to him in confidence. "The others" were enraged at the small account taken of them rather than at the propositions.

In May, 1853, Prince Mentchikoff was sent to Constantinople with a peremptory note, demanding that the complaints of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Land receive

satisfaction and that guarantees be given for the protection of the Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British ambassador to the Porte from 1842 to 1858, encouraged the Sultan to refuse compliance. The Russian armies crossed the Pruth and occupied the principalities. To avert war the Austrian government drew up the "Vienna Note," which was approved by France and Great Britain and accepted by Russia. But the British ambassador at Constantinople secured its rejection by the Sultan and persuaded him to take resolute action. The Porte delivered an ultimatum to Russia (September 26) and declared war (October 4).

The subsequent events of the struggle and its conclusion in the treaty of Paris are narrated in the chapter on the "Second French Empire." Nicholas had been outwitted in diplomacy and defeated in arms. Broken-hearted and disillusioned, even before the capture of Sebastopol, the "iron emperor" gave way. Sick and suffering, he committed imprudences which can only be explained as a desire to hasten his end. He himself dictated the despatch which he sent to all the great cities of Russia, "The emperor is dying," and expired on March 2, 1855.

The disasters of the Crimea had been a cruel revelation, not only to him but to his subjects. His army and his people had supposed they were to revolutionize the East, indefinitely extend their empire, and drive out the crescent from Jerusalem. Instead, they were obliged to dismantle their own fortresses and withdraw their warships from the Black Sea. Nothing however had occurred to disprove their proud boast that, should any hostile nation really penetrate Russia, its sovereign would there lose his crown like Charles XII and Napoleon the Great, and its army would leave there its bones.

**Alexander II** (1855–1881). — "Your burden will be heavy," his father had said to him when dying. To bear this burden nature had well fitted the new Tsar. Though devoted to his father's memory, he realized that his father's system had been found wanting and that another epoch must open in Russia. Everywhere there was the sullen rumble of discontent. Of mediocre ability, self-distrustful rather than headstrong, just, patient and plodding, he desired to inaugurate a new era. He determined to reform where it was possible and to mitigate what

he could not reform. In his manifesto immediately after the conclusion of peace he outlined his policy almost with boldness. The corruption and inefficiency of administration had been protected by a muzzled press, by a rigorous police and by a compulsory silence on the part of the people. He encouraged freedom of speech and thought. "The conservative Russia of Nicholas I seemed buried under the sod. Every one declared himself a liberal." Public opinion wished to undertake every reform at once, but the question of social reform dominated all others.

There were then 47,200,000 serfs, divided into two great classes. Of these 24,700,000, dependent upon the crown, enjoyed a large degree of personal freedom. They exercised local self-government, administered their own affairs in communes, or mirs, by an elected council, and possessed tribunals which they had themselves chosen. The prohibition to dispose of or acquire property and to remove from the place of birth was abolished by successive ukases, beginning July, 1858.

The other 22,500,000 serfs, the "disposition" of 120,000 nobles, were hardly better than slaves. The system had grown up strangely when Russia was bowed under the Tartar yoke, but it had been introduced by native princes and not by foreigners. Gradually the preceding Tsars or dukes of Moscow had imposed their absolute will on their vassals, the nobles, and the nobles had succeeded in doing the same to their vassals, the peasants or serfs, only more effectually. These aristocratic usurpations had been even confirmed and the mujik still further restricted by successive ukases during two centuries. Alexander I and Nicholas I himself had vainly tried to modify the iniquitous system. Innumerable difficulties stood in the way. Who should indemnify the proprietors for their loss? What was the advantage of freedom to emancipated serfs who could possess nothing of their own?

In March, 1856, Alexander II invited his "faithful nobility" to consider what steps were necessary to bring about emancipation. His suggestions were coldly received. He travelled over the country, appealing to the nobles to assist him, but their inertia was harder to overcome than active opposition. Finally, he issued his immortal edict of emancipation (March 3, 1861). Thus by a stroke of the pen, the serfs, hitherto fastened to the soil, were raised to

the rank of freemen. Provision was made for their acquiring property and for the protection of their newly granted liberty. But a change so radical was accompanied by local disturbances and bloodshed.

An annual statement of the public finances began to be made. The universities were delivered from the restrictions imposed by Nicholas. Foreigners acquired the same rights as were enjoyed by Russians abroad. Censorship of the press had been already relaxed. The use of the knout was abolished. Such Jews as exercised any manual occupation received permission to settle freely in the empire.

Reforms were likewise introduced into the administration of Poland. But the spirit of nationality was not extinct and nothing less than independence could satisfy the Poles. Further concessions accomplished little. The troubles went on increasing until January, 1863, when they took the form of guerilla warfare. Resistance was cruelly put down. The insurrection cost dearly to Poland. The last remains of her national life were stamped out. Polish was replaced by Russian as the official language and was forbidden in the schools. Ardent Slavophils wished likewise to Russify Finland, but the Tsar confirmed all its political privileges. Livonia, Esthonia and Courland were not disquieted but continued to exist as vassal provinces, with their own language and laws, under the Russian crown.

Meanwhile the war in America was going on for the preservation of the Union. Russia was pronounced and outspoken in friendliness to the United States. The firm and consistent course pursued by her, when other powers were desirous of our national dissolution, is something which Americans cannot forget.

**Revision of the Treaty of Paris** (1871). — In 1870 Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian chancellor, informed the European Powers that Russia no longer considered herself bound by the Treaty of Paris as far as it curtailed her natural rights on the Black Sea. Various infractions of that treaty were assigned as reasons for this declaration. A conference of the signatory states at London accepted the declaration of Russia. Thus the most important result of the Crimean War was annulled. Russia has since been free to construct such fortifications as she pleased upon the shores of the Black Sea and to maintain a navy upon its waters. This

right was furthermore ratified by an agreement with Turkey (March 18, 1872).

**The Russo-Turkish War** (1877–1878). — The promises of the Sultan to introduce reform in the treatment of his Christian subjects had been flagrantly and constantly broken. Protected by the Treaty of Paris, wherein the Powers had waived all right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks were no longer influenced by the restraint of fear. In 1874 the Slavic rayahs of Bosnia and Herzegovina rebelled. Again the Sultan promised reforms, but the insurgents demanded guarantees that he would keep his word. To prevent the flames of insurrection from spreading, Count Andrassy, the Austro-Hungarian chancellor, obtained the Sultan's approval to certain measures enumerated in a formal note (February 12, 1876), but the insurgents were still distrustful. Suddenly the consuls of Germany and France at Salonica were massacred by a Mussulman mob. Russia, Germany and Austria united in the memorandum of Berlin (May 1), demanding of the Sultan a two months' armistice with the Bosnians and Herzegovinians and immediate introduction of the reforms. They threatened the employment of force in case of refusal. Encouraged by the support of Great Britain, who refused to approve the memorandum, the Sultan withheld his consent.

The horrors of Bulgaria broke out, where more than 20,000 Bulgarians were massacred. Public meetings in Great Britain denounced the atrocities. Servia and Montenegro took up arms. The latter was victorious. The former was totally defeated, though the Servian army contained many Russian volunteers and was commanded by the Russian General Tchernaïeff. Alexander II and the Russian official party wished to avoid war, though the Tsar in a speech at Moscow (November 12) openly expressed his sympathy for the Christians. France and Germany held themselves aloof. Austria did her utmost to preserve peace. Great Britain proposed a conference of the Powers at Constantinople, which met on November 23. It presented an ultimatum, requiring the autonomy of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, concessions of territory to Montenegro, the status quo for Servia, a general amnesty, genuine reform in Turkish administration and judiciary, and the nomination by the great Powers of two commissions to see that the promises were carried out. In case of

refusal all the ambassadors were to demand their passports. Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II was on the throne, his predecessors, Sultan Abd-ul Aziz and Sultan Mourad V, having been overthrown that same year by revolution. The astute Midhat Pasha was grand vizier. Again encouraged by the British ambassador, the Sultan refused to comply.

No Power was willing to act, though the ambassadors in a body had formally left Constantinople. Midhat Pasha signed a treaty with Servia, but Montenegro held out. Prince Gortschakoff sent a circular note to the European courts (January 31) and General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, travelled over Europe to induce united action. The protocol of London (March 31) invited the Sultan to disarm, and announced, that if he continued to violate his promises of reform, the great Powers would consult further.

Nothing had been accomplished. The resources of a diplomacy of words were exhausted. Turkey was still indifferent or defiant. In Russia the Tsar and the official classes still hesitated, but the Russian people were aflame. Public sentiment, even in a despotic empire, could not be resisted. The same forces of humanity and sympathy, which compelled the American government to take up arms in the effort to end the horrors in Cuba, compelled the reluctant Tsar to take up arms to end longer-continued and more atrocious horrors in the dominions of the Sultan. The Russian war of 1877–1878 against Turkey finds its exact parallel in the American war of 1898 against Spain. Both were spontaneous armed uprisings in behalf of mankind.

The Tsar issued his manifesto on April 24, 1877. The war lasted until the preliminary treaty of San Stephano on March 31, 1878. It was carried on in both Asia and Europe.

In Asia the Russian general-in-chief, the Armenian Loris Melikoff, captured Ardahan (May 17). General Der Hougassoff, also an Armenian, took Bayezid (April 20) and gained the battles of Dram Dagh (June 10) and Daïar (June 21). Melikoff, defeated at Zewin (June 26) by Mouktar Pasha, was obliged to retreat. The Russians received reënforcements. Mouktar Pasha was crushed at Aladja Dagh (October 14–16) and driven into Erzeroum. Kars was stormed (November 18) and fell with 17,000 pris-

oners and 300 cannon. The road to Constantinople through Asia Minor was open.

In Europe Abd-ul Kerim Pasha, Turkish commander-in-chief, remained apathetic in his camp at Shoumla. The main Russian army crossed the Danube at Sistova (June 27). Baron von Krüdener took Nicopolis with 7000 prisoners, 113 cannon and two monitors (July 15). General Gourko attacked the Turks in the Balkans and seized the Shipka Pass (July 17–19). Panic reigned at Constantinople. The Ottoman Minister of War, Redif Pasha, who had proclaimed the Holy War, was removed. Abd-ul Kerim Pasha was replaced by Mehemet Ali Pasha, the son of a German tailor converted to Islam. Souleïman Pasha was recalled from Montenegro to protect the capital. Jealousy prevented coöperation among the Ottoman generals. Souleïman Pasha dashed his army against the Russians and the Bulgarian legion in vain attempts to regain the Shipka Pass (August 16 and September 17). Mehemet Ali Pasha was terribly defeated at Tserkoria (September 21). Osman Pasha was forced into Plevna (August 31). There he defended himself with skill and bravery. But his capitulation was only a question of time. General Todleben, who had fortified Sebastopol in the Crimean war, took charge of the siege. Skobeleff and Gourko cut off all communication. The Roumanians, who had declared themselves independent and had joined the Russians with 60,000 men, performed prodigies of valor. By a general sortie Osman Pasha tried to break through the iron circle, but was forced to surrender with 43,000 soldiers (December 10). The siege had lasted almost four months. The Sultan now wished to treat for peace, but was persuaded by the British ambassador, Sir Austin Layard, to continue the war. Souleïman Pasha replaced Mehemet Ali Pasha and gained a tardy victory at Elena (November 20).

The famous Turkish quadrilateral of Silistria, Roustchouk, Shoumla and Varna was still intact. Already the mountain passes were blocked with snow. An unusually severe season had begun. The Turks supposed that hostilities would cease until spring. The Grand Duke Nicholas ordered General Gourko to force the Balkans. Then followed a magnificent winter campaign along ravines and precipices, where the soldiers themselves dragged the cannon. The astounded Turks were everywhere defeated.

Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, which had not seen a Christian army for 400 years, was entered (January 3, 1878). Six days later Wessir Pasha surrendered with 32,000 men and sixty-six cannon.

The Ottoman Empire seemed entering its death agony. The Servians had declared war. Thessaly, Macedonia and Albania were in open rebellion. The Cretans were tumultuously demanding union with Greece. The Greek army crossed the frontier. The Montenegrins captured fortress after fortress in the west. The Russians effected their junction at Adrianople (January 20) and reached the Marmora on January 31. That same day an armistice was signed at Adrianople. It was time. To oppose the advance of the invaders the Sultan had only a corps of 12,000 men, camped on the hills of Tchataldja, an easy day's march from the capital.

The rapid Russian successes produced intense excitement in Great Britain. The government made vigorous preparations for war. The British fleet passed the Dardanelles and anchored close to Constantinople (February 14). Thereupon the Grand Duke Nicholas advanced to San Stephano, seven miles from the city walls.

On March 3 the Russian and Ottoman plenipotentiaries signed the preliminary treaty of San Stephano. It recognized the independence of both Roumania and Servia. The latter was enlarged by the district of Nisch. The former received the Dobroudja in exchange for Bessarabia, which was restored to Russia as before the Crimean war. Montenegro gained the ports of Spizza and Antivari on the Adriatic and more than doubled its territory. In Asia Russia was confirmed in the possession of the eastern quadrilateral, Kars, Ardahan, Bayezid and Batoum. The Turks were condemned to pay a war indemnity of 300,000,000 roubles. Bulgaria was created a vassal principality of the Sultan. It was to extend from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, thus cutting in twain the still remaining Turkish possessions in Europe. Never had the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty as fatal.

**The Congress of Berlin** (1878). — The preliminary treaty of San Stephano terrified Austria, who saw aggrandized Slavic states on her southwest frontier neighboring upon her own Slavic peoples. It enraged Great Britain, who saw in it the practical extinction of the Ottoman Empire. But

Austria was held in check by Germany. Great Britain, though unable to put a large army into the field, employed every weapon known to diplomacy. Russia was neither desirous of nor prepared for further war. After much negotiation with the courts of Great Britain and Germany, she agreed to submit the treaty to a congress of the Powers at Berlin. A secret agreement however had just been arrived at for their two governments by Count Schouvaloff and Lord Salisbury.

The congress opened on June 13 and continued in session just one month. The nations were represented by their ablest and most illustrious statesmen. Among the delegates were Count Andrassy, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Waddington from France, Count Corti from Italy, Mehemet Ali Pasha and Caratheodoridi Pasha from Turkey, Lord Salisbury from Great Britain and Count Schouvaloff from Russia. The three most conspicuous figures were Prince Bismarck, who presided, Prince Gortschakoff, chancellor of Russia, and Lord Beaconsfield, prime minister of Great Britain.

The treaty of Berlin much reduced the size of the proposed Bulgaria. It also divided it in two: "Principality of Bulgaria," between the Danube and the Balkans, an autonomous state tributary to the Sultan; "Province of Eastern Roumelia," extending south of the Balkans halfway to the Ægean Sea. The latter, though under a Christian governor, was to depend directly upon the Sultan. The independence of Roumania and Servia was recognized, but, as in the case of the always independent Montenegro, their proposed acquisitions were diminished. Bosnia and Herzegovina were assigned to Austria. The wish was expressed, though not inserted in the treaty, that the Sultan make certain concessions of territory to the Greeks. As to the Christian subjects of the Sultan, the congress contented itself with a repetition of his familiar promises to introduce reforms. In Asia Khotour was ceded to Persia, and the Russians restored Bayezid to Turkey, though retaining Kars, Batoum and Ardahan.

During the session the revelation was made of a secret treaty for defensive alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, which had been concluded on the preceding 4th of June. In this secret treaty Great Britain agreed to unite in arms with the Sultan in defense of the Ottoman Empire

in case it should ever be attacked by Russia. In return the Sultan promised to assign the island of Cyprus to Great Britain and to introduce the necessary reforms in the treatment of his Christian subjects — such reforms to be determined later by the two Powers.

The congress of Berlin, not only in the very fact of its existence but in its decisions, was a diplomatic defeat for Russia. Her main object, the deliverance of Bulgaria, was indeed attained, but this Bulgaria was torn asunder and shorn of its strength. Great Britain and Austria without fighting had gained: the one, Cyprus and preponderance in Asia Minor; and the other, Bosnia and Herzegovina, advancement on the road to Salonica and hence direct influence over Montenegro and Servia. The Turkish Empire had been rescued from destruction, its existence prolonged and further opportunity afforded for future outrage and massacre. For Beaconsfield and Great Britain that congress was a striking but none the less a deplorable triumph.

**The Nihilists.** — The reforms after the accession of Alexander II had come upon the people like a galvanic shock. However warmly, though vaguely, desired, their application caused everywhere dissatisfaction. The ingrained despotic system had vitiated every activity of life. The serfs were dissatisfied because they had not gained more. The nobles were sullen because, when dispossessed of their serfs, their revenues were curtailed. The hosts of students from the humbler classes, attracted by scholarships or purses to the universities and newly opened colleges, found on completion of their studies that all the civil and official positions were already occupied by the privileged and themselves shut out. Everywhere there was discontent, like morbid soreness of the body ready to propagate political disease.

The irresolute Tsar was discouraged. Some proposed reforms he withheld and others he partially withdrew. The government tried to relax and tighten the reins at the same time. Reaction set in, and the counter reaction was nihilism. Russian nihilism could resemble the mad vagaries of no other country, for it was stamped with the peculiarities of the Russian mind. Though the nihilist considered Russia diseased, he looked upon all other lands as equally or still more rotten. In Russia he saw nothing worth the keeping, and in the rest of the world he saw nothing worth the taking. Some of the nihilists were theorists and

dreamers. Others, the more daring and dangerous, were revolutionists. Their ranks were recruited by men and women from the universities, who were maddened by enforced idleness and poverty and social wrongs. Never numerous, their almost inhuman activity multiplied their numbers in common opinion. Their contempt for death gave them horrible efficiency. Tracked and hunted like wild beasts, they surpassed wild beasts in merciless ferocity. For years Russia was mined and countermined by them and their terrible antagonists, the secret police of the dreaded third section.

Assassinations and attempts at assassination followed fast. Matvéeff, rector of the university of Kiev, Mezentseff, chief of the third section, Prince Krapotkine, governor of Kharkof, Colonel Knoop at Odessa, Captain Reinstein at Moscow, Pietrovski, chief of police at Archangel, and scores of prominent persons were stabbed or shot. An attempt was made to blow up the imperial family with dynamite at the winter palace (1880). The explosion killed sixty soldiers and wounded forty. The Tsarina died in June, 1880. The nihilists matured their plans to blow up the bridge over which the funeral cortege was to pass and destroy the imperial hearse with all the mourners, the foreign princes and guards. A sudden storm so swelled the waters of the Neva as to prevent the execution of the plot.

On December 4, 1879, the Nihilist Executive Committee sent the Tsar his sentence of death, but for a long time every effort to put it in execution failed. In February, 1881, he submitted the scheme of a constitution to a council. On March 9 he gave the elaborated form his approval, but, hesitating still, delayed its proclamation. On the morning of March 13 he sent the order for its publication in the official messenger. That afternoon, while riding, a bomb was thrown against his carriage. Many soldiers and pedestrians were killed, but the emperor was unharmed. "Let me see the wounded," he exclaimed, and sprang from his carriage. Instantly a second bomb was thrown at him. Horribly mutilated, he was borne to his palace, where he expired without uttering a word.

In 1861 he had emancipated the serfs. In 1878 he had freed Bulgaria. At the moment of his death the Constitution which he had granted was being set in type. It is a strange and sad coincidence that the two liberators, the

president who freed the slaves in the United States and the Tsar who freed the serfs in Russia, should both perish by the hand of an assassin.

**Reign of Alexander III** (1881–1894). — Alexander III had to choose between two roads. Should he follow the progressive policy of his father and confirm the still unpublished constitution, or should he set his face backward and reign like Nicholas I? "Change none of my father's orders," he said at first. "It" — the Constitution — "shall be his last will and testament." Unhappily for Russia such sentiments did not last. In Pobiédonostseff, High Procurator of the Holy Synod, a reactionary fanatic of spotless integrity, and the Slavophil, General Ignatieff, he found congenial counsellors. The Constitution was withheld. The temperate and humane General Melikoff, the trusted friend of his father, tendered his resignation. General Ignatieff was made Minister of the Interior.

The day of absolutism, espionage and Russification by force had come back. The government endeavored in domestic affairs to undo all that Alexander II had done. Hatred of everything foreign was the mode. Katkoff, the violent editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, was allowed the utmost latitude, because he so fully expressed all the dynastic and popular passions of the hour. Never was Russian intolerance manifested in more annoying ways and with greater severity. The treatment of the Jews was a disgrace to humanity. They were forbidden to own or lease land or to exercise any liberal profession. They were ordered to concentrate in a few western provinces so as to be more easily watched. More than 300,000 emigrated. The government was no more cruel than the people. In Balta the peasants without provocation sacked 976 Jewish houses and killed or wounded 219 Jews. The Lutherans and Dissenters were treated unmercifully. At last even General Ignatieff was shocked or alarmed, and proposed moderation.

Prince Gortschakoff, at the age of eighty-two, asked to be relieved from his duties as chancellor (1882). As his successor the war party desired General Ignatieff, the peace party M. de Giers. Despite its antipathy for Europe, the foreign policy of the government was pacific. M. de Giers was appointed. His rival, in chagrin, withdrew to private life. Count Tolstoï was made Minister of the Interior and under him the anti-Semitic agitation was sternly repressed.

Improvement in the public finances, brought about by Vichnegradzy, the Minister of Finance, is almost the only alleviation in this dismal reign.

The nihilists, boastful of their success in "removing" a Tsar, continued their work. They held Russia in such terrorism that the coronation of Alexander III had been postponed almost two years. The Tsar had distinguished himself as a soldier in the Russo-Turkish war, but his life on the throne was passed in constant fear of assassination. Immediately on accession he had appointed his brother, Vladimir, to serve as regent in case of necessity. Ceaseless watchfulness and dread sapped his strength. The long illness from which he finally died (October 31, 1894) was largely due to the incessant attempts of the nihilists upon his life.

**Nicholas II** (1894– ). — Though at first apparently desirous of following in his father's steps, he soon showed himself awake to the spirit of the age. On November 27 at St. Petersburg he married the Princess Alix of Hesse, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. All the troops and police were withdrawn from the streets. The people were allowed without restraint to climb the lamp-posts and trees and crowd the windows along the route of the bridal procession. Such freedom on such an occasion had never been known in Russia. This manifest confidence in his subjects made a profound impression and won him immense popularity. In the formal visits of the imperial consorts to different parts of the empire the same shrewd etiquette of confidence has been followed.

On the death of M. de Giers (January, 1895), who had been the real director of Russian foreign policy since the treaty of Berlin, Prince Lobanoff became Minister of Foreign Affairs and proved himself equally pacific. The serious Pamir difficulty as to the boundary between the British and Russian Asiatic possessions was settled in a manner honorable to both countries.

The splendor of the coronation ceremonies at Moscow (May 20, 1896) was darkened by a terrible catastrophe. Over 400,000 people had crowded together on the Khodynskoye plain to feast as guests of the Tsar. Insufficient police were present to control the immense mass. In the crush over 3000 persons were suffocated or trampled to death. In his coronation manifesto the Tsar announced

that the land tax was diminished one-half and that a comprehensive amnesty had been granted to political offenders. Soon afterward Nicholas II and the Tsarina visited Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France and Germany.

In 1897 the Tsar was received with enthusiasm at Warsaw. As a token of his appreciation he granted permission for the erection of a statue to Mickievitch, the patriot poet whose songs had inspired the Poles in their former resistance to Russia. In the same year for the first time a general census of the empire was undertaken.

The present of Russia is full of hope. A more enlightened spirit is making its way among the government and people. Nihilism for a time at least is silent or has disappeared. Slowly, but none the less surely, the condition of the serfs is improving. The energies of the country are concentrating in industrial and commercial channels and its limitless natural resources being utilized.

With progress at home is coupled a parallel advance of Russian influence abroad. To-day that influence in a striking manner is being exerted in behalf of the world's tranquillity and peace. On August 28, 1898, the Russian government communicated to the courts of Europe one of the most memorable State papers ever issued. This document in graphic language set forth the terrible burden imposed by the existence of vast standing armies and by national rivalry in military armaments. It deplored the waste of men and material resources, consequent on this unnatural condition of affairs. It declared that "the supreme duty to-day imposed upon all States" is "to put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world." In dignified terms, such as a mighty empire dreading no superior alone could use, it proposed a conference of all the Powers "to occupy itself with this grave problem of universal peace." Whatever the outcome of the conference, the proposition is a blessed augury for the twentieth century.

## XI

### THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

**The Hatti Sherif of Ghul Khaneh** (1839). — Two days after the battle of Nezib, while the victorious Egyptians were marching upon Constantinople, Sultan Mahmoud died. Only the interference of the European powers checked their advance and preserved the throne to his son, Sultan Abd-ul Medjid. Though failing in almost every enterprise he undertook, Mahmoud had made earnest efforts to reform the empire. His successor inherited his ideas. At the summer palace of Ghul Khaneh, in the presence of the foreign diplomatic body, of the heads of the various subject churches, of deputations from all the guilds, and of the great dignitaries, ecclesiastical, military and civil, of the Ottoman state, his Hatti Sherif, or Sacred Proclamation, was read by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reshid Pasha (November 3, 1839). Everything was done to give solemnity and a binding character to this rescript. It concluded with a prayer and an imprecation, and the vast assembly of Moslems, Christians and Jews responded "Amen."

This was the first formal acknowledgment of abuses and the first official declaration of a purpose to reform that was ever made by an Ottoman sovereign. It guaranteed security of life, property and honor to all subjects of the empire, a uniform and just taxation and uniformity in conscription and military service. It suppressed monopolies, pronounced that all court trials be public, removed restrictions from the sale and purchase of real estate, and ordered that the property of criminals be no longer confiscated but handed over to their natural heirs. These measures were aimed at correcting those violations of justice from which Christians and Mussulmans suffered in common. Its most important provision declared that henceforth Mussulman and Christian subjects should be equal before the law. Hitherto the theory and practice since the foundation of the empire had been flagrant inequality between the adhe-

rents of the two religions. For example, the testimony of a Christian was not admissible in court against a Mussulman. A Christian could only hire Mussulman witnesses, who were allowed to testify for him.

The Christians regarded the Hatti Sherif with mixed hope and incredulity. It enraged the Mussulmans, who believed that equality between them and the giaours was a contradiction of the Koran as well as of all their past history. But in Christian Europe, accustomed to see promises followed by deeds, it caused a profound and favorable impression.

**Massacres in the Lebanon** (1845). — The Sultan, well meaning but feeble, made only desultory efforts to put his proclamation into effect. In most localities it remained a dead letter. In others it stirred up the Moslems to prove that there had been no change in the old order. The region of Lebanon was inhabited by many religious sects. Among the more powerful were the Catholic Maronites, who enjoyed the protection of France, and the Druses, a wild tribe of heretical Mussulmans, followers of the mad Caliph Hakim. Under their leader, the Sheik Abou Naked, the Druses made a sudden attack. His followers had strict orders to harm only the Catholics, for then as always there was method in a Mussulman massacre. Every conceivable horror marked the passage of the bandit chief. He spared neither sex nor age. The government forbade the Maronites to defend themselves, but told them to trust in the padishah. The Turkish soldiers, sent to preserve order, remained inactive or openly sided with the Druses. The French missionary stations were destroyed, their churches and convents sacked and priests murdered. M. Guizot, then prime minister of France, dared not interfere. The French ambassador at Constantinople, M. de Bourqueney, was bolder. He sent a peremptory message to the Porte. The massacres ceased. New measures for the administration of the Lebanon were introduced and a degree of tranquillity was restored.

**Question of the Holy Places. The Crimean War** (1853–1856). — This subject has been sufficiently discussed in the chapters on the second French empire and Russia. Save at its beginning the Turks played an insignificant and humiliating part in the war. Their assistance seemed as much disdained by the British and French troops as their

resistance had been by the Russians. Before the arrival of their allies the Ottoman commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, a Christian renegade, had shown ability on the Danube. The successful defence of Silistria, where six assaults of the Russian army were repulsed, was honorable to Turkish arms. In signing the offensive and defensive treaty with Great Britain and France, the Porte promised to accomplish the following reforms: "Equality before the law and eligibility to all offices of all Ottoman subjects without distinction of religion; admission of Christian testimony in court; establishment of mixed tribunals; abolition of the kharadj or exemption tax."

**The Hatti Humayoun** (1856). — The Hatti Sherif of Ghul Khaneh had proved abortive. The abyss still yawned unbridged between the Mussulmans and the Christians. Language can hardly set forth the sense of superiority among the former. The cadi of Mardin in 1855 gave a permit for the interment of a Christian in the following words: "Permission to the priest of Mary to bury the impure and offensive carcass of Saidah, who went to hell this very day. Signed, Saïd Mehemed Faize." In its language and its sentiment toward their subjects, this paper was typical of the ruling race. A Hatti Humayoun, or Imperial Proclamation, was issued on February 18, 1856. It reaffirmed and extended all the glittering generalities of the Hatti Sherif. It forbade all distinction between the followers of the two religions. All Christian subjects had hitherto been excluded from the ranks. It now opened to them not only military service, but attainment of the highest grades. To this provision Mussulmans and Christians united in opposition. The former were unwilling to obey officers of the subject Christian nationalities or to serve with them in the troops. The latter preferred still to pay the exemption tax and had no wish to fight for a government they abhorred.

**Massacres at Djeddah** (1858) **and in Syria** (1860). **European Intervention.** — It is a peculiar fact that the Crimean War stimulated the hatred of the Turks for all foreign Christians, for the British and French even more than for the Russians. Their pride was stung on seeing the crushing superiority in the civilization and power of the Western nations. This sullen hatred was diffused throughout the empire and grew all the more intense, because they realized

that those detested foreign Christians looked on them with contempt.

At Djeddah, in Arabia (July 15, 1858), the wild exhortations of some dervishes excited a crowd of pilgrims to attack the foreigners. The consul of France and vice-consul of Great Britain were massacred while trying to protect their countrymen. The bombardment of the city by an Anglo-French squadron (July 25) and the hanging of ten of the murderers made only a slight impression.

An explosion followed on a larger scale in Syria. The Druses, though comparatively quiet since 1845, were no less envenomed against the Christians. Khourshid Pasha, governor-general of Beïrout, and Achmet Pasha, commander of the army of Arabistan, encouraged them to action. Speedily (May, 1860) the Lebanon and the neighboring country were drenched with blood. Greed and lust multiplied the bands of the fanatics. With every attendant horror entire villages were blotted out. The Bedouins of the desert joined hands with the Druses of the mountain. Damascus was as sanguinary as the Lebanon. Only the British and Prussian consulates were respected. The Ottoman troops were not behind in murder and pillage. It is impossible to tell how many thousands were slain or died of exposure. The Emir Abd-el-Kader, who for sixteen years had defended his country of Algeria against the French, was then living in Damascus. At peril of his life, with a band of followers, he protected as many Christian fugitives as he could and lavished his resources in their support.

Europe shuddered at these atrocities. Lord Palmerston denounced them in Parliament. By a convention between Great Britain and France, which the Porte was obliged to approve, 6000 French troops were sent to Syria. They were potent arguments in favor of justice and order. Fuad Pasha, Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, was given full authority to punish the criminals. Marshal Achmet Pasha was tried and shot. Khourshid Pasha was condemned to prison. Eighty-five Mussulmans on conviction were put to death. Such interference was effectual. The Lebanon became, and has continued to be, one of the most orderly and peaceful provinces of the empire. By decision of the great Powers it has since been ruled by a Christian governor. The French corps of occupation returned home in 1861.

**Sultan Abd-ul Aziz** (1861–1876). — Sultan Abd-ul Medjid died in June, 1861. His reign of twenty-two years was filled with good intentions without accomplishment. His brother, Sultan Abd-ul Aziz, who succeeded, was of stronger fibre. But kept in extreme seclusion, constantly under watch, he was as ignorant as a child of what went on in the Ottoman Empire or the outer world. On his accession he repeated all the customary glowing promises of reform. More extravagant even than his brother, his prodigality bordered on madness. Enormous sums were squandered in erecting palaces, of which he often tired before they were complete. His harem of 900 women was served by 3000 attendants. Moustapha Fazyl Pasha, accountant general, in an interview with the Sultan hinted at the danger of national bankruptcy. He was exiled for his rashness. The machinery of government was kept in motion by two capable men, Fuad Pasha and Ali Pasha. The latter was one of the ablest statesmen Turkey ever produced. Strictly honest, inaccessible to a bribe, he was moreover a tireless worker. Provincial rebellions and petty wars kept him constantly busy.

**The Insurrection of Crete** (1866–1868). — During the last sixty years insurrection was the chronic condition of Crete. In 1866, as before in 1821, in 1841 and 1858, it assumed a more general and threatening form. Never were the 200,000 Christians, who formed two-thirds of the population, more cruelly and more unjustly governed. Their complaints to Constantinople against their inhuman governor, Ismaïl Pasha, had only called out vague promises of improvement and a stern menace that they must submit to the officers of the Sultan. The Cretans got together a general assembly which declared them independent and pronounced for union with Greece. In the mountains of Sphakia, the western part of the island which never had been thoroughly subdued, they carried on a guerilla war. They routed detachment after detachment sent against them, forced the capitulation of Ismaïl Pasha and destroyed another Turkish division at Selino. Kiritli Pasha was sent as a dictator with 40,000 men. He fared no better, nor did Omar Pasha, the Turkish generalissimo, who replaced him. France, Italy, Prussia and Russia proposed the appointment of an international commission to administer the island. Great Britain and Austria opposed the proposition, and it was

rejected by the Sultan. War seemed imminent between Turkey and Greece, but the latter power was kept from action by France and Great Britain. From America generous sums were sent to relieve the distress among the Cretan refugees, but Europe looked on in general apathy. By the employment of all its resources the Ottoman Empire at last quieted the insurrection for a time. At the convent of Arcadion the Cretans made their final stand. As the Turks crossed the last trench over the bodies of its last defenders, the Cretan women set fire to the powder in the vaults and blew up themselves and their conquerors.

**Opening of the Suez Canal** (November 17, 1869). — This year the great enterprise of M. de Lesseps, though still incomplete, was so far advanced as to be passable by ships. Its various stages of construction had already occupied twenty years. By connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, it converted Africa into the vastest of the island continents. In prolonging its entire length 100 miles, over 80,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock had been removed. On it had been expended about $95,000,000. The only share of Turkey in the achievement was found in the fact that Ismaïl Pasha, viceroy of Egypt and the earnest promoter of the enterprise, was a vassal of the Sultan. At the formal opening almost all the maritime nations were represented by warships, which passed through the canal in an imposing and memorable procession. The occasion was honored by the presence of European sovereigns, among them Empress Eugénie and the emperor of Austria-Hungary.

**Foreign Loans and Bankruptcy**. — In 1854, during the exigencies of the Crimean War, the government obtained a foreign loan of £5,000,000. The next year it borrowed a like amount. Almost to its surprise it found foreign capitalists not only willing but desirous to advance their money in return for its promise to pay. With that thoughtlessness of the morrow which characterizes the Ottoman, it was of all others the easiest and most agreeable way to obtain a revenue. By March, 1865, the entire public debt amounted to about £36,700,000.

Within the next ten years the total of foreign indebtedness had grown to nearly if not quite £230,000,000. That is, it had increased in the proportion of about £20,000,000 a year! To show for it there were only a few elegant but

useless edifices here and there and a fleet of equally useless ironclads, always anchored in a majestic semi-circle along the Bosphorus in front of the palace of the Sultan, not for his protection but for his amusement. It is impossible to describe the levity with which those enormous sums had been squandered. When the daughter of Sultan Abd-ul Medjid was married to Ali Galib Pasha, over $7,000,000 were expended on the trousseau of the bride.

The day of reckoning came in less than a quarter of a century after that first loan of 1854. Up to 1875 the interest had always been promptly paid, even if a new loan was necessary to obtain the funds. At last even the interest could no longer be provided for. On October 6, 1875, the grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, announced that the state was bankrupt. He considered himself in no small degree justified for partial repudiation by the fact that the nominal sums had by no means been received, the later loans especially being effected at ruinous rates, and that the interest already paid on certain loans was larger than the original amount.

**Death of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz.** — The troubles in Herzegovina (1875), the massacres in Bulgaria (1875), and the war with Montenegro and Servia (1876–1877) make the last years in the reign of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz to be long remembered. Ali Pasha, Fuad Pasha, General Omar Pasha, all his tried statesmen and supporters, were dead. The grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, was the creature of General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador. The empire was in a condition hardly better than anarchy from one end to the other. The long patience, even of the Mussulmans, was exhausted. The softas or theological students terrified the Sultan into the appointment of ministers of their choice. A few days later the Sheik-ul-Islam gave a fetva approving his deposition. Midhat Pasha, an energetic man whose government of several provinces had been signalized by violent reforms, headed a conspiracy. The Sultan was quietly dethroned (May 24, 1876). A few days later he was found dead. The court physicians declared he had committed suicide.

He visited the International Exposition at Paris in 1867, being the only Ottoman sovereign who in peaceful fashion had set foot in a foreign country. But he learned nothing in his travels and brought back only added aversion

to Western ways. His one success was in humbling the viceroy of Egypt, his vassal, on whom he had previously bestowed the almost regal title of khedive. He compelled him to reduce his army, surrender his ironclads and abstain from exercising the attributes of sovereignty. It had been his lifelong ambition to assure the succession to his son, Yusuf Izeddin, thus setting aside the Ottoman custom, which vests the inheritance in the oldest member of a dynasty and not in direct descent. By his deposition all his careful plans were brought to naught. His nephew, Sultan Mourad V, was at once proclaimed. The excitement caused by the tragic death of his uncle and by the assassination of some of his ministers at a cabinet meeting unsettled his reason. He was removed by the sultan-maker, Midhat Pasha, and his brother, Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II, reigned in his stead.

**The Reign of Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II** (1876–1898). — No other Sultan in the Mosque of Eyoub ever girded on the sword of Osman — the Turkish equivalent of coronation — in national conditions so appalling.

Rebellion was rampant in Bosnia and Herzegovina and imminent in Arabia. Montenegro and Servia had declared war and the Turks believed that Europe, and certainly Russia, were about to do the same. The horrors of Bulgarian massacres had shocked and for a time alienated the empire's most persistent friends. The civil and military service was everywhere in utter confusion. The prodigality of preceding reigns had impoverished the people and brought on bankruptcy, which made further foreign loans impossible. There was no money to pay the troops. The ironclads could not move for lack of coal. The young Turkey party, composed largely of Moslems who had lived abroad, not numerous but noisy, demanded thorough renovation of the empire. The vast majority of the Mussulmans, as bigoted as they were ignorant, denounced even the pretence of reform. To them Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Abd-ul Medjid were little better than giaours. In their judgment the abandonment by recent Sultans of the principles and practice of early days was wholly responsible for national decline. Their fierce fanaticism was as dangerous as foreign attack. Partisans of the dead Abd-ul Aziz were plotting to enthrone his son, Yusuf Izeddin. Partisans of the crazy Mourad were plotting his restoration. Midhat had deposed two sultans. Two dethronements in four months had made the idea of

revolution grimly familiar. What Midhat Pasha had done twice he was capable of doing again. When Abd-ul Hamid ascended the throne in 1876 it was a common belief that he would not occupy it a year.

In December the formal conference of ambassadors opened at Constantinople. The Ottomans were not allowed representation at the sessions. The very day the delegates assembled salvos of artillery hailed the proclamation of a Constitution by the Sultan. This Constitution was most comprehensive and liberal. It was based upon the equality of all men and the sanctity of individual rights. It introduced the representative system. There was to be a senate, named for life by the Sultan, and a chamber of deputies, holding office for four years. The system of election was by universal suffrage and ballot. There was to be one deputy for every 50,000 Ottoman "citizens."

The Turks met the memorandum containing the definite propositions of the conference by counter propositions and pointed as a guarantee to their newly granted Constitution. "Few countries enjoy such a constitution as ours," said Midhat Pasha gravely to the ambassadors. The success of Turkish diplomacy during this century has been due to a simple and invariable policy. In any emergency by specious promises it has sought to gain time, and the time thus gained it has utilized in playing off the Powers against one another. The conference formulated an ultimatum. Midhat Pasha submitted this ultimatum to a national assembly of 180 Mussulman and sixty Christian notables. Only the one delegate, the head of the native Protestant community, dared vote for its acceptance. The other notables declared that it was contrary to the Ottoman Constitution and must hence be refused. Then the ambassadors quitted Constantinople, but dissensions had arisen among them and they were not in harmony as to the ultimatum they had proposed. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878 and its consequences are described in the chapter on Russia.

The conclusion of the war did not bring internal peace to the broken empire. Soon the Albanians rebelled and murdered Mehemet Ali Pasha, who had been sent to make amicable arrangements with them (1881). The Arabs, who had always looked down on their Turkish masters and lost no opportunity to weaken their authority, gave constant trouble and were subdued at great cost. For a moment, on

the occupation of Egypt by the British (1882), the Sultan was on the point of declaring war against Great Britain, but more prudent counsels prevailed. The Armenian massacres of 1894–1896, rivalling the atrocities of the time of the Greek revolution and exceeding in horror the massacres in Syria and Bulgaria, roused the indignation of the civilized world. But this time no foreign nation was ready to do more than exchange diplomatic notes and employ diplomatic pressure. The promises of 1868 to Crete were habitually ignored. The Cretan insurrections of 1877, 1885, 1887 and 1889 were succeeded by what seemed a life-and-death struggle in 1895 and 1896. Again the government promised reforms, forwarded a specious programme and appointed a Christian governor. The Cretans despised pledges which had been violated so often and demanded annexation to Greece. The Greek government sent Prince George with a torpedo flotilla and Colonel Vassos with 1500 troops to the assistance of their brethren (February, 1897). Now a real concert of Europe was brought about, not to restrain despotism, but to crush men fighting for liberty. The ironclads of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia blockaded Crete, landed a force of 3600 men and bombarded the insurgents who had gained control of almost the whole island. The war of 1897 between Greece and Turkey was the result.

At first Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II was only a phantom upon the throne. Were he really to reign, it was necessary to break the virtual dictatorship of Midhat Pasha, who was a tool of Great Britain as Mahmoud Nedim Pasha had been of Russia. Reports, skilfully put in circulation, and the arrogant bearing of the Pasha, sapped his popularity. Suddenly arrested at midnight (February, 1877) he was obliged to give up the seals of office and go at once into exile. Later on he was recalled and made governor of Smyrna. Accused of the murder of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz, he was tried and convicted. The sentence of death was remitted and he was banished to Arabia, where he died. All the men who had conspired against Sultan Abd-ul Aziz and Sultan Mourad V and all the prominent partisans of those sovereigns were gradually stripped of power. The Sultan took the entire administration upon himself. By a revolution, as silent as it was slow and effectual, all real authority was removed from the grand vizier and centred in

his own hands. The palace superseded the Porte. The cabinet officers became hardly more than the Sultan's secretaries, the two essentials for their continuance in office being ability and subservience. Professing no admiration for European institutions, he emphasized his headship of the Moslems as their caliph. The most personal of personal governments ruled and still rules at Yildiz Kiosk. But inherent in it are all the radical and fatal evils of absolutism.

"Laborious but ill-informed," the Sultan, though shutting himself in Oriental seclusion, has been successful in controlling or outwitting the foreign ambassadors who were in the habit of domineering over his predecessors. For a few years he seemed to incline to France; then to Great Britain during the days when Lord Dufferin and Sir William White were British ambassadors; since 1891 to Russia. The example of frugality and economy, set by the Sultan, is in marked contrast to all past Ottoman history. Reorganized by German officers, the efficiency of the army has been greatly increased. The Ottoman Empire is to-day stronger and more formidable, despite its loss of territory, than it has been at any time since the battle of Navarino, seventy-one years ago. But the Ottoman parliament ended its brief existence with its second session (1880) and there is little discussion of "reforms."

# XII

## THE BALKAN STATES

### (1848-1898)

**The Five States, Roumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, Greece.** — These have all been carved during the present century out of the Ottoman Empire. Montenegro indeed always asserted her independence, but was none the less reckoned a subject territory by the Sultan. Greece achieved national existence by the revolution which began in 1821 and lasted seven years. In 1848 the three other states were in different stages of subjection. Bulgaria was hardly more than a tradition. Her boundaries had been blotted out and her people utterly reduced when she was added to other Ottoman conquests in the fourteenth century. Servia was an autonomous province, with a native prince, but paying tribute and kept in check by Turkish garrisons. Roumania is the present name of what was then the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, including all the Turkish possessions north of the Danube. All five were adherents of the Eastern Orthodox, or Greek Church, but were of different races. The Roumanians were the mixed descendants of Dacians and Romans, the Greeks were Hellenic, and the Montenegrins, Servians and Bulgarians were Slavs. Thus there were three ethnic layers, the northern or Latin, the central or Slavic, and the southern or Greek. Though partakers in the common distress, brought on by the civil and religious despotism under which they lived, they looked on one another with jealousy and aversion rather than sympathy and kindly feeling.

**Roumania.** — Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1848, were both under the tyrannical rule of hospodars, appointed by the Sultan. The shock of the French Revolution reached even the Black Sea. Both the provinces rose and drove out their governors. The Turks marched in from the south to put down the rebellion, whereupon the Russians entered from

the east. War seemed inevitable between Turkey and Russia. It was averted by the convention of Balta Liman, which stipulated that the hospodars in future should be named for seven years by the Sultan and Tsar conjointly, and that the provinces, while vassals of the Sultan, should enjoy the protection of the Tsar. Tranquillity existed until the Crimean War, after which, by the treaty of Paris, a collective guarantee of the great Powers was substituted for the Russian protectorate, and the provinces reverted to the control of the Sultan. A portion of Russian Bessarabia was annexed to Moldavia, so that the Russian frontier should nowhere touch the Danube.

Disappointed in their hopes of independence, Moldavia and Wallachia were clamorous for union into a single state. Their desire was encouraged by France and Russia, but opposed by Turkey, Great Britain and Austria, who were unfavorable to any measure tending to increase the strength of the provinces. A plebiscite resulted in an almost unanimous declaration for union. After tedious negotiations, occupying several years, the great Powers agreed that one central committee should be empowered to enact common laws for the two, but that otherwise they should exist apart, each choosing its own provincial assembly and prince. But in 1859 the two elected the same candidate, Colonel Alexander Couza, whom they proclaimed "Alexander I, Prince of Roumania." The Sultan interposed every objection, but finally (1861) recognized him "for life," granting investiture, and receiving the same tribute as before. In 1862 the two provincial assemblies fused in one common national assembly, at Bucharest. Thus, in defiance of diplomacy, union was achieved.

The Roumanian nobles were so many petty despots, while the peasants possessed almost no civil rights. The wealth of the country was in the hands of numerous opulent monasteries. Couza abolished feudal privileges, proclaimed universal suffrage and confiscated the property of the monasteries to the advantage of the state. Thus the nobility and clergy became his deadly foes. The nobles, in return for an indemnity, were obliged to abandon a large part of their lands, which was divided among the peasants. But by declaring tobacco a governmental monopoly he alienated popular support. His beneficent measures were mixed with tyranny. Surprised in his bedchamber by a band of con-

spirators, he was forced to abdicate (February, 1866). Abandoned by all, he went into exile.

The Chambers chose Prince Philip, of Flanders, brother of the king of Belgium, as his successor. On his declination a plebiscite of the whole country elected Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (April 20). A European conference at Paris declared the election void, but Prince Charles was advised by Bismarck to ignore its decisions. Traversing Austria in disguise, he received an enthusiastic welcome at Bucharest (May 22). The Turks had watched the progress of events in Roumania with anxiety, but had always been dissuaded from action. The Powers had likewise confined themselves to formal expressions of dissatisfaction. This time Sultan Abd-ul Aziz determined on war. Omar Pasha massed a formidable army on the Danube. But the victory gained at Sadowa by Prussia, of whom Charles was the protégé, and the troubles in Crete, prevented interference. He was formally recognized as Prince of Roumania by both the Sultan and all Europe (October). His marriage with the Princess of Wied, in 1869, seemed to confirm his dynasty.

On the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, Roumania proclaimed herself independent (May 21, 1877). The development of her army had been carefully pursued by her new ruler, and she was able to offer Russia valuable aid. At the siege of Plevna, where Prince Charles was commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, her troops distinguished themselves for gallantry, and materially contributed to the capture of Osman Pasha and his entire command. In 1881 the representatives of the nation declared Roumania a kingdom, under Charles I as king. Disappointed of issue, his nephew, Prince Ferdinand, in 1888, was decreed his successor, with the title of Prince of Roumania. Though Queen Elizabeth had given her husband no heir, her pronounced Roumanian sympathies and popular ways have materially strengthened his throne. Under her pseudonym of "Carmen Sylva," her stories and poems have added to the reputation of Roumania abroad. Save during one brief period of glorious war, the reign of Charles I has been devoted to the peaceful solution of internal questions and to internal progress.

The position of Roumania, midway between Russia and Austria-Hungary, upon the lower Danube, on the road to

Constantinople, has given her a marked strategic importance. To Hungary she is a constant menace. Over 2,500,000 Roumanians are subjects of the Hungarian crown. To reunite them all under one flag is the ambition of "Roumania irredenta."

**Montenegro.** — In 1848 the name Montenegro, or Czrnagora, was applied to a territory of less that 1500 square miles, a mass of rocky and lofty mountains west of Albania, inhabited by 107,000 human beings. The history of the country has been one long, ferocious heroism. Such of the Servians as would not submit had, after the fatal battle of Kossova (1389), taken refuge in its fastnesses, and there maintained an invincible resistance to the Turks. Their ruler, the vladika, or prince bishop, had the right of appointing his successor, whom he chose from among his nephews. He was aided in administration by a council of twelve persons chosen by himself. On the death in 1851 of Peter II, who had been an able warrior and statesman, his nephew, Danilo, became vladika. In the great charter of 1852 he divested himself of his episcopal functions, asserted his right to marry, and made the succession hereditary. Soon afterwards the Sultan sent Omar Pasha to attack him. Mirko, the elder brother of the prince, in a three months' campaign slew in battle 4500 Turks and captured 900 prisoners. Again attacked in 1858 by vastly superior forces, the Montenegrins gained the decisive battle of Grahova, where more than 3000 Turks were killed. Two years afterwards Danilo was assassinated. Leaving no son, his nephew, Nicholas I, succeeded. Another war with the Turks (1862) was no less honorable to the mountaineers.

Thus far every Montenegrin was an armed volunteer, little susceptible to military discipline and poorly armed. The fourth Turkish war in the space of the last fifty years began in 1876. Everywhere successful, though against desperate odds, the independence of Montenegro was acknowledged by the Sultan in 1878. In the preliminary treaty of San Stephano, Russia obtained such concessions for the heroic little country as would have trebled its territory and doubled its population. Though these gains were largely reduced by the treaty of Berlin, it eventually acquired the port of Dulcigno on the Adriatic, with a seaboard of almost thirty miles.

Prince Nicholas I is still on the throne. During his reign

of thirty-eight years his country has made marked progress in civilization. Himself educated in Europe, he has rendered education compulsory, and carefully encouraged agriculture among his warlike people. The marriage of his daughter, Helena, to the Prince of Naples, the heir of the Italian throne, is supposed to insure Montenegro an ally against Austria-Hungary, who, far more than the Ottoman Empire, is the chief enemy of Montenegrin independence. Since the days of the Tsar Peter, a peculiar attachment has existed between Montenegro and Russia. This attachment has at no time been stronger than to-day.

**Servia.** — The patriot swineherd, Kara George, gave to a part of Servia a political existence early in the present century. Defeated, he fled from the country, and the insurrection was headed for fifteen years by Milosch Obrenovitch. Worn out by the persistence of the insurgents, Sultan Mahmoud (1830) erected the revolted territory into an autonomous hereditary principality, and appointed Milosch its governor. Kara George returned, but Milosch succeeded in having him assassinated. Since then the feuds of the rival Karageorgevitch and Obrenovitch families have been a main factor in Servian history. Alternately members of the two houses expelled each other from power until 1859, when Alexander Karageorgevitch was a second time deposed and Michael Obrenovitch a second time placed in control. Michael was assassinated in 1868. Alexander in his absence was declared guilty by the criminal court of complicity in the crime.

None the less great progress had been made meanwhile in shaking off the Turkish yoke. During the Cretan troubles of 1867 the Sultan, to propitiate the Servians who threatened to join the Greeks, withdrew his garrison from the citadel of Belgrade. Michael had armed his people and imposed military service on all able-bodied men. He had also endeavored to introduce some civil reforms among his people, and had occasionally convoked the Skoupchtina, or legislative body. His wise measures were well seconded by M. Garashanine, who showed more ability than any minister whom Servia has produced.

Milan, the successor of the murdered ruler, was only fourteen years of age. The regency of three persons, which ministered affairs during his minority, proceeded to promulgate a liberal constitution (1869). While confiding all

ordinary power conjointly to the prince and a Skoupchtina of 120 members, it provided for an extraordinary or great assembly of 480 members in cases of emergency. Prince Milan was declared of age in 1872. Though in consequence of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878 the independence of Servia was acknowledged by the Sultan, and the state in 1882 proclaimed itself a kingdom, his reign was filled with disgrace and disaster. Nothing but the intervention of Russia saved Servia from destruction by the Turks in 1876. But the chief humiliation was received from the hands of the Bulgarians at Slivnitza (1885). This time she was delivered from the consequences of a shameful defeat by the intervention of Austria. The scandalous conduct of the king toward Queen Natalie, who was idolized by the common people, still further increased his unpopularity. Finally he obtained a divorce of questionable validity (1888), which was annulled by both parties in 1894.

The public debt had enormously increased in spite of excessive taxation. Radical measures to propitiate the masses, such as the granting (1888) of a still more democratic constitution than that of 1869, did not allay the universal discontent. The choice seemed to lie between abdication and deposition. Milan chose the former. He appointed a regency and proclaimed his son Alexander, then a boy of twelve (1889).

The young king has shown courage and energy. Before he was seventeen years old he arrested, at his own table, the regents who were to govern during his minority. The next day he declared himself of age and has since held the reins. In the following year, by a coup d'état, he abolished the constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. He has also shown a desire for amicable relations with Bulgaria and Montenegro.

Servia has for more than twenty years been tormented by the ambition to act the rôle of a Slavic Piedmont. But she has presented no Servian Cavour, nor has she shown such qualities in war or peace as to indicate her fitness for leadership. A large portion of old Servia is still under the Sultan, or included in the principality of Bulgaria. Meanwhile the bitter contentions of the three parties, the radicals, the progressists and the liberals, waste her energies and paralyze her progress.

**Bulgaria.** — The last fifty years have brought marvellous

changes to Bulgaria. In 1848 there seemed no hope of political resurrection. Nowhere did the Turkish rule press more absolutely and cruelly, yet the diffusion of the Mussulmans all over the country, and its peculiar strategic features, rendered successful revolution unlikely, even if insurrection were attempted. Lost in a mass of nameless rayahs, many Bulgarians were ignorant of their own race and supposed themselves Greeks. Their ancient literature had been destroyed and schools had hardly begun to exist. Nor did they have that strong Eastern bond of union and guarantee of continued national existence which is found in the possession of a national church. Their church had been blotted out, and they were dependent upon the Greek patriarch at Constantinople.

But here and there the people were stirring. Bulgarian revolutionary committees began to be formed across the Danube, in the Roumanian towns of Bucharest and Yassy. The bishops in Bulgaria were almost exclusively Greeks. A determined effort was made to confer their sees upon Bulgarians. The Turkish government was entreated to recognize the Bulgarian Church. After contention lasting twenty years, this project, obstinately fought against by the Greeks, was approved by the Porte (1870). A Bulgarian exarchate was created, but the exarch was required to reside at Constantinople. There had been no change of creed, but the Greek patriarch excommunicated all persons connected with the new religious organization.

Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador, looked with apprehension upon every indication of awakening life which might ultimately weaken the Ottoman government. On his suggestion over 500,000 wild Tartars and Circassians from the Crimea and the Caucasus were quartered in Bulgaria to keep the people in check (1859). Midhat Pasha governed the country four years. Under his stern but enlightened rule roads were constructed, agriculture protected and the general condition improved. But each amelioration only revealed to the Bulgarians how wretched was their lot.

At last came the awful massacres of 1876. It was the time of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian insurrection. The Mussulman government and people were suspicious of the slightest movement of the Christians. Petty outbreaks convinced the panic-stricken grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, that all Bulgaria was rising. He let loose the Cir-

cassians and Bashi Bazouks to plunder and slaughter without restraint. For three months there was a carnival of death in the vain attempt to exterminate a people. Over 20,000 persons were butchered. The consequence was the Russo-Turkish war, in which on many fields Bulgarians fought like heroes. The treaty of San Stephano made Bulgaria a powerful state, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean. The treaty of Berlin greatly reduced its size, and by unnatural division cut it into parts: Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, and Eastern Roumelia on the south. The former, a vassal tributary state, was to elect its own prince, who should be confirmed by the Sultan with the assent of the Powers. The latter was to remain under the Sultan's direct control. He was to appoint over it a Christian governor for a term of five years, with the assent of the Powers.

A Constitution was adopted at Tirnova by an assembly of notables (1879). It provided for a Sobranié, or legislative assembly, elected by popular vote. A voter must be thirty years of age and able to read and write. The prince was to be commander of the army. The ministers named by him were to be responsible to him only. Sophia was made the capital. The election of a prince was entrusted to an extraordinary or Grand Sobranié, which is convened only on special occasions. It chose Prince Alexander, of Battenburg, then an officer in the Prussian army. He took the oath at Tirnova, on July 9, 1879, and the Russian army of occupation evacuated the country one week later.

Thus Bulgaria had arisen from the tomb of centuries, and stood forth a state among the nations with a sovereign and Constitution of her choice. Her people had no experience in the art of self-government, but their patience and practical common sense were to stand them in good stead. There was no proscription of Mussulmans in their midst, despite the vivid memory of recent atrocities.

The overbearing arrogance of the Russians made the Bulgarians forget their great services. Russians crowded the higher offices of civil and military administration and treated the Bulgarians with contempt. The Russian diplomatic agent, M. Hitrovo, acted like a master. The liberals, antagonists of Russia, obtained a large majority in the Sobranié and their leader, M. Zankoff, became prime minister. Prince Alexander, by a coup d'état, suspended the

Constitution (1881) and made the Russian general, Ernroth, prime minister. Two years afterwards he restored it and called Zankoff to power.

By a sudden revolution in eastern Roumelia (September 18, 1885) the governor, Gavril Pasha, was expelled, and the union of the two Bulgarias proclaimed. Great Britain approved the act. It was denounced by Russia, who recalled every Russian officer in the Bulgarian army. Servia looked with a jealous eye on the creation of the Bulgarian principality. Its union with eastern Roumelia roused her to exasperation. Believing the moment opportune, while the troops of her rival were without superior officers, she declared war and crossed the frontier. The Bulgarians rose as one man. Alexander proved himself an able leader. The enemy was hurled back. Then followed the three days' battle of Slivnitza, the most glorious event in modern Bulgarian history. The Servian capital, Belgrade, was rescued from capture only by the intervention of Austria.

A miserable intrigue deposed and exiled the prince the following year. Recalled to the throne, he abdicated soon afterwards (September 7, 1886), through dread of the Tsar Alexander III, who was his personal enemy. The Tsar sent General Kaulbars to win back the friendship of the Bulgarians. The unwise and brutal conduct of the envoy incensed the people, until at last he and all the Russian consular agents withdrew. Finally the Grand Sobranié elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the grandson of Louis Philippe. Russia was still hostile, so he could obtain recognition neither from the Sultan nor the Powers.

For more than seven years after the deposition of Prince Alexander, M. Stambouloff, first as president of the regency and then as prime minister, was the real ruler. The dominant idea of his policy was the independence of Bulgaria, not only from Turkey, but from the diplomatic interference of Europe, and specially of Russia. His rule was vigorous and despotic, often violent and unjust, but never wavering. His chief success was in securing from the Sultan the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia. But he wore out all his early popularity and became intolerable to the prince. An angry letter of resignation, the acceptance of which he did not anticipate, was the means of his fall (May 31, 1894). A year later he was assassinated in the street. Dr. Stoïloff, a highly educated and patriotic states-

man, a typical Bulgarian of the worthiest type, has been prime minister since 1894. Under him difficulties with foreign nations have been smoothed away, the prince has been recognized by the Sultan and the great Powers, and the country has tranquilly gone on in the path of progress.

The principality does not include all the Bulgarians. Many are found on the west and south under the rule of Servia or Turkey. In Macedonia the majority of the inhabitants are Bulgarians, and the ultimate fate of that province is disputed by Bulgaria, Servia and Greece.

**Greece.** — It was the misfortune of Greece that, after her emancipation from Turkey had been recognized (1830), she was compelled to organize her entire administration in accordance with the exigencies of the great Powers, and with no regard to the wishes of her own people. Though desiring a republican form of government, she was forced to accept a monarchy, and Prince Otho, a Catholic and a Bavarian, was imposed as king (1833). For ten years he ruled as a foreign despot by means of a Bavarian ministry and Bavarian army. There was no legislative assembly and no constitution. On September 15, 1843, a peaceful revolution extorted the promise of a constitution and of a national Chamber, and compelled the retirement of the Bavarian Cabinet and the appointment of Mavrocordatos, a Greek, as prime minister. The Powers did not interfere.

The constitutional assembly met in November. It elected as its president a revolutionary hero, Panoutsos Notaras, then 107 years old. On March 16, 1844, a liberal Constitution received the royal signature. It provided for ministerial responsibility, a Senate named by the king and a Chamber of Deputies, or Boule, elected by universal suffrage.

The restoration of the Byzantine Empire has always been a Greek dream. When the Crimean War broke out, Greek enthusiasm believed the moment of realization near and prepared to attack the Sultan. In consequence a British and French fleet blockaded the Piræus. A sufficient force was sent on shore to overawe Athens. It occupied the country from May, 1854, to February, 1857.

King Otho and his haughty and childless queen, Amelia, had never been liked by the Greeks and grew daily more unpopular. While they were absent on a pleasure trip in the Ægean a general insurrection broke out, the throne was declared vacant and a provisional government appointed

(October, 1862). On their return the royal travellers were not allowed to come on shore and departed at once for Bavaria. Prince Wilhelm of Denmark was elected "King of the Hellenes," nominally by the national assembly, but really by the Powers (1863). If the Greeks were doomed to have a foreign king, no wiser choice could have been made. Great Britain marked her satisfaction by the cession to Greece of the Ionian Islands, which she had held ever since the Napoleonic wars. The marriage of the young sovereign and of the Grand Duchess Olga, niece of the Tsar Alexander II, indicated the good-will of Russia.

George I at once showed himself democratic in his manners and sympathies. The new Constitution of 1864, which received his full approval, was even more liberal than its predecessor of 1844. It abolished the senate and established entire freedom of the press. Parliamentary majorities have ever since determined the composition of the cabinet and the foreign policy. While modern Greece has possessed several statesmen of ability, the two most prominent have been MM. Tricoupis and Delyannis. During the seventeen years subsequent to 1881 they alternated with each other in the premiership, M. Tricoupis being prime minister four times and M. Delyannis three.

The relations of Greece and Turkey have given rise to the most delicate and involved complications. The unsatisfactory and unjust boundaries, assigned after the revolution, left the majority of the Greeks still rayahs of the Sultan. Their blood had been lavished without reward. The bond between these rayahs and their emancipated kinsmen has even grown stronger with time. Every disturbance on the mainland or in the islands has caused a sympathetic outburst among the free Greeks. But European diplomacy has been harder to deal with and more dreaded than the military strength of the Turks.

During the Cretan insurrection of 1866–1868 the Greeks welcomed and cared for more than 50,000 Cretan refugees, and were only prevented by the interference of France and Great Britain from themselves taking up arms in behalf of their brethren. A similar pressure kept them quiet during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878, their army crossing the frontier only after the preliminary treaty of San Stephano had been signed. France, at the Congress of Berlin, urged the claim of Greece to rectify her frontiers, and the signa-

tory powers proposed the assignment to her of all Thessaly and the southern half of Epirus. Turkey skilfully evaded compliance, ceding only a fragment of Epirus and southern Thessaly (1881).

The fifteen following years were in the main peaceful despite the heat of party politics. But ineffectual armaments against Turkey had been costly, and public works, such as the construction of railways and canals, destined to ultimately increase the wealth of the country, had drained its resources and exhausted its credit. Still commerce and agriculture advanced. Whatever change occurred in the general condition was for the better.

Then began the saddest chapter in the story of modern Greece. In Crete the fight for liberty had again burst forth with fury. The again-repeated and familiar promises of reform were laughed at by the insurgents. On February 8, 1897, when almost the whole island was in their possession, they proclaimed its union to Greece. The news came upon the Athenians like a spark upon gunpowder. The king despatched Prince George with a torpedo flotilla to Crete (February 10) and Colonel Vassos with 1500 men (February 14). The Powers protested and occupied Canea, the Cretan capital. Their fleet bombarded the Greeks and Cretans whenever they came in range. In a joint note (March 2) they declared that "in present circumstances" Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that it should be endowed "with an absolute autonomy" under the suzerainty of the Sultan. This declaration was satisfactory to neither Turk, Greek nor Cretan. More than 40,000 Cretan refugees had fled to the Piræus and excited compassion.

The Greek and Turkish troops approached the Thessalian frontier. Provoked by incursions, Turkey declared war April 17. The vastly superior number of her troops, their splendid discipline and the generalship of their commander, Edhem Pasha, decided the result in a three weeks' campaign. The Crown Prince Constantine, the commander of the Greeks, showed little courage or capacity. His small army, supplied only with enthusiasm, was as badly equipped as it was poorly led. The prime minister, M. Delyannis, resigned. His successor, M. Ralli, sued for peace (May 8). The conditions of the treaty were terrible for the vanquished. Greece was to withdraw her troops from Crete, to pay a war indemnity of $20,000,000 and to submit her

finances to international control. Her frontier was also to be rectified to Turkish advantage. It was understood that Crete was to enjoy an autonomous government "with reforms."

Thus Greece had staked her existence and been temporarily crushed. In 1854 or 1867 or 1878, or even in 1881, other conditions were more favorable, and she might have succeeded, but in 1897 she was hampered in every way, and the Ottomans given not only a free hand, but moral support by the concert of Europe. Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Servia, who might also have risen against Turkey, were strictly enjoined to remain neutral, and the two latter states were rendered responsible to prevent outbreak in Macedonia.

Yet it must be remembered that the course of the Powers was determined, partly, indeed, by hostility to Greek ambition, but above all by a common dread of a general European war. No conflagration spreads so fast as successful rebellion. Crete and Greece were sacrificed on the altar of an ignoble peace.

# XIII

## THE SMALLER EUROPEAN STATES

### (1848–1898)

**Denmark.** — Frederick VII ascended the throne on January 20, 1848. Soon after his accession he granted an autocratic Constitution. The Rigsdag, or Assembly, consisting of an upper and a lower Chamber, was to meet annually, and could not be prorogued till after it had sat two months. The upper Chamber, of sixty-six members, was appointed partly by the sovereign and partly by restricted ballot. The 102 members of the lower Chamber were elected by suffrage, each voter to be thirty years of age and of reputable character. The desire for uniformity led the king to apply the same constitution to Iceland, where the ancient Althing, or General Diet, after existing 870 years, had been abolished in 1800. The Icelanders fretted at the new system, refused to be made a mere royal province and stoutly insisted on maintaining their traditional local laws. After long discussion, most of the demands of the Icelanders were grudgingly granted in 1874.

With Frederick VII, who died in 1863, the Danish dynasty became extinct. Christian IX, of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, became king. Like his predecessor, he was confronted on his accession by a war over Schleswig and Holstein, which were conquered and held by the allied Prussians and Austrians. The internal history of Denmark has been filled by the struggles of the conservatives and liberals. The former, supported by the privileged classes, are absolutist in tendency and care little for parliamentary government. The liberals, representing the vast majority of the people, wish to make their rights a fact. Its weakness has prevented Denmark from exercising political influence abroad. But the children of no other European sovereign have already occupied or expect to occupy so many thrones. Frederick, the prince

royal, is heir to the crown of Denmark. Prince Wilhelm, under the title of George I, is king of Greece. Princess Alexandra is the wife of the Prince of Wales and in the course of nature will be queen of Great Britain. Princess Marie Dagmar, as the wife of Alexander III, was Tsarina of Russia, and is the mother of the present Tsar Nicholas II.

**Sweden and Norway.** — These two states, violently thrust together in 1814 after the overthrow of Napoleon, have their separate existence under one crown, each with its own Constitution, ministry, and two Chambers. For foreign affairs, however, there is but one minister, who is usually a Swede. The king resides at Stockholm, which outranks Christiania much as Sweden outranks Norway. In fact, the independence of Norway is nominal rather than real. This position of inferiority rankles in the less populous country, and furnishes the most prominent plank in the platform of the Norwegian radical party. In both countries the system of election is by restricted suffrage. The number of electors qualified to vote for members of even the lower house is in Norway about nine per cent. of the population, and in Sweden only about six per cent.

Oscar I, the son of Charles XIV, better known as Marshal Bernadotte of France, acceded in 1844 and reigned fifteen years. His son, Charles XV, reigned from 1859 to 1872, when he was succeeded by Oscar II, the present sovereign. He is distinguished as a man of learning and an accomplished orator in many languages. The two countries have taken small part in European politics during the last half century. In 1855 they joined the alliance against Russia, the hereditary enemy of Sweden. Instead of subsiding, the anti-Swedish feeling in Norway and partiality for Denmark have grown stronger in the last five years. Nothing but the tact of Oscar II has thus far prevented war between the Norwegians and Swedes.

**Switzerland.** — Despite diminutive size and small population, Switzerland, in political ideas and institutions, resembles the United States more than does any other foreign country. Its people have had long experience in self-government. Their freedom has been gained by their own heroic efforts and not bestowed by foreigners. Their area, small as it is, has reached its present extent by successive admissions or by annexations of adjacent territory.

The fact that the people are of three nationalities and

languages, and that these three are geographically separate, French in the southwest and west, Italian in the south and German in the rest of the country, is an obstacle to effective union. A further obstacle is found in the second fact of their nearly equal division between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, fifty-nine per cent being adherents of the former communion and forty per cent of the latter. These two religions are also drawn up on geographical lines, the central, or most ancient, and the southern cantons being Catholic, while the western, northern and eastern cantons are Protestant. To these two facts are due most of their domestic troubles and civil wars. Since 1848 there has been no political disturbance of any importance, except a royalist attempt in Neuchâtel to overturn the government, and petty riots in the Italian canton of Ticino.

But until 1848, though there was a Switzerland, there was no Swiss nation. An individual's rights were cantonal and not national. Men were citizens of Berne or Zurich or Uri or some other canton, but not of a common country. The salvation of the state and the assurance of its permanence came with the overthrow of the Sonderbund or Separate League of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg and Valais in 1847.

The radical, or national, party had triumphed. They bestowed upon Switzerland the most precious gift in its history, the Constitution of 1848. The men who framed it studied carefully the Constitution of the United States. In view of the difficulties with which they had to deal, there was no other political document which could be of aid. In fact, the fundamental proposition of the Swiss Constitution is a paraphrase of Article X in the Amendments to the American Constitution. The political life of the nation has since been summed up in the application and extension of its organic charter. The Federal Assembly, exercising legislative functions, has taken the place of the ancient powerless Diet. The executive power is centred in a Federal Council of seven members, elected by the Federal Assembly for three years. This Federal Assembly is modelled after the American Congress. It consists of a State Council, wherein two deputies from each canton represent cantonal sovereignty, and of a National Council of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants, representing popular sovereignty.

The Swiss president has a minimum of authority, holds office for only one year and cannot be reëlected.

This Constitution has been several times revised, always with a tendency to give more direct participation in affairs to the people. The most important modification is in the extension of the referendum, whereby the impulse to law-making is from below rather than from above, and where the decision as well as the initiative rests in the hands of the voters.

If appropriate laws, industry and material prosperity assure the welfare of a people, it is easy to credit the boast of the Swiss that they are the best governed and the happiest nation in the world.

**Belgium.** — The successful revolution of 1830 against Holland secured Belgian independence. By the treaty of London (November 15, 1831) Austria, France, Great Britain and Russia guaranteed the neutrality of the new state. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha had been already elected king of the Belgians by the National Assembly, and had ascended the throne as Leopold I. But the sovereign of Holland did not recognize accomplished facts until 1839. The constitution of 1831 declared Belgium "a constitutional, representative and hereditary monarchy." Leopold II, the present ruler, succeeded on the death of his father (December 10, 1865).

The foreign history of the country has been confined to apprehension that its integrity might be violated by France or Germany. On the separation of Holland and Belgium, the grand duchy of Luxemburg had been divided. One-third of the territory, the inhabitants of which were mostly Germans, continued to be the grand duchy and was united to Holland by a personal union, the sovereign of that country being acknowledged as the grand duke. It continued however to make part of the German confederation. The remaining two-thirds, inhabited by a French speaking people, were assigned to Belgium. When Louis Napoleon became emperor, the Belgians feared that he would secure the cession of this territory, and perhaps the annexation of their entire kingdom to France. But it was in reference to the grand duchy of Luxemburg that Napoleon carried on his calamitous negotiations with Bismarck after the Prusso-Austrian campaign of 1866. The proposal of Count Beust that the grand duchy should be annexed to Belgium, who,

in turn, should cede certain territory on the south to France, was indignantly rejected by Leopold II. The conference of London (May 11, 1867) decided on the neutrality of the duchy and on the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison which held its capital. The French diplomatists assert that Bismarck had previously proposed the incorporation of all Belgium with France. Though Belgium was strictly neutral in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871, she and Holland were both alarmed at the possible rapacity of the conquerors. But there was no interference with either.

By an international conference in 1885, Leopold II was made sovereign of the Congo Free State, which possesses an area of 900,000 square miles and 30,000,000 inhabitants. On August 2, 1889, by a formal will, he bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights over it. By convention the right is recognized to Belgium to annex the state at any time after the year 1900.

Belgium is the most densely populated and, in proportion to its size, the wealthiest country in Europe. Nowhere are political parties more sharply defined and political contests more fierce. For sixty years there has been presented the spectacle of a determined and never intermittent wrestle between the nearly equal forces of the "Catholics" and liberals. The latter are strongest in the great industrial centres and the former in the other parts of the kingdom. By a peculiar compromise, or double victory, in 1893 the principal tenets of both parties were engrafted on the revised Constitution. The liberals secured the suffrage for every citizen twenty-five years of age. Hitherto less than 140,000 persons had been qualified to vote. The Catholics, unwilling to accept the principle of absolute political equality, secured the right of casting two or even three votes to whoever possessed certain educational or property qualifications. Before 1893 in a population of over 6,000,000 less than 140,000 persons were allowed the vote. In consequence of the constitutional revision 1,350,000 electors were authorized to cast 2,066,000 votes.

The new system resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Catholics in the elections of 1894. The effacement of the liberals gives fresh hope and strength to advancing socialism, and the old Catholic party itself is breaking up into two hostile factions.

**Holland or the Netherlands.** — William II died in 1849.

William III reigned until 1890. His two sons, William and Alexander, passed away some time before his death. In 1879, when sixty-two years old, he married, as his second wife, the Princess Emma of Waldeck and Pyrmont, who was only twenty. Their daughter, Wilhelmina, succeeded at the age of ten, her mother taking the oath as regent. On August 31, 1898, this last descendant of William the Silent, on the completion of her eighteenth year, became sovereign in reality as well as in name. The formal coronation took place a week later. Probably the Dutch had never greeted any event with such enthusiasm as the formal accession of their fair girl-queen.

The Constitution, granted the Netherlands in 1815, was revised in 1848 and 1887. The people, not being discontented with their government, were only slightly affected by the European commotions of 1848. In 1896 an Electoral Reform Act conferred the right to vote on all Dutchmen twenty-five years old. Legislative functions were vested conjointly in the sovereign and a Parliament consisting of an upper, or first, and lower, or second, Chambers. Party divisions in Holland have been mainly religious, and the burning question still is as to the introduction of religion in the schools. Of late years the Catholics, who constitute a little over a third of the population, have been inclined to unite with the conservatives, or orthodox Protestants, against the liberals, who oppose religious instruction in state institutions.

Holland still retains extensive colonial possessions, especially in the Pacific, with an area of 783,000 square miles and a population of 35,000,000. An insurrection of the people of Atjeh in Sumatra, which has gone on in intermittent fashion for twenty-five years, has been a heavy tax upon her resources. In 1862 she abolished slavery in the Dutch West Indies. Her East Indian possessions are in a far less satisfactory condition.

On the death of William III, Adolf, Duke of Nassau, succeeded as Grand Duke of Luxemburg.

**The Five Smaller States and the Balkan States.**—These five smaller states — Denmark, Sweden-Norway, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland — are superior in population and territory as well as in civilization and material prosperity, to the five Balkan states — Roumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece. But during the last fifty

years all of them, except Denmark, have mercifully been spared the experience of war. They have given rise to few problems of international importance. They have been permitted with little or no interference from outside to work out their individual destiny.

The Balkan states, on the other hand, although inhabited by peoples still more ancient, are only just born into political life. They have been of late the occasion and the theatre of many destructive wars. Their vicinage to Constantinople makes them still the battle-ground of European diplomacy. The uncertainties and complications of their future render them to-day of more vital interest than any other territory of equal extent within the limits of the continent.

# XIV

## SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

**Spain. Reign of Isabella II** (1833–1868). — Ferdinand VII died in 1833, leaving two daughters, Isabella and Maria Louisa. Isabella, the elder, a child of three, became queen, and her mother Christina was appointed regent. The Carlist war distracted the country for seven years, until 1840. That same year Marshal Espartero, Duke of Victory, seized the power, forced Christina into exile and, a military dictator, installed himself as regent. A coalition, headed by his bitter enemy, General Narvaez, afterwards Duke of Valencia, drove him from the country. The queen was declared of age (1843). Espartero had been devoted to the British. Narvaez was no less so to the French party, which now became dominant. Louis Philippe secured the hand of Maria Louisa for his son, the Duke of Montpensier, and brought about the marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Francis d'Assisi, who was equally diseased in mind and body (1846). By this arrangement, if Isabella died childless, the throne would revert to her sister and to the son of Louis Philippe. No woman was ever more cruelly sacrificed than this young queen, married on her sixteenth birthday. Whatever the later follies and even crimes of Isabella II, they were largely due to the heartless craft of a cold-blooded king.

The revolutionary tidal wave of 1848 crossed the Pyrenees. But isolated republican movements were quickly repressed. The camarilla, or clique of royal favorites, crowded Narvaez from office (1851). In March the government signed a concordat with the Pope, prohibiting the exercise of any religion other than the Roman Catholic, placing all education under the control of the clergy and submitting all publications to their censorship. The government further proposed such amendments to the inoperative Constitution as would formally deprive the Cortes of its prerogatives and render the sovereign absolute. These

amendments were superfluous, but even any semblance of liberty was to be effaced. The army and the workmen of the large cities combined in successful revolution (July, 1854). For two years Espartero and Marshal O'Donnell, minister of war, directed affairs and followed a more liberal policy. Then came two years of clerical reaction. O'Donnell had founded the Liberal Union, recruited among the advocates of mild reform or opponents of absolute despotism. It carried him into power (1858) and sustained him as prime minister until 1863. He sought to divert attention from domestic troubles to foreign affairs. Thus he invaded Morocco (1860), joined Napoleon and Great Britain in the Mexican expedition (1861), attempted the overthrow of the Dominican Republic (1861–1865) and began a senseless war against Peru (1863–1866). Most of these enterprises ended in utter failure, unaccompanied by glory and enormously increasing the national debt.

O'Donnell was replaced by Narvaez. The queen surrendered herself entirely to priests and favorites. The darkest days of absolutism and bigotry returned. Spanish Protestants were condemned to the galleys for no other crime than their faith. All newspaper articles were to be submitted to the censor before publication. The Cortes passed a law that any person on suspicion could be arrested and imprisoned. Meanwhile discontent and indignation were seething all over Spain. Packing the prisons to overflowing could not drown the general complaint. Yet none were so blind and deaf as the queen and her counsellors. Narvaez was able to terrify the opposition, dissolve the Cortes and expel Marshal Serrano, the president of the Senate. Narvaez was merciless and strong, but he died (April 23, 1868) and his successor, Gonzales Bravo, though merciless was weak.

**The Revolution** (1868). — The three persecuted parties, the progressists, unionists and democrats, coalesced. The Marshals Serrano and Prim issued a pronunciamento against an intolerable government. Then came the crash in one mad, universal upheaval. Hardly an arm was raised in behalf of the queen, who fled to France (September 30, 1868).

**Political Experiments** (1868–1875). — During the succeeding eight years there were few political experiences which the unhappy country did not endure. During the trial of each experiment its opponents did their utmost, by noisy

demonstration or secret plot, to make it a failure. At first the dual dictators, Marshal Serrano and Marshal Prim, were the one, president of the council and commander of the army, and the other, minister of war. The Cortes met (February 12, 1869) and proclaimed a Constitution, the supposed panacea for every evil (June 5). A less number of deputies were opposed to a liberal monarchy than to any other system, so the Constitution was drawn up in that sense.

Marshal Serrano was made regent (June 16, 1869) and devoted himself to finding a king. Among other princes who declined the proffered crown was Leopold, a Hohenzollern prince, whose supposed candidacy furnished the occasion of the Franco-Prussian war. Prince Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, gave a favorable answer. He was elected by a majority of the Cortes (November 15, 1870). The very day he landed at Barcelona (December 28) Marshal Prim, the minister of war, was murdered at Madrid. The assassins lodged eight bullets in his body. Amadeo was crowned and remained in Spain for two years. He did his best to rule well, but the clergy, the nobles and the republicans opposed him at every step and offered him all possible insult. The Carlist war broke out again with fresh fury, under another Don Carlos, grandson of the old pretender (1872). Disheartened and disgusted, Amadeo abdicated (February 11, 1873). The next day the Cortes declared the republic. Months of wrangling among the republican factions resulted in the proclamation of Señor Castelar as president with dictatorial powers. He had been professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. He was an orator, a patriot and a statesman, but he could not rule Spain. He resigned (January 2, 1874). At once General Pavia, at the head of the army, expelled the Cortes and made Marshal Serrano military dictator. Marshal Campos proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Alphonso, the son of the deposed queen (December 29, 1874). This measure was supported by the general sentiment. Marshal Serrano made no opposition and Alphonso XII returned from England, where he had been a student in the Royal Military Academy, and ascended the throne.

**Reign of Alphonso XII** (1875–1885). — The present Constitution was proclaimed on June 30, 1876. The political

liberties it secures are large in appearance. But ambiguous or qualifying phrases make it a liberal Constitution hardly more than in name, and place the reality of power in the hands of the sovereign, the executive. Legislative functions are exercised by the Cortes, which consists of a Senate and Congress of equal authority. The Senate is composed of senators "in their own right," — members of the royal family, grandees enjoying an annual income of over $12,000, captain-generals, admirals, archbishops and presidents of the supreme councils and courts — of senators named for life by the sovereign and of 180 senators elected by privileged bodies. The entire number at no time can exceed 360. The Congress of 431 deputies is elected by universal suffrage. By the law of June 26, 1890, all male Spaniards twenty-five years of age, except certain disqualified persons, are allowed to vote. The Cortes meets annually, and may at any time be suspended or dissolved. In the latter case a new Cortes must sit within three months. The Constitution declares Roman Catholicism the religion of the state, but no person can be molested for his private opinions or for the exercise of his own faith. At the same time no publicity of celebration or announcement, such as a notice upon the walls, is allowed to other communions.

The Carlist war was entirely suppressed. Estella, the headquarters of insurrection, surrendered (February 19, 1876) and Don Carlos fled to France. The Carlist party none the less exists to this day. His partisans were recruited among the mountains of the Basque and Navarrese provinces, which still retained their fueros, or special privileges, such as exemption from imposts and from military service. These fueros, which few preceding governments had dared to touch, were now formally abolished by vote of the Cortes (July 21). Another civil war was necessary to carry the vote into effect.

The disorder elsewhere began to diminish. The Carlists for a time were harmless. The republicans broke up into cliques or, under the lead of Castelar, rallied to the support of the throne. Two monarchist parties, the conservatives and the liberals, emerged from the political chaos. The former was led by Canovas del Castillo and the latter by Sagasta. One or the other of these two statesmen has been at the head of Spanish affairs since 1874, seven times succeeding each other as prime minister.

**Reign of Alphonso XIII. Regency of Queen Christina** (1885– ). — Alphonso XII died in his twenty-eighth year (November 25, 1885). His daughter, Maria de las Mercedes, would have succeeded had not the birth of a posthumous brother, Alphonso XIII (May 17, 1886) deprived her of the crown. The queen dowager, Christina, an archduchess of Austria, had been declared regent. A devoted wife, her whole life since the death of her husband has been consecrated to her son. If the young prince ever sits upon the throne, it will be due to his mother's sagacity and devotion. Nor is it strange if, in the effort to make him king, dynastic interests have sometimes outweighed the interests of Spain.

The queen confided the direction of affairs to Señor Sagasta, and indicated her preference for a liberal policy. The financial situation gave most concern. There was an ever-growing deficit, but any attempt to curtail always provoked fierce opposition. The socialists and anarchists redoubled their activity. At Xeres the latter tried to seize the town, and at Madrid to blow up the palace of the Cortes. The troubles at Barcelona could only be put down by martial law (1892). Meanwhile the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated with enthusiasm all over the country, but riots at Madrid ended the festivals. The one need was money. One day the mayor of the capital was to pay 16,000,000 pesetas. There were only 769,000 in the treasury. At Barcelona during a review an anarchist bomb severely wounded Marshal Campos, the commander-in-chief, and killed some of his staff, and at the theatre another bomb killed twenty spectators and wounded many more (1893). An insult from the Moors suddenly engrossed attention. Morocco escaped war only by agreeing to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas. Though smuggling was openly carried on, proposals to lower the tariff brought the country to the brink of revolution. Officers attacked the liberal newspapers and destroyed the presses. Catalonia rose in revolt. The republicans demanded the deposition of the dynasty. At the end of his resources, Sagasta resigned. Canovas formed a cabinet (March 22, 1895).

**Cuba.** — The chronic insurrection in Cuba had assumed alarming proportions. In the mind of the new prime minister, the Cuban question dwarfed all other problems with which he had to deal. He demanded an unlimited credit.

The army of General Gallega, commander of the Spanish troops in the island, though often reënforced, had been horribly decimated by yellow fever. Marshal Campos, considered the ablest soldier in Spain, was appointed to lead a new expedition. He selected with care 200 officers and 7000 men. General Valdez, director of the military school at Madrid, was his chief of staff. He sailed on April 2, 1895.

During the next two years and a half, though riots, rebellions and hideous anarchist outrages went on in Spain and the state of the finances grew constantly more appalling, Cuba filled the political horizon. Insurrection in the Philippines only diverted partial attention to the East. Had Cuba been, like Crete, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, Spain would have felt less concern. Its nearness to the United States rather than apprehension of the insurgents was the ground of her anxiety.

The hopes entertained of Marshal Campos were not realized. He was replaced (January 17, 1896) by Lieutenant-General Weyler, whose former cruelties in Cuba and Catalonia had given him a sinister reputation. This appointment roused outspoken indignation in the United States. Spain, however, regarded all expressions of American sympathy for the inhabitants of the island as insincere and prompted by selfish motives. While dreading intervention she took no efficient measures to remove the abuses on which intervention might be based. Nor was she likely to give a colony a much better administration than her own people enjoyed at home. The ministry however announced certain unsatisfactory reforms (February 6, 1897), of which the most prominent was the grant of a kind of autonomy to Cuba; but these reforms were to be applied only after the island was tranquil. The prime minister, Señor Canovas, was assassinated in broad daylight by an anarchist (August 8, 1897), and his lifelong rival, Señor Sagasta, took office.

General Weyler's policy of terrorism had proved even less effective than Marshal Campos' policy of pacification. Even the Spaniards denounced him. Formal communications from the American government (September 19 and October 5) increased the gravity of the situation. General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco appointed in his stead (October 9). A radical change in policy, with full autonomy for Cuba, was attempted. It was too late. Events had marched beyond the control of statesmanship

or diplomacy. An indiscreet letter of the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor de Lome, caused his resignation (February 8, 1898). The American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana (February 15) with the loss of 250 seamen and two officers. Common opinion attributed the catastrophe to the Spanish officials. In the United States the growing sentiment in favor of intervention could no longer be repressed.

Pope Leo III offered to mediate between the Cuban insurgents and the mother country (April 4). The six European Powers presented a joint note to President McKinley in the interests of peace (April 7). On April 20 President McKinley signed a resolution of Congress recognizing the independence of Cuba. The same day he sent an ultimatum to Spain, but before it could be delivered the Spanish government notified the American minister, General Woodford, that diplomatic relations with the United States were at an end. War had begun.

After an unbroken series of defeats, M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, in behalf of Spain, sued for peace (July 20). The peace protocol was signed at Washington (August 12). Spain relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba, ceded Porto Rico and all her possessions in the West Indies, and whatever island in the Ladrones the United States should select, assented to the occupation of Manila, — bay, harbor and city, — leaving to the treaty hereafter to be signed all matters relating to the Philippines, and agreed to immediately evacuate the West Indies. Both governments were to suspend hostilities as soon as the protocol was signed. Five commissioners from each nation, no later than October 1, were to conclude the definite treaty of peace.

Thus Spain departed from the hemisphere which she revealed to the world 406 years before. The news of peace was received with satisfaction by her exhausted people. She has now to concern herself with domestic affairs, but tranquillity is not the normal condition of the Iberian peninsula.

**Portugal.** — Doña Maria da Gloria II died in 1853. Her father, Pedro I of Brazil, had abdicated the Brazilian throne that he might devote his life to placing the Portuguese crown securely upon her head. Soon after expelling the usurper, Dom Miguel, Dom Pedro died (1834). The young

queen, a girl of fifteen, was left in a position of extreme difficulty. The country was in a condition hardly better than anarchy, and was threatened on one side by Great Britain and on the other by Spain. The great mass of the people were indifferent to politics, either domestic or foreign, but petty chiefs, who could seldom muster a thousand followers, kept the kingdom in continual turmoil. They veiled their pretensions under devotion to the liberal Constitution of 1812 or the democratic Constitution of 1822 or the absolutist Charter of 1826. But it is hard to discern in the machinations of progressists or septembrists or chartists anything higher than the eagerness of men out of power to dispossess those who held it and to obtain it for themselves.

Maria da Gloria was succeeded by her son, Pedro V. Since he was a minor his father, Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, acted as regent. Throughout this reign pestilence ravaged the kingdom. The young king, who had become of age in 1855, devoted himself to the welfare of his people, and refused to leave his plague-stricken capital. He died of cholera in 1861, as did also his brothers, Ferdinand and John. The throne was left to their brother Luiz. With him the shattered kingdom enjoyed at last a peaceful and prosperous reign. His death (October 9, 1889) caused profound grief all over the country. He had married Maria Pia, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy. Their son, Carlos I, is the present king of Portugal.

No European dynasty is more deservedly esteemed and loved by its subjects than the Portuguese house of Braganza. Nowhere is the stiffness of royal etiquette more relaxed, and nowhere are the relations of sovereign and people more familiar.

At the same time the condition of the kingdom is unsatisfactory. A naturally rich country is impoverished and bankrupt. The expenditure exceeds the revenue. It has been necessary to repress the anarchists with a stern hand. The 800,000 square miles of colonies, some of them dating from the proud days of the nation, are a burden rather than a source of income, and have several times involved troubles with other states. The army weighs heavily on a population of less than 5,000,000. But yet Portugal is in a far less unhappy state than fifty years ago.

The constitutional Charter of 1826 is still the fundamental

law. It has been modified at various times, lastly in 1895. Careful not to confound administrative functions, it enumerates them distinctly as the legislative, executive and judicial, and places above them the moderative, or the royal, power. Its strength is found in the sagacity of the sovereign and in the attachment of the people to the dynasty.

## XV

### GREAT BRITAIN

**The British Empire.** — The sovereign of the British Empire bears the title of "Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of its Colonies and Dependencies in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania." The immensity of this title is bewildering. But it affords only a faint indication of the stupendous fact that the British sovereign reigns not only over the most enormous empire the world ever saw, but over one vaster than the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander and Augustus Cæsar united. Its entire territory amounts to over 12,000,000 square miles, almost a quarter of the total land surface of the globe. Its inhabitants, subjects of the queen, number 390,000,000 human beings, more than a fourth of all mankind. Its preeminence upon the sea is even greater than upon the land. Its merchant navy has a tonnage of 13,641,000 tons, exceeding by 3,940,000 tons the tonnage of all the merchant fleets of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the United States combined. So the British seamen are not far wrong in regarding every ocean as a British lake.

That one little island, less than 90,000 square miles in area, on the western verge of Europe, has been able by its brain and enterprise to exert and secure such unparalleled and world-wide dominion is in itself the most astounding fact of modern history.

British interests, unlike those of any other people, are universal. It may be said that there is no point on the earth's surface that in some way does not touch Great Britain. In this sketch of the years between 1848 and 1898 nothing will be attempted beyond the outline of the most important facts.

**Great Britain in 1848.** — Queen Victoria had sat upon the throne since June 30, 1837. The two great Whigs were in office, Lord Russell as prime minister, and Lord Palmer-

CHANNEL ISLANDS
THE CASQUETS
ALDERNEY
GUERNSEY
Cherbourg
St. Pierre
SARK
JERSEY
St. Heller
FRANCE
Same Scale as Main Map
SHETLAND ISLANDS
YELL I.
UIST
HILLSWARK
FELLAR
PAPASTOUR
WHALSEY I.
MAINLAND
BRESSAY
Sumburgh Head
Same Scale as Main Map
ORKNEY ISLANDS
Dunnet Head
Butt of Lewis
Cape Wrath
Thurso
Duncansby Head
Tongue
Wick
FLANNIN I.
Stornoway
Inver
Dunbeath
THE MINCH
Helmsdale
Dornoch
Dornoch Firth
Tarbat Ness
Tain
Moray Firth
Cromarty
Losdemouth
Elgin
Banff
Fraserburg
Gairloch
Dingwall
Nairn
Peterhead
Fortrose
Deer
Huntly
Lochcarron
Inverness
Aird Pt.
THE LITTLE MINCH
ST. KILDA
N. UIST
Ft. Augustus
Caledonian Canal
Strathspey
Glenlivet
Newburgh
Grantown
Kinveury
Alford
R. Dee
Aberdeen
HEBRIDES OR WESTERN ISLANDS
S. UIST
BARRA
RUM I.
EIG I.
Steat Sd.
Ben Nevis
Stonehaven
Brechin
Bervie
Barra Head
COLL I.
Montrose
Forfar
TIREE I.
Glencoe
Dunkeld
Arbroath
Dundee
BELL ROCK
STAFFA
MULL
Crieff
Perth
Firth of Tay
St. Andrews
SKERRYMORE
Oban
Firth of Lorne
Inverary
Kinrose
Cupar
Stirling
Firth of Forth
NORTH SEA
Greenock
Dunbarton
Airdrie
Haddington
EDINBURGH
ISLAY
Ramsay
Paisley
Glasgow
Lanark
Greenlaw
Galashiels
Berwick upon Tweed
HOLY I.
Kilmarnock
Peebles
Selkirk
Alnwick
Malin Head
Giants Causeway
Ballycastle
Coleraine
Horn Head
TORY I.
Ayr
Hawick
Moffat
Sanquhar
Fair Hd.
Red Bay
Girvan
Morpeth
Newcastle
South Shields
Sunderland
Durham
Hartlepool
ARAN I.
Letterkenny
Newtown Limavaddy
Londonderry
Lifford
Ballymena
Newton Stewart
Dumfries
Greeting
Carlisle
Aldstone
Penrith
Wolsingham
Rossan Pt.
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
Antrim
Larne
Port Patrick
Wigton
Belfast
Carrickfergus
Ardglass
Benwee Head
Omagh
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Armagh
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ston as secretary of foreign affairs. It was the time of "unfulfilled revolutions." The chartist party, which had carried on agitation since 1832, went to pieces in a miserable fiasco (April 10). But its chief tenets, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, eligibility to the House of Commons, irrespective of property qualification, and payment of members, have already been accepted, or seem about to be accepted, as laws of the land. The Young Ireland party attempted armed revolution. Its leaders were arrested and sentenced, after trial, to transportation. But the Irish question remained to embarrass legislation through the remainder of the century and to force a gradual solution.

**Repeal of the Navigation Laws** (1849). — These laws were enacted in the days of Cromwell (1651). They were designed to cripple Holland, then the chief carrying power, and to develop English shipping. They prohibited the importation into England, Ireland or any English possession, of merchandise from either Asia, Africa or America, except in English built ships, commanded by Englishmen and manned by crews three-fourths of whom must be English. From Europe no goods could be imported except under the same conditions or in ships of the country where those goods were produced. Under these laws Holland had been crippled and the mastery of the seas secured to England. They had been gradually modified at various times. But they had become no longer necessary. Nevertheless their abolition encountered determined opposition.

**The Great Exhibition** (1851). — Since then there have been many universal or international exhibitions, notably at Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878 and 1889), Chicago (1893), but that at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park was unique, inasmuch as it was the first. Its inception was due to Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. The mere proposal to exhibit goods of foreign production and to invite foreigners to England encountered a storm of vituperation and abuse. The splendid edifice of iron and glass was itself the most fascinating part of a wonderful display. Over 30,000 visitors were present at the opening (May 1, 1851). The time chosen for the exhibition was most propitious, a sort of interim between the revolutionary storms of 1848 and the outbreak of the Crimean War. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, erected

(1854) from the materials used in the Palace of the Great Exhibition, now affords some slight conception of how imposing was the structure in which the nations for the first time met in peaceful and beneficent rivalry.

**The Part of Great Britain in the Crimean War** (1853–1857). — Various causes led Great Britain to participate in this war. The chief was dread of Russian expansion. It is the only war with a European state in which the empire has engaged since 1815 down to the present time. The country could well be proud of the invariable pluck displayed by the common soldiers at Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman. The Crimean campaign gave the world the inspiration derived from the deeds and name of Miss Florence Nightingale and directly contributed to the foundation of the Red Cross at Geneva in 1863. But in every other respect it brought a terrible disillusion to the British people.

The empire, almost omnipotent upon the water, found itself almost impotent against a civilized enemy on the land. The generals were incapable and sick. Confusion, disorder and fraud prevailed everywhere. Abundant stores had been paid for and shipped, but the soldiers were without food and their horses without hay. Whole regiments were without shoes. Immense quantities of boots arrived, but were found to be all for the left foot. Medical and surgical supplies were always at the wrong place, and the wounded and cholera-stricken received no care. Most galling was the superior condition of the French. But their allies were generous and provisions were constantly sent to the British from the French camp.

Even on their own dominion, the water, there had been failure. Amid exuberant demonstrations Sir Charles Napier, with a magnificent fleet, had sailed to attack Cronstadt, but, without accomplishing anything, had been forced to return.

As the state of affairs in the Crimea became gradually known in England, there was an outburst of popular rage. Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons introduced a motion to investigate the condition of the army and the conduct of the War Department. The government counted on its normal majority in a docile Parliament. It vigorously opposed the motion, which was none the less carried by a majority of 157. Indignation had proved itself stronger than party ties (January 31, 1855).

The energetic Lord Palmerston became prime minister. At once he despatched a sanitary commission to the Crimea and revolutionized the commissary department. The British were more ready for war the day it ended than they had been at any preceding time. But Britain had learned a bitter lesson. She set herself to the reform of her military system. Probably her grave errors in that war she will never repeat.

**Wars with Persia** (1857) **and China** (1857–1860). — The Persian war was quickly finished. The Shah's army was beaten at Koushaub and most of his southern ports occupied. He obtained peace on condition of evacuating Herat in Afghanistan, which he had seized.

The Chinese war was caused by the overbearing policy of Lord Palmerston. The coöperation of France was easily obtained, as she had an outstanding claim against the Chinese. Canton was captured (December, 1857). By the treaty of Tien Tsin (June, 1858) China agreed to pay the expenses of the war, to no longer apply the term "barbarian" to European residents and to allow British and French subjects a certain degree of access to the interior. Again troubles broke out (1859), whereupon the allies stormed Pekin, spent two days in burning the summer palace and forced China to accept their terms. This time she was to pay a main indemnity of $20,000,000, with other minor indemnities, to accept a British envoy at Pekin and to apologize for fighting at all. The vandalism of the allies in these expeditions was a disgrace to Western civilization.

**The Indian Mutiny** (1857–1858). — Many causes have been assigned for the Indian mutiny. The all-sufficient cause is to be found in the detestation which the natives entertained for foreign rule, and in their belief that at last the opportunity had come to shake it off. India was not then a possession of the British crown, but of the East India Company. Chartered in 1600 with a capital of £68,000, that company had rapidly swollen until, in 1857, it controlled a territory and a population many-fold larger than the territory and population of the British Islands. Its authority was maintained by a large standing army, mainly composed of sepoys, or Mussulman or Hindu natives, but in part of British troops, and commanded by British officers. In 1857 many of the European soldiers had been withdrawn

and the sepoys were left in dangerously large proportion. The latter were discontented and sullen. Mutinies were frequent, but had been always put down. Then a rumor spread among the troops that their new cartridges had been smeared with swine's fat, a defilement to the Mussulman, and with cow's fat, a profanation to the Hindoo. The cavalry regiment at Meerut mutinied (May 10). Insurrection flooded northern India like a volcanic eruption. It was not a concerted movement. It did not embrace all India. But it put in peril everything that Englishmen had acquired in the peninsula during 250 years. It revealed unsurpassed heroism among the British, both men and women, and made the names of Lieutenant Willoughby, General Havelock and many other British officers immortal. On the tomb of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was slain during the siege of Lucknow, the following words were engraved, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." The glorious epitaph would have applied no less well to hundreds of men and women who died during that awful time.

During their brief day of power, the sepoys had inflicted every conceivable horror upon their victims. When fortune changed, their conquerors were no more merciful. The mutiny was not entirely crushed until June, 1858. Soon afterwards the rule of the East India Company was terminated and the government of the country vested in the crown. Lord Canning was appointed the first viceroy of India (November, 1858).

**Lord Palmerston Prime Minister** (1859–1865). — Accused of subservience to the French emperor, Lord Palmerston had fallen from power in 1858. The conservative ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli did not last twelve months. Lord Palmerston again became prime minister, Lord Russell secretary of foreign affairs and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer. This strong Cabinet controlled the destinies of the empire for six years. One of its most important measures was the Cobden treaty with France (1860), whereby an immense step was taken toward free trade. In Jamaica an insurrection was repressed by Governor Eyre with extraordinary severity (1865).

**The Civil War in America** (1861–1865). — When the war of secession broke out, the attitude of Great Britain caused surprise and disappointment in America. With unfriendly haste the British government recognized the Confederacy as

a belligerent, and issued a proclamation of strict neutrality between the Federal Union and the seceded states (May 13, 1861). Then, regardless of its own proclamation, it permitted privateers like the *Florida* and the *Alabama* to be built in English yards and manned with English sailors in order to prey upon American commerce. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone and many members of the House of Commons, especially liberals, made remarks and speeches which left a sting. The Duke of Argyle, John Stuart Mill and the Manchester party of Cobden and Bright were staunch friends of the North. Mr. Disraeli was absolutely impartial. An American captain forcibly removed Confederate envoys from the *Trent*, a British mail-boat (November 8). This unjust act was speedily disavowed by President Lincoln, but the negotiations concerning it were conducted by the British secretary in an arrogant and overbearing tone. It was commonly believed that the American Union had broken to pieces, and Lord Palmerston never spared those whom he considered weak. While the controversy was hottest, the calm and judicious Prince Albert died (December 14, 1861), as sincerely lamented in the United States as in Great Britain.

Cotton had been obtained almost wholly from America. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off the supply and the mills shut down. Only charity saved the operatives from starvation. More than 480,000 persons in cotton-spinning Lancashire received assistance. But they believed slavery a crime. So, despite their misery, they never wavered in unselfish and never to be forgotten sympathy for the United States.

**Second Reform Bill** (1867). — Lord Palmerston died (October 18, 1865) and Lord Russell became prime minister. Mr. Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer. His Reform Bill failed, and Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli returned to office. The latter, convinced that the country urgently desired electoral reforms, introduced and carried what is known as the Second Reform Bill. This was a democratic measure, adding to the list almost 1,000,000 voters, specially among the workingmen. In the boroughs all householders who paid rates and lodgers who occupied buildings of an annual value of ten pounds became voters. So, too, in the counties did persons occupying houses or lands of twelve pounds annual value. This bill abolished

many inequalities, disfranchising small constituencies and securing increased representation to large ones.

**First Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (December, 1868–February, 1874). **The Irish Question.** — The elections under the Reform Bill gave the liberals a large majority and made Mr. Gladstone prime minister. The badly organized and ill-fated Fenian movement had been noisily dragging along for nine years. Mr. Gladstone grappled at once with the Irish question. Ireland had serious grounds of complaint. Those most apparent could be grouped roughly under two heads, the Church and the Land. As to the Church: the large majority of the Irish were intensely Catholic, but the Irish state church was Protestant, Anglican and heavily endowed. As to the Land: the position of the tenant was little removed from serfdom and he was practically at the mercy of his landlord. He could be evicted at the landlord's pleasure, and had no claim for money expended and improvements made. Mr. Gladstone's measure for the disestablishment of the Irish church and its partial disendowment became a law on July 26, 1869. His other measure, which freed the tenant from the grip of his landlord, guaranteed him the fruits of his labor and protected him by a special judiciary arrangement, became a law on August 1, 1870.

**The Alabama Claims.**—Under the "Alabama Claims" is summed up the gravest case the United States have had against Great Britain since 1776. Mr. Adams, the American minister to the Court of St. James, gave notice (November 20, 1862) that the United States solicited redress for the public and private injuries caused by the *Alabama*. Lord Russell denied any British liability for the same. Mr. Adams (April 5, 1865) submitted an official memorandum of the losses caused by the *Alabama*, and similar ships of war which had gone from Great Britain. He had previously suggested arbitration. Lord Russell replied that the British government declined "either to make reparation or compensation . . . or to refer the question to any foreign state." Succeeding British cabinets were less reserved.

The Johnson-Clarendon Convention to adjust these claims was rejected as unsatisfactory by the American Senate (April, 1869). The United States took no further action. Later on, when the European political sky grew threatening, Great Britain herself made overtures for an adjustment

(January, 1871). After long negotiations the whole matter was submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, the president of the United States, the queen of Great Britan, the king of Italy, the president of the Swiss Republic and the emperor of Brazil each appointing one commissioner. The tribunal, the British delegate alone dissenting, decided that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations," and awarded the United States an indemnity of $15,500,000 (September 14, 1872).

**Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Disraeli** (February, 1874–April, 1880). — Mr. Disraeli was created a peer under the title of Lord Beaconsfield in August, 1876. His administration concerned itself little with domestic politics, but won spectacular triumphs in foreign affairs. One morning he announced in the House of Commons that he had secured Great Britain proprietary control of the Suez Canal by purchasing the shares of the khedive of Egypt for £4,000,000 (February, 1876). He consolidated the authority of the queen over India by inducing her to assume the proud title of Kaiser-i-Hind, Empress of India, and by assembling a gorgeous durbar at Delhi, where all the chief native princes acclaimed Victoria as the successor of the Great Mogul (January, 1877). This dramatic ceremony made deeper impression upon the Oriental mind than any display of armies could have done. By peaceful convention with Turkey he acquired the island of Cyprus, which is of importance in commanding the Suez Canal, but, above all, counterbalances the Russian fortress of Kars and threatens the Syrian route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf (June 4, 1878). He imposed the Congress of Berlin on Russia (June, 1878), thus forcing that victorious empire to submit to the arbitrament of Europe and vindicating the principle that what concerns all cannot be decided by one alone. The territorial decisions of that congress, as of all similar international assemblies, were certain to be modified by circumstances and time, but the fact that the congress convened was a striking diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. The reverse of the picture is found in the Zulu war (1877–1879), the attempted annexation of the Transvaal Republic (1878–1881) and the second Afghan war in search of "a scientific frontier" (1878–1881), none of which increased the reputation of British justice or British arms.

Lord Beaconsfield died a year after his departure from office (April 19, 1881).

**Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (April, 1880–June, 1885). — The defeat of the University Bill for Ireland had thrown Mr. Gladstone from power in 1874. The Irish question thrust itself to the forefront throughout his second administration. In 1873 the Irish Home Rule movement had begun. Its founder, Mr. Butt, and his great successor in leadership, Mr. Parnell, were both Protestants. It sought self-government for Ireland in local affairs, but by legal means without violence. In 1879 the National Irish Land League was formed. It aimed at abolishing the iniquitous landlord system and introducing peasant proprietorship. The landlords were in the habit of evicting their tenants and the tenant of committing outrages in revenge. The government passed a coercive act, arrested Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders, threw them into prison and suppressed the Land League. Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, permanent under-secretary, were assassinated in Phœnix Park, Dublin (May 5, 1882). In unhappy Ireland coercion and murder kept pace.

**Occupation of Egypt** (1882). — The khedive acted as both ruler and proprietor of Egypt. The enormous loans which he had obtained in Europe resulted in the country being placed under the dual financial control of Great Britain and France. Rapidly succeeding khedives were lazy and weak and the interests of the natives were entirely ignored. France withdrew from the combination. Colonel Arabi Pasha raised the cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and began to fortify Alexandria. He desisted at the remonstrance of the British consul. A native mob plundered the European quarter and murdered several foreigners. Arabi Pasha went on with his defences. The British fleet bombarded the city, and meanwhile the infuriated populace massacred more than 2000 Europeans (July 12, 1882). Two days later the British forces disembarked and took possession. Arabi Pasha concentrated his army at Zagazig and Tel-el-Kebir. Attacked by General Wolseley (September 13), the Egyptians fought bravely, but finally took to flight, leaving 2000 dead. Arabi Pasha was exiled to Ceylon and the British have since occupied Egypt.

Mohammed Achmet, who proclaimed himself the Mahdi,

raised his banner in the Soudan and defeated four Egyptian armies (1880–1882). Next he destroyed an anglo-Egyptian force of 10,000 men, commanded by General Hicks Pasha and forty European officers (October, 1883). Of the host only two persons escaped death. General Gordon was sent from London (January 18, 1884) to extricate the Egyptian garrisons still remaining in the Soudan. Just one month later (February 18) he reached Khartoum, which was at once invested by the Arabs. In desperate need of assistance he seemed to be forgotten by his government. Toward the end of the year a powerful expedition started with precipitate haste to his relief. A few days earlier it might have saved him. Before it arrived, Khartoum had been captured and Major-General Gordon, one of the saintliest and most heroic soldiers England ever produced, was slain by the Arabs on January 27, 1885.

**The Third Reform Bill** (June, 1885). — This bill emphasized the progress of Great Britain toward universal suffrage, adding nearly 2,000,000 voters, largely from the agricultural classes, to the list. It redistricted the country on the basis of population and rectified the former undue proportion of members allowed the towns. Heretofore the towns had one deputy for every 41,200 inhabitants and the country districts one deputy for every 70,800.

**First Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury** (June, 1885–February, 1886). **Third Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (February, 1886–August, 1886). **The Irish Home Rule Bill.** — The liberal majority of 120 in the Commons had gradually shrunk to a minority. Lord Salisbury became prime minister. Five months afterwards Mr. Gladstone again took office. To the new House 335 liberals had been elected, 249 conservatives and eighty-six Irish home rulers. The system of coercion pursued by Mr. Gladstone in his former ministry had utterly failed. Completely reversing his preceding policy, he introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill. The Irish members abandoned their temporary alliance with the conservatives and rallied to its support. But the bill was opposed by many liberal leaders, among them Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright, who took the name of liberal unionists. It was defeated by a majority of thirty. Parliament was immediately dissolved.

**Second Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury** (Aug., 1886–

August, 1892). — The elections had given the conservatives and liberal unionists a majority of 112 over the Gladstonians and Irish home rulers combined. The policy of Lord Salisbury's second administration was vigor in foreign relations and renewed coercion in Ireland. The Bering Sea controversy with the United States in regard to the seal fisheries began in 1886 and was supposed to have secured a settlement in 1893. Parliament dissolved in 1892, having filled its allotted span of six years.

**Fourth Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (August, 1892–March, 1894). **Lord Rosebery Prime Minister** (March, 1894–June, 1895). **Third Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury** (June, 1895– ). — This time the united Gladstonians and Irish home rulers obtained a majority of forty-two, though among the English members there was an adverse majority of seventy. Mr. Gladstone was again prime minister. The Home Rule Bill, victorious in the House of Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords by a vote of more than ten to one. The venerable prime minister, at the age of eighty-four, resigned his high office, and advised the queen to intrust Lord Rosebery with the formation of a Cabinet.

Dissensions and internal rivalries soon further weakened the liberal party. At the elections in July, 1895, the conservatives obtained a clear majority and are no longer dependent on their still faithful allies, the liberal unionists, for support. The Irish question could not however be shelved. The ministry itself introduced an Irish Local Government Bill, which was approved by the House of Lords on July 29, 1898. The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury in his present ministry has been less vigorous than of old. In international questions, like the Armenian massacres or the Cretan insurrection, Great Britain has been content to act or to abstain from acting in concert with the great Powers. But no American should forget, when recalling our struggle of this present year with Spain, that the sympathies of the British government and people were almost unanimously upon our side. Lord Salisbury and the Englishmen of 1898 have not repeated the blunder of Lord Palmerston and the Englishmen of 1861–1865. On May 19, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died at the age of eighty-eight, admired and regretted by the world.

**Characteristics of the Reign of Queen Victoria.** — The first and most apparent is its length. Already the venerated

queen has honored the throne for more than sixty-one years. Edward III was king for fifty years and George III for fifty-nine. Thus the present sovereign has surpassed all her predecessors in the length of her reign. In its prosperity, its increasing imperial strength and its intellectual brilliancy, the only other English reign which can be brought into comparison is that of another woman, Queen Elizabeth. But the England of the sixteenth century was an undeveloped child beside that giant among the nations, the British Empire of to-day. This reign is memorable for its constant advance in political reform. The Civil Service Reform (1853–1855), the Removal of all Disabilities from the Jews (1859), the Abolition of Army Purchase and University Religious Tests (1871), the Ballot Act (1872), the Act for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections (1883), the Plimsoll Act for the Better Protection of Seamen (1886), the Employers' Liability Bill (1897), are among those hard-wrung acquisitions which, once secured, contribute to make a nation strong and great.

**Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone.** — Their swords first clashed in the House of Commons in February, 1852. The agony of their contest ended only when Gladstone pronounced his eloquent eulogy over the bier of his rival in April, 1881. Each thrice succeeded the other as chancellor of the exchequer. In the same year, 1868, both vaulted to the summit of British political ambition. Twice Mr. Disraeli gave place to Mr. Gladstone as prime minister. Disraeli, at first a radical, became a conservative, and Gladstone, at first a conservative, became a liberal. In both there always remained something of their earlier political creed. Disraeli failed in his Reform Bill of 1859, but gave the workingmen the Reform Bill of 1868. Gladstone failed in his Reform Bill of 1867, but gave the agricultural classes the Reform Bill of 1884. Disraeli presented Great Britain with Cyprus, a province of the Sultan, and Gladstone presented her with Egypt, another province of the Sultan. Both were endowed with unusual talent, but Gladstone was born in the purple of politics and Disraeli was the child of an ostracized race. To Gladstone honors came apparently unasked. To Disraeli honors came because he forced them to come. Each served Great Britain with his might. The figure of Gladstone, overshadowing because to-day removed from the world, hides to our eye the titanic proportions of

his rival so long under the sod. But as both recede in the horizon of the past, the problem will constantly grow more difficult as to which was the greater. For nothing is the reign more memorable than that two such men, through almost a generation, were pitted against each other in a political duel such as the history of statescraft nowhere else presents.

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# XVI

## PARTITION OF AFRICA, ASIA AND OCEANIA

**Seizure of Unoccupied Territory.** — A main characteristic of contemporary history is the division among themselves by the European Powers of the "unoccupied" portions of the globe. By "unoccupied" are meant all regions, not already reckoned as possessions of European governments or held by descendants of Europeans who have burst colonial bonds and founded independent states. That is, those territories which are not controlled by Europeans, or by descendants of Europeans, are politically reckoned as not "occupied" at all. This is simply the application in the nineteenth century of the principle held unquestioned 400 years ago.

The newly discovered western hemisphere was looked upon and treated by European nations in the sixteenth century as land destitute of inhabitants, or at most lived upon by inhabitants who had no political and almost no other rights. The treaties made with the natives were generally, in the estimation of the new-comers, merely additional precautions of self-defence, like the forts and stockades they built. As the stockades and forts were abandoned, when no longer of advantage, so, as the colonists grew strong, the treaties were commonly forgotten. The exceptional instances, when such was not the case, as in the dealings of William Penn, are dwelt upon as remarkable and awaken no more admiration than surprise. Some nations were less inhuman than others, but the process of converting the "unoccupied" into the "occupied" was everywhere the same. Nor did priority of occupation ensure possession to one European against another, unless it could be maintained by force.

The entire theory and practice of sixteenth-century occupation has been revived, specially in the last half of the present century. The justice or injustice of its application has never changed. If it was right when, at the end of the

Middle Ages, undreamed of regions were revealed to the wonder of Europe, it is right now. If it was wrong then, it is wrong now. The relatively increased superiority of the civilized over the uncivilized in arms and efficiency has made latter-day conquest more speedy and more effectual. Often it has been no less stoutly resisted. But conquest has not been essential to political occupation. Hundreds of thousands of square miles have been "occupied" with hardly the firing of a shot. International conventions and agreements have indicated upon the map a partition of lands and peoples, of which meanwhile the human beings appropriated have known nothing.

Before the year 1848 the Western hemisphere was "occupied." The weakness of its smaller independent states, whose citizens were largely of European origin, was protected by the Monroe doctrine of 1823. This doctrine declared that the American continents should not "be considered as subjects for colonization by the European Powers." Upon this declaration Great Britain and France have been the only European Powers to infringe.

But the grasp after empire in the Old World outside Europe during the last fifty years has been feverish and almost universal. It has repeated in spoliation and appropriation all that the New World ever experienced. Distance has counted for nothing, and sometimes the worthlessness of the acquisition no more. Technically the system of annexation has varied in different circumstances and at different times. Yet, reduced to plain terms, the process has been uniform and simple, merely to seize and to retain. Previous to 1848 only a relatively small proportion of Africa, Asia and Oceania had been "occupied." Now in Oceania there is hardly an island over which there does not float a European flag. Africa has been parcelled out among the Powers as half a dozen heirs might divide the farm of some intestate dead man. Asia, most venerable in history, mother of the nations, has been compressed in a grip ever tightening around her receding frontiers, or has resembled an island whose diminishing outer rim the aggressive waters rapidly wear away.

**Occupation of Africa.** — In 1848 isolated European colonies dotted the coasts of Africa, but less than 400,000 square miles of territory acknowledged European proprietorship. Away inland from this sparse outer fringe stretched a vague

vastitude of 11,000,000 square miles, unpossessed and unexplored. All this enormous territory has been mapped out and divided up. The German Empire has taken 1,000,000 square miles; Belgium in the Congo Free State 900,000; France 2,900,000; Portugal 800,000; and other less formidable national adventurers 500,000 more. In all Africa Morocco, Abyssinia, Liberia and a portion of the unbounded Sahara are the only regions to which European Powers do not put forth a claim.

Great Britain has already secured over 3,000,000 square miles. The present expedition up the Nile (August, 1898), under General Kitchener, aims at the conquest of the Soudan between Egypt and British East, or Equatorial, Africa. Its already assured success renders possible at no distant day the completion of a British trans-African railway, over 5000 miles long, from Alexandria to Cape Town, passing all the way through British territory.

**The Boer Republics.** — Nor has later occupation respected prior rights of European settlers, except as vindicated by arms. The Boers, descendants of the early Dutch colonists, a simple, primitive, Bible-reading people, emigrated from Cape Colony, after it became a British possession, and founded on the north and along the coast the Dutch Republic of Natal. The British, whose only claim was founded on superior strength, conquered and annexed this republic in 1843. Again the Boers emigrated, this time to the west and the interior, and founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, or South African Republic. The independence of both was formally recognized by the British government. To overthrow these two states and annex their territory of 168,000 square miles has been the constant endeavor of the British colonies of Natal, Cape of Good Hope and Rhodesia, which surround the Boer states except on the northeast. The British government was persuaded to proclaim the annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1877), but the Boers successfully resisted, by arms, this assault upon their independence. Likewise, in 1896, they defeated and captured a British force which, in violation of all treaties, was marching against their capital. Any participation in this attack was disclaimed by the British government, but the absorption of the brave little republics is only a question of time.

**Occupation of Asia.** — Asia might appear inviolable with her immensity of 14,700,000 square miles and her popula-

tion of 850,000,000 souls. Her countless hordes, set in resistless motion by a sudden common impulse, were until modern times the terror of mankind. Genghis Khan has not been dead 700 years nor Tamerlane 500. Yet, except Japan, which was galvanized into unwilling life by the United States in 1853 and seemingly sure of existence for the present, all Asia is at the mercy of Europe and protected only by the jealousies of the Western states. While other nations are active in their struggle after a share in Asiatic spoils, her conquest and division is being accomplished above all by Great Britain and Russia. Between the upper, or northern, millstone of Russia and the lower, or southern, millstone of Great Britain, she is being ground with the remorselessness of fate.

The barriers of the Caucasus were overthrown by the surrender of the Circassians and Schamyl (1859) to Prince Bariatinski. The Caspian has become a Russian lake. Nominally independent Persia is so completely under Russian influence as to resemble a protectorate. Across the subjugated khanates of Bokhara (1873), Khokand (1875), and Khiva (1875), Russia has pushed her outposts as far as the Tien Shan, or Celestial Mountains. By Turkestan, Siberia and Manchuria she envelops China on the west, north and northeast in a great concave.

In Southern Asia, Beloochistan, since 1854, has gradually disintegrated into a British "political agency." Afghanistan, on which Great Britain has expended millions of pounds and thousands of lives, still maintains a fluctuating, savage independence. Its emir, Abdur Rahman, elated with his successes, assumed (1896) the pompous Afghan title of "Light of Union and Religion," but the division of his states between the two empires is not thereby rendered remote. One-eighth of the Asiatic continent and more than a third of its entire population are contained in British India. By the acquisition of the feudatory state of Sikkim (1889) Great Britain plunges through the Himalayas and imperils China on the south. The kingdom of Burmah was attacked and annexed to the British dominions in 1885. To Singapore have been gradually annexed, mostly since 1848, the petty states of the Malay Peninsula under the name of the Straits Settlements.

The disintegration of the Chinese Empire was begun by the British in the opium war (1839–1842), by which the

island of Hong Kong was acquired. The opposite peninsula of Kau-Lung was ceded to Great Britain after the English and French wars with China in 1856–1860. Manchuria, north of the Amur and east of the Usuri, was ceded to Russia in 1860.

France, eager for Asiatic territory, annexed Cochin-China (1861), Cambodia (1862), Anam and Tonking (1884) and Siam east of the Mekong River (1893–1896), altogether an area of 383,000 square miles.

Japan, in one respect at least, caught the European spirit. She was emulous of similar conquests. After more than three years of careful and extensive preparation she believed herself ready and forced war on China (1894). The latter was wholly unprepared. Japan was everywhere victorious, both on sea and land. By the treaty of Shimonoseki (April 16, 1895), the conquerors compelled the cession of the island of Formosa (15,000 square miles) and an indemnity of 230,000,000 taels. Only the intervention of Russia, Germany and France rescued northeastern China from dismemberment by Japan.

During the last twelve months the Western Powers have engaged in rivalry, thus far without warfare, to acquire Chinese ports. The Germans obtained Kiao-chau (December, 1897), the Russians Port Arthur and Talien Wan (April, 1897) and the British Wei-Hai-Wei (April, 1897).

China is helpless to protect herself. No state is interested to defend her territorial integrity. A concession to any single Power awakens the jealousies of the rest, and its natural sequence is the demand for an equivalent. To all she is vulnerable along the Yellow, the Eastern and the South China seas. To only two, Great Britain and Russia, is she vulnerable by land. So, to her perils from all by water are added perils, more insidious because less manifest, from the two most powerful empires in the world. They hem her in upon the north, west and south, and no mountain boundaries are too high for the Russian and the Englishman to scale.

**Occupation of Oceania.** — Oceania is a comprehensive and elastic term, commonly denoting the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans. The largest of these, Australia, because of its prodigious extent of over 3,000,000 square miles, is often reckoned a continent. It is a British possession. Now inhabited by an active population of more

than 3,500,000 people, its first settlement dates from the middle, and its division into the five great constitutional states of Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia from the last half of the nineteenth century.

Papua, or New Guinea, "the largest island in the world," has been parcelled out between three Powers, Germany in 1884 acquiring 72,000 square miles under the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's land; Great Britain in 1888 acquiring 90,000 square miles; while the remainder, 150,000 square miles, is held by the Netherlands.

In Borneo, which is situated half-way between Australia and Hong Kong, a gradual accretion, since 1836, resulted in a formal British protectorate (1888–1890) over British North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak and the Limbang River district, altogether about 81,000 square miles. Its remaining 203,000 square miles belong to the Netherlands.

Madagascar, with its 228,500 square miles, is reckoned "the third largest island in the world." After a long succession of wars with the natives on the part of the French, it was recognized by Great Britain as a protectorate of France (1890) and became fully a French possession in 1896.

The three islands of Tasmania, or New Zealand, comprise 103,900 square miles. They received their first immigrants in 1839. A little territory was ceded by the native chiefs during the following year. Great Britain was able to assert an undisputed control in 1875.

Among the myriad other islands are the more than 1200 Philippines and the Carolines, Sulus and Ladrones, which for centuries have belonged to Spain, but whose destiny is now undetermined. Their area is 116,256 square miles. There are also the Moluccas and Java and Sumatra and many others with spicy names, making an area of 338,000 square miles, which, together with the Dutch territories in Borneo and New Guinea, constitute the Dutch East Indies. They have belonged to the Netherlands since the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company in 1798.

In the Pacific Great Britain acquired the 200 Fiji Islands, 8045 square miles, by cession of the native chiefs (1874); Pitcairn Island (1839); Labuan Island (1846); the twelve Manihikis (1888); the sixteen atolls called the Gilbert Islands (1892); Malden Island, rich in guano (1866); and

eighteen islands of the Santa Cruz and Duff groups (1898). She has also secured, mostly since 1848, the fifteen Hervey, or Cook Islands, the Palmerston Islands, Ducie Island, the Suvarof Islands, Dudoza Island, Victoria Island, the five clusters of the Tokelau or Union Islands, the eight Phœnix Islands, the islands and groups of the Lagoons, Starbuck Island, Jarvis Island, Christmas Island, Fanning Island, Washington Island and Palmyra Island. She acquired the southern half of the Solomon Islands (1893), Germany having seized the northern half of that archipelago in 1886. The New Hebrides Islands have been shared by Great Britain and France. To the thriving Island of Mauritius, taken from the French (1810), Great Britain has since added in one colonial dependency the Rodrigues, Seychelles, Amirantes, Cargados and the Oil Groups. The independence is at present recognized of the 150 Tonga, or Friendly Islands. So is that of the Samoan Islands by convention between Germany, Great Britain and the United States in 1889.

**The Route to India.** — To fortify the sea route to India and to hold the natural strongholds in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, from which the British Indian Empire might be threatened, has been the untiring preoccupation of British statesmen. This has been rendered necessary by the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The chain of Gibraltar (1704), Malta (1800), Cyprus (1878) and the Suez Canal itself (1876) is continued by the volcanic peninsula of Aden (1839), since enlarged by an acquired protectorate over an inland region of 8000 square miles, by Perim Island (1857), Sokotra Island (1876) and the Kuria Muria Islands off the Arabian coast. These last acquisitions guard the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and render the waters of the Red Sea more distinctively British than is St. George's Channel between England and Ireland. The eight Bahrein Islands, famous for their pearls, since 1857 sentinel in British interests the mouth of the Persian Gulf. With what might seem superfluous solicitude Great Britain annexed the Andaman Islands (1858) with a territory of 1760 square miles, the nineteen Nicobar Islands (1869) with a territory of 634 square miles, and the numerous coral group of the Laccadives with 744 square miles.

**Results of Territorial Expansion.** — In this movement of territorial expansion four nations have led the van. Dur-

ing the last fifty years Great Britain has taken possession of over 3,600,000 square miles of "unoccupied" territory, France of over 3,200,000 square miles and Russia and Germany of about 1,200,000 square miles apiece. Some of these acquisitions have been prompted only by lust for mere land or to forestall some other grasper. Increase of area always gratifies national vanity, but it by no means always indicates or secures corresponding increase in national wealth and strength.

Whatever the French and German colonial possessions may become in the future, thus far they have proved only a burden and a cause of expense without proportionate gain. In France, where the population is almost stationary, the land well divided among many petty proprietors and the colonial instinct weak, there is little to impel to emigration. Algeria is close to France, separated only by the width of the Mediterranean. Its natural advantages are great. Nowhere could French colonization have a more accessible and a more attractive field. Yet, after sixty-eight years of occupancy, the French colonists are fewer in number than those from the other European states, and the annual expenditure — not including interest on the growing debt nor necessary appropriations for the army and navy nor the cost of original conquest — exceeds the revenue by more than 19,000,000 francs. In the same way other and remoter French possessions, like Anam, Tonking, Madagascar and Cochin-China, make no effective appeal to French emigrants and are exhaustive drains upon the resources of France.

The Germans are a more prolific people than the French and more adventurous. Unequal distribution of land in their native country and social inequality render them ready emigrants. But they show disinclination to colonize where the imperial German system prevails. The Kameruns in Africa have been a colony for thirteen years. Their coast line is more than 200 miles long and their area more than 191,000 square miles. But in 1897 they had only 181 German residents. In Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, German since 1884, there were in 1896 only ninety-seven Germans. That is, in both colonies united there were not so many German emigrants as constantly cross the Atlantic from Bremen in a single ship. There is not a state in the American Union in which there are not to-day from four times to 1200 times as many German-born inhabitants as in both these two pet

colonies of the Kaiser. There are few if any German colonial dependencies where the revenue is a third of the expenditure.

The acquisitions of Russia and Great Britain, on the other hand, have been made in accordance with the nature of their people and on the lines of a sound policy. Neither has been tempted by mere territorial aggrandizement to acquire or retain what was without value or might become a source of weakness. So Russia was ready to sell Alaska, in 1867, to the United States and to give Japan, in 1875, the Kurile Islands in exchange for the southern half of Saghalien. Likewise, Great Britain, in 1864, could cede the Ionian Islands to Greece ; and Heligoland, in 1890, to Germany.

Russia is an immense, continuous land empire, situated in the north with a minimum of coast line. Her northern harbors are closed by ice through a large part of the year, and her southern harbors are prevented by physical or other causes from free access to great bodies of water. Her natural expansion would be eastward, southward and toward the sea. Thus in the Caucasus, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Turkestan and China she has ever pushed in this direction. Her conquests she easily assimilates and amalgamates their inhabitants to her own people.

Britain, the island centre of the British Empire, has no other highway than the seas. Her people are active, venturesome and aggressive. The contracted limits of the island force the expatriation of its prolific children. No other people equal them as colonizers and no other are so at home the world over. Commercial instinct joins with marvellous manufacturing ability to seek and find everywhere a market. As the development of Russia is inevitable and resistless by land, so is the development of Great Britain inevitable and resistless by sea.

## XVII

### THE UNITED STATES

**American History.** — The most important of all histories to an American is that of his own country. Not only does it appeal to his patriotism, but in it is found as nowhere else the story of self-government by the people. Moreover, during the last fifty years few nations have equalled the United States in contributions to the sum of human welfare and progress. A history so interesting and comprehensive cannot be summed up nor will it be sought in the limited compass of any compendium. This book deals primarily with European history. It will therefore be the object of this chapter to merely touch upon those points wherein the United States have come in contact with the rest of the world, rather than to narrate internal and domestic affairs.

**Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** (1848). **The Gadsden Purchase** (1853). The last half century is bounded at both its beginning and end by a war, the one with Mexico, the most powerful and most populous of the Spanish-American states, and the other, in 1898, with Spain herself. The first war, after a series of American successes, was terminated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848). Thereby the United States secured from Mexico the cession of 526,078 square miles and agreed to pay in return $15,000,000 and to satisfy claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of $3,250,000. This cession was rounded out in 1853, when Mr. Gadsden, for the sum of $10,000,000, purchased from Mexico, to which he was the American minister, 45,535 square miles south of the river Gila. From the region thus acquired have been carved California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and part of Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico.

**The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** (1850). — Intense excitement followed the discovery of gold in California early in 1848. During the following year between 80,000 and 100,000 eager gold hunters crowded to the newly opened mines. The

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United States already enjoyed the right of transit across the Isthmus of Panama, but it was of supreme importance to open up direct water communication with the distant territory. The consent and coöperation of Nicaragua was obtained by treaty for the construction of a ship canal from San Juan on the Atlantic through the lake of Nicaragua to the Pacific coast. But Great Britain claimed to exercise a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, who were supposed to occupy the eastern coast through which the canal was to pass. She refused to permit its joint construction by Nicaragua and the United States. In the subsequent negotiations between Mr. Clayton, the American secretary of state, and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador at Washington, who acted in behalf of the British government, Great Britain scored the diplomatic victory known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. By this treaty both the United States and Great Britain renounced any exclusive control over the proposed ship canal. At the same time, they both agreed to neither occupy, fortify nor colonize Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast or any part of Central America. The British government asserts that the first clause of the treaty is still in force. The American government, on the other hand, maintains that, as "Great Britain has persistently violated her agreement not to colonize the Central American coast," the treaty is void. The Spanish-American war of 1898 has even increased the necessity of a canal connecting the two oceans and has emphasized the fact that it must be under the unshared control of the United States.

**Complications with Austria** (1849–1854). — Great sympathy was felt for the Hungarians in their struggle with Austria. An agent was sent by President Taylor to obtain definite information as to whether recognition of the revolutionary government was warranted. Afterwards the frigate *Mississippi* was commissioned to bring the exiled leader, Kossuth, to the United States, where he was received with great enthusiasm. The Austrian chargé d'affaires at Washington sharply protested against the despatch of the agent and the reception of Kossuth. Daniel Webster had become secretary of state. He replied in a powerful state paper, setting forth the principles by which the American nation considered itself controlled in dealing with international affairs.

Later on trouble arose over Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had filed (1852) his declaration preliminary to naturalization as an American citizen. Visiting Smyrna in Asia Minor, in 1854, he was seized at the instigation of the Austrian consul-general by the crew of an Austrian frigate and thrown into irons. This was in contempt of the fact that he had an American passport in his possession. Demands for his release were refused. Thereupon the captain of an American man-of-war, then in the harbor, prepared to use force and cleared his deck for action. Koszta was then placed by the Austrians under the charge of the French consul-general, and was soon afterwards allowed to return to America.

**The Ostend Manifesto** (1854.) — The acquisition of Cuba, "the gem of the Antilles," was ardently desired by the Southern states of the American Union. Its chronic misgovernment called forth their sympathy, but, above all, if a possession of the United States, it would add to their political power. Under the direction of President Pierce Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, the American ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain, met at Ostend to consult as to the measures necessary for its acquisition (1854). Then they issued the results of their deliberations in what is called the Ostend Manifesto. This paper set forth the grounds on which the annexation of the island was desired. It caused a profound sensation and a measure of apprehension in Europe.

**Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan** (1852–1854). — In 1637 all foreign traders, except the Dutch and the Chinese, were expelled from Japan. By exceptional favor the Dutch were permitted to occupy the small, artificial island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki. Their commerce however was severely restricted, no vessels being allowed to enter except one merchantman a year from Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Up to the middle of the present century the Japanese jealously maintained their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The country suffered under a dual system of government, whereby the power of the de jure ruler, who resided at Kioto, was curtailed by the de facto ruler, the shogun, who resided at Yedo or Tokio. Meanwhile a party of less illiberal ideas was growing up which, while detesting the foreigners, desired to gain from abroad whatever advantages it could. It was

ignorant and ill-informed, but appreciated the superiority of foreign arms, arts and inventions.

Suddenly, without previous intimation of its coming, an American fleet made its appearance in the bay of Yedo (July 8, 1853). The astounded city was terror-stricken. No such sight had ever been seen in Japanese waters. That fleet had left America late in 1852 under the command of Commodore Perry, who was invested with extraordinary powers for the conclusion of treaties with Japan. As the bearer of a letter from President Fillmore, he refused to enter into communications with any except the highest dignitaries in the land. The Japanese were perplexed but courteous. The letter was delivered to the emperor. Then Commodore Perry sailed away, but returned in the following spring for his answer. His diplomatic ability after tedious negotiations partially broke down the bars of separation. It was agreed that the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be open to American vessels, that an American consul should reside at Shimoda and that Americans should enjoy a certain liberty of trade and travel in some of the coast cities. This first treaty between Japan and a foreign state was signed on May 31, 1854. The other nations in quick succession sought and obtained the same advantages. But it was the honor of the United States to have led the way. Without the firing of a shot she had opened Japan to the brotherhood of nations, and had brought Western civilization and commerce to her ports.

**The United States and China** (1858–1892). — The war carried on by the allied British and French against China in 1856–1860 gave much concern to the American government. Hon. W. B. Reed was sent by President Buchanan to watch the course of events and mediate if possible between the contending parties. On behalf of his government he negotiated a commercial treaty with the Chinese, wherein the language of several clauses reveals their well-founded suspicion of Western aims and methods. For six years (1861–1867) Hon. Anson Burlingame was American minister to the "Middle Kingdom." His rare tact made him the virtual director of the empire in its foreign relations. When about to return home, he was tendered and accepted the high position of envoy extraordinary from China to the Western Powers. With French and British secretaries and Chinese attachés he returned to his native country, and

there negotiated a treaty, advantageous and honorable to both China and the United States, which was approved on July 16, 1868. Ten years later (1878) a Chinese embassy was established at Washington, when Chen Lan Pin was received by President Hayes as minister plenipotentiary. Fourteen years later still the Chinese Exclusion Act was introduced to "absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons to the United States." Its object was to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers. Their immigration had assumed so large proportions as to cause anxiety, specially on the Pacific coast. The bill, called the Geary Act because introduced by Mr. Geary of California, after some modifications was approved by both Houses and received the signature of President Harrison (May 5, 1892).

**The Civil War** (1861–1865). — The question of slavery had become the most persistent and complex in American political life. Prominent ever since the foundation of the Union, gradually it had crowded all other questions to the background. In 1860 fifteen states employed slave labor. The sixteen other states did not. The former were commonly called Southern or slave states, and the latter Northern or free states. The presidential election of 1860 disclosed the nation drawn up in sectional lines. Mr. Lincoln uttered a great truth when he declared, in 1858, that, "This government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." An overwhelming electoral defeat proved to the Southern states that they could not in the Union extend their peculiar labor system beyond their own borders. Inside their own borders they believed that system in danger. Eleven states asserted that they had a right to secede, passed enactments withdrawing from the Union, and formed a political association under the name of the Confederate States of America.

The corner-stone of the new state edifice was slavery. The eleven states had seceded in order to extend, or at least perpetuate, slavery. The great majority of the other states regarded secession as a crime and took up arms to maintain the Union. The seceded states took up arms to vindicate their right of secession. Slavery had brought on the armed conflict, but the perpetuity or dissolution of the American Union was the vital issue.

The first gun was fired when Fort Sumter, off Charleston,

South Carolina, was attacked by the Confederate General Beauregard, on April 12, 1861. The surrender of the Confederate General Lee to General Grant took place at Appomattox Court House, in Virginia, on April 9, 1865. These two events mark the armed beginning and conclusion of a civil war which, as to the number of soldiers engaged, the number of battles fought and the cost of the struggle, is unequalled in history. To maintain the Union the Federal government brought into the field 2,778,304 soldiers. To overthrow the Union the Confederate government brought into the field nearly 1,000,000. Altogether in that four years' agony there were 2265 engagements, ranging from petty skirmishes between handfuls of men up to pitched battles lasting for days and fought with ferocious determination between hundreds of thousands. Over 360,000 Federal soldiers fell in battle or died of wounds or disease. The Federal debt at the conclusion of the struggle had swollen to $2,808,549,437.55. The entire cost to the victorious party is commonly reckoned at $8,000,000,000, figures so vast that they baffle realization. "Never in the same space of time has there been a material expenditure so great."

The arbitrament of the sword decided two questions which, with equal definiteness and permanence, could be determined in no other way. The first question concerned the American Union, the permanence of which was demonstrated and guaranteed. There was to be but one flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. The second question concerned the system of human slavery, which was abolished upon the continent. Under the protection of that flag all were to be free men.

On April 14, 1865, the great-hearted president, Mr. Lincoln, was smitten down by the hand of an assassin. In his arduous office he had so borne himself as to win the respect and admiration, not only of his own country, but of the world. His murder called forth universal expressions of grief and horror.

When the war ended there was no proscription of the conquered; no court martials or gibbets blackened the land. The survivors of the victorious and vanquished hosts returned at once to the ordinary avocations of life, and, with no shock to the body politic, devoted themselves to the pursuits of peace. But all the disorders of a four years' war could not disappear in a day. The folly and crime of

secession, even after it was overthrown, left the seceded states in an anomalous condition. The so-called period of reconstruction lasted for twelve years.

Most of the foreign Powers, at least their governing classes, had never believed in the stability of the American Republic. At first Europe considered the Civil War certain to result in the dissolution of the Union. Except as involving larger masses of men and spread in a wider area, it was regarded somewhat as we are wont to look upon revolutions and commotions in the states of Central or South America. As it progressed the world looked on aghast at the proportions of the struggle, but continued incredulous of Federal success. Napoleon III and a powerful party in Great Britain wished to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Such recognition would have plunged the American government in war with Great Britain and France, at a time when its utmost resources were strained in the effort to overthrow the Confederacy. It was the statesmanship of Mr. Seward, secretary of state, and the diplomacy of Mr. Adams, minister to the Court of St. James, which rescued the nation from imminent foreign peril. But they could not prevent the fitting out of the *Alabama* and of her ten sister corsairs in British ports, which swept American commerce from the sea. The final adjustment of the Alabama claims is narrated in the chapter on the British Empire.

**Question of the Northwestern Boundary** (1872). — The water boundary on the northwestern frontier between the United States and the British possessions was still in dispute. A group of islands, of which San Juan, "the Cronstadt of the Pacific," was the most important, formed the so-called Haro Archipelago in the waters between Vancouver Island and Washington Territory. To these islands both the United States and Great Britain laid claim. The question was submitted by the two interested parties to the German emperor for arbitration. His decision assigned the entire group to the United States.

**The Centennial Exhibition** (1876). — This year the United States celebrated the hundredth anniversary of independence. It was felt that in no way could that great event be more fitly honored than by an exhibition in which all the nations of the world should be invited to take part. The appropriate spot for such a gathering was the historic city in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed.

With small assistance in the labor and cost on the part of the national government, the project was carried to a triumphant conclusion. The city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and some of the thirteen original colonies were specially instrumental in its success. The exhibition was opened by President Grant. It was visited by 9,910,000 persons. There were over 30,000 exhibitors. Spain and her colonies made a more numerous display than did any other foreign state.

**The Newfoundland Fisheries. The Halifax Award** (1877). — The treaties with Great Britain after the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 left the rights of American fishermen off the coast of Newfoundland in a state of irritating uncertainty. Nor did subsequent efforts to adjust their grievances meet much success. The definite specifications of the treaty of Washington (1871), it was claimed by the British government, granted greater advantages in the fisheries to the Americans than to its own subjects. It was decided that a commission of arbitration should determine the compensation which ought to be paid therefor by the United States. The two commissioners being unable to agree, the Austrian ambassador to London was invited to nominate a third member. He named the Belgian minister to the United States. Meeting at Halifax (1877) the arbitrators decided, by a vote of two to one, that the United States should pay "$5,500,000 for the use of the fishery privileges for twelve years."

**The Presidential Election of 1876.** — After a campaign of unusual vigor the result was disputed. Mr. Tilden, the democratic candidate, had received a plurality in the popular vote of 250,000 over Mr. Hayes, his republican opponent. But the election was to be decided by the votes of 369 electors, chosen by the several states. The democratic party claimed 203 of these votes, allowing 166 to the republicans. The republicans claimed 185, allowing 184 to the democrats. The four votes of Florida, the eight votes of Louisiana and the seven votes of South Carolina were claimed by both parties. There were also difficulties as to the vote of Oregon. The Constitution provided no way for meeting the emergency of a contested presidential election. From November 7, 1876, until March 2, 1877, the whole country was in intense excitement. Any solution was preferable to civil war. An extraordinary commission was

created. It comprised five justices of the Supreme Court, five senators and five members of the House of Representatives, and it was to decide. The commission consisted of eight republicans and seven democrats. By a strict party vote and a majority of one, Mr. Hayes was declared president. The entire nation at once accepted the verdict. It had passed through the most trying crisis in its political history. No severer test could have been applied to the patriotism and the love of peace of the American people.

**Assassination of President Garfield** (1881). — General Garfield had been chosen to succeed President Hayes and was inaugurated March, 1881. With Mr. Blaine, the secretary of state, he was about to take a train at the Baltimore and Potomac Railway station in Washington (July 21, 1881) when he was shot down by a half-crazy politician. The murderer, disappointed in his hopes of securing the consul-generalship at Paris, had resolved upon this revenge. The president lingered between life and death, and in great suffering, until September 19. His unflinching patience and heroism, together with detestation of the crime, awoke profound and equal sympathy both at home and abroad.

**Civil Service Reform Bill** (1883). — Appointment to civil office, even in the early days of the Republic, was based largely upon the principle of reward for party service. An incoming administration, on finding lucrative and important positions in the hands of political antagonists, replaced them by its own adherents. Thus a spoils system was rapidly developed. Under it a new executive was expected, and even required, to distribute among his own adherents the offices as a sort of conquered property. Furthermore, the incumbents were heavily assessed for contributions to party expenses. Various presidents denounced the abuse, with which none seemed strong enough to cope. The National Civil Service Reform League, founded in 1881, sought to substitute the spoils system by a merit system, determined by competitive examination. After much agitation, in 1883, the Civil Service Reform Bill, which had been introduced by Senator Pendleton of Ohio, was passed. This act applied to more than 14,000 offices, about one-half of which were in departments at Washington, and in twenty-five specified custom offices, and the other half in twenty-three post-offices. The act also aimed at the suppression of political assessments among officers of the government.

**The Bering Sea Controversy over the Seal Fisheries** (1886–1898). — The United States claimed, by the purchase of Alaska, to have acquired exclusive rights in Bering Sea. To protect the fur seals, which were in danger of extermination, it seized Canadian vessels engaged in the seal fishery in those waters (1886). The controversy arising was submitted to international arbitration. The commissioners met at Paris (1893), and their decisions were in the main unfavorable to the contention of the United States. But they unanimously prescribed regulations which, if enforced by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, would have been sufficient to prevent the extinction of a valuable industry. In 1894 the Canadian sealers agreed to accept $425,000 in full settlement of their claims against the United States, but the dispute is not yet closed.

**Trouble with Chili** (1891–1892). — In the Chilian civil war (1891), which ended with the overthrow and suicide of President Balmaceda, the American minister had shown an injudicious and active sympathy for the defeated party. Afterwards he had afforded them an asylum at his legation and extended them his protection on their endeavor to leave the country. The Chilian authorities complained at this interference with their domestic affairs, but could obtain no redress from Washington. Soon afterwards some sailors of the American man-of-war, *Baltimore,* on landing at Valparaiso were attacked by a mob. Two sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. When satisfaction was demanded, the Chilian minister of foreign affairs, Señor Matta, gave an insulting reply. During the next month he fell from office. His successor instructed the Chilian minister at Washington to make an ample apology. Soon afterwards he requested the recall of the American minister, Mr. Egan, as a persona non grata. The American government was dissatisfied with the investigation of the murder of the sailors, refused to withdraw Mr. Egan, sent Chili an ultimatum and prepared for war. On January 23, 1892, President Harrison communicated a lengthy message to Congress, wherein he narrated the whole controversy in detail. On that same day, before the despatch of the presidential message, a humble and comprehensive apology was on its way from Chili, which prevented any further hostile demonstration.

**The Columbian Exhibition** (1893). — America was discov-

ered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The American government and people determined that the 400th anniversary of that event should be celebrated in a manner commensurate with its magnitude. It was decided to request all mankind to participate in a commemorative world's fair, to be held at Chicago, the metropolis of the northwest. In pursuance of an act of Congress, approved on April 25, 1890, the president issued his official proclamation (December 24), inviting all nations to coöperate in the celebration. With splendid military and civil ceremonies the grounds and buildings were dedicated to the grand undertaking in October, 1892.

An international review, preliminary to the formal opening, was held in New York harbor (April 27, 1893). Spanish warships towed facsimiles of Columbus' vessels, the *Santa Maria*, *Nina* and *Pinta*, and in the pageant the warships of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France and other nations took part. On the next day seamen and soldiers from the foreign men-of-war, in imposing parade, marched through Broadway and Fifth Avenue.

On Monday, May 1, President Cleveland, attended by the vice-president and cabinet, opened the Exhibition at Chicago. The president, in a brief address, declared that the true significance of the scene was found in the universal brotherhood which it exemplified. Then he pressed the electric button which set in motion the many hundred pieces of machinery. In the entire area of 666 acres, more than 142 acres were covered by buildings. Eighty-six principalities, colonies and nations were represented by exhibitors, who, during the summer, disposed of more than $10,000,000 worth of the goods which they displayed.

Nor was the convocation limited to the visible and material. There was no branch of human thought and activity which was not represented by international congresses convened. Ninety-five special committees watched over the general divisions of the purely intellectual departments and appointed advisory councils for each. It was a world's parliament as much as a world's exhibition.

No words can do justice to, or give an idea of, the splendor and vastness of the whole, of the varied and exquisite architecture, or of the multitudes, representing all races, languages and lands, who thronged through its gates. On Chicago Day more than 700,000 persons were present.

Before it closed, on October 30, 1893, it had been visited by over 24,000,000 people. "Stupendous in conception and admirable in execution," nothing like it had ever been presented to mankind.

**The Venezuela Message** (December 17, 1895). — A dispute had long been going on between Great Britain and Venezuela. The latter country asserted that the former had encroached upon her territory and was arbitrarily advancing the boundary of British Guiana to her own advantage. It was believed in America that Great Britain was trampling upon the rights of a weak South American state. In a despatch to the British government (July 20, 1895), Mr. Olney, the American secretary of state, had recapitulated the points at issue and asked for a definite answer as to whether the British government would submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration. He added, in conclusion, that a reply in the negative would contribute to embarrass the future relations of the United States and Great Britain.

The answer of Lord Salisbury, the prime minister (November 26), was a general denial of the Monroe doctrine as a doctrine of international law. Furthermore he asserted that, even were it to be regarded, that doctrine had no application to the case. He concluded by firmly refusing to even entertain the idea of arbitration.

In consequence of this definite reply, President Cleveland (December 17) sent a special message to Congress. He expressed his deep disappointment that Great Britain persisted in her determination not to submit the matter to arbitration. He declared it incumbent on the United States, by investigation, to determine "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." Then, after having once ascertained what of right belonged to Venezuela, he declared that it would be "the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power" any aggression upon, or appropriation of the lands of that state. This was a strongly worded and a significant document. It was received with applause and approval in Congress, but popular sentiment was divided. Many supposed that Great Britain would fight rather than yield. In January, 1896, in accordance with his message, President Cleveland appointed a boundary commission to investigate and determine the true frontier. However, before this com-

mission reported, Lord Salisbury had abandoned his former attitude and consented to a treaty of arbitration between Venezuela and Great Britain. This treaty was finally ratified on June 15, 1897. All for which the American government had contended was attained.

**Annexation of Hawaii** (1898). — A revolution in the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii, dethroned Queen Liliuokalani (January 16, 1893). At the request of the provisional government, the American minister landed a body of marines and proclaimed a protectorate of the United States over the islands (February 1). President Harrison strongly advocated their annexation, but the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate could not be obtained. Mr. Cleveland, who soon again became president, opposed the measure throughout his entire term. With the advent to power of President McKinley the annexationists, both in Hawaii and the United States, redoubled their efforts They were strongly supported by Mr. Dole, the Hawaiian president. The war with Spain, when Americans were compelled to fight in the far Pacific, showed still more clearly the importance of those islands to the United States. This time a two-thirds vote in both Houses approved annexation, and the bill was signed by President McKinley (July 7, 1898). Five years of delay had only increased the desire for their acquisition. The accomplished fact was received with general favor in both countries. On August 16 the Hawaiian flag was lowered from the official staff in Honolulu and the Stars and Stripes took its place.

**War with Spain** (1898). — It was unfortunate for Spanish supremacy that Cuba was hardly more than 130 miles distant from the United States. The contrast was presented close at hand of two forms of administration, the direct opposite of each other. On the mainland self-government by the people afforded material prosperity and security of life and fortune. On the island a despotic and corrupt colonial system ignored local interests and sought only the advantage of Spain, remote on the other side of the ocean. Neither civil, political nor religious liberty existed in Cuba. The Cubans were excluded from the public offices, which were filled by Spaniards, and oppressed by a heavy taxation to support the army and navy which held them in subjection. Their discontent grew more sullen through generations. They did not wish to become Americans, but it was natural

in the misery of their condition that they desired to possess and exercise some of the natural rights which their American neighbors enjoyed.

During this century they have made many conspiracies and insurrections. After Spain overthrew her Bourbon monarchy, in 1868, the Cubans at Manzanillo made a declaration of independence. Most of the South American states recognized them as belligerents. Spain was able to put down this movement only by sending to the island 150,000 soldiers under her ablest commanders. The suppression of this rebellion required twelve years. While it went on, trade decreased, agriculture was neglected, but the taxes were more than doubled.

During the period of partial tranquillity that ensued various measures of relief were proposed by the Spanish government. But as to enforcement they remained a dead letter. Slavery however was abolished in 1886.

The last insurrection assumed alarming proportions in 1894. The insurgents husbanded their strength. Avoiding pitched battles, they devastated the country and cut off Spanish detachments wherever they could. The reprisals of both parties were merciless. A reign of terror prevailed except in the larger and garrisoned towns. Sugar and tobacco were the two chief Cuban products. Incendiarism ruined the sugar cultivation in 1896. A decree of the Cortes (May 12, 1896) forbade the exportation of the tobacco leaf except to Spain. Tobacco leaf exports, over 30,000,000 pounds in 1895, shrank to half that amount in 1896. Thus the fairest island in the New World was rapidly relapsing into savagery and becoming a desert. Marshal Campos was despatched with large forces to reënforce the Spanish armies and restore order (April 2, 1895). General Weyler was sent to supersede him ten months later, but was in turn replaced by General Blanco in October, 1897. The latter came with a proposition of autonomy for the island. Incessantly a procession of warships was steaming across the ocean, bringing arms and ammunition and men. But the insurrection was not put down. Instead of showing weakness it developed strength.

An American instinctively sympathizes with any people fighting against oppression and for freedom. Sympathy for the Cubans was expressed, as it had been many times before, in party platforms, at public meetings, in the press

and pulpit and on the floor of Congress. With expense and difficulty the American government has sought through this century to enforce its neutrality laws. When general excitement prevails, this task is always difficult, even for a limited time. But when the disturbing causes are permanent and without alleviation, its performance becomes well-nigh impossible. Moreover, in such abnormal condition of affairs, a nation, so intimately involved in both its material and moral interests as the United States, has not only responsibilities to a foreign government, but duties to its own people and itself.

The American people did not wish for war; the desire, formerly existing for the annexation of Cuba, had died away, but they were resolved that the horrors in Cuba should cease.

None the less, President Cleveland and his successor, President McKinley, strictly observed their international obligations. A proclamation of warning was issued (June 12, 1895) to Cuban filibusters, and several men were arrested and lodged in jail. Another proclamation enforced neutrality (August, 1896). During that year the revenue officers captured seven filibusters and intercepted two expeditions. Many state conventions and legislatures in 1895 demanded that the Cubans should be recognized as belligerents. Resolutions to that effect passed the Senate by sixty-four votes to six and the House by 244 to twenty-seven (April, 1896). Such recognition to become effective required the assent of the chief magistrate, who withheld his approval. President McKinley, in 1897 and 1898, steadfastly opposed recognition of the independence of Cuba. But Spain was incensed at the persistence of the insurgents, at the impossibility of reducing them to subjection, and at the sympathy shown both them and the starving reconcentrados, or non-combatants, by the American people. Every communication from the American government was received with ill-disguised distrust and aversion.

To the mounting wave of popular sentiment, which seemed likely to sweep everything before it, two important events gave added volume. The first was of diplomatic gravity. A letter was written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister at Washington, which not only referred with insulting terms to the American chief magistrate, but contained an intimation that Spain was not acting in good

faith and was seeking, by trickery in her negotiations, to deceive the United States. This letter fell into the hands of the insurgents and was published (February 8, 1898). Señor de Lome resigned, but he had caused every after act of his government to be regarded with suspicion. This incident was trivial compared with an awful subsequent tragedy. On February 15, the American battleship *Maine*, while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by explosion. More than 250 officers and sailors were instantly killed. The American court of inquiry were of opinion that a submarine mine caused the catastrophe. But whether discharged by accident or design and, in the latter case, by whom, is unknown.

In view of possible contingencies the House of Representatives, by a unanimous vote, placed $50,000,000 at the unqualified disposal of the president as a special fund for national defence (March 8). The Senate on the following day unanimously approved the same. After long delay, which contrasted strongly with the feverish impatience of the people, President McKinley sent an elaborate message on Cuban affairs to Congress (April 11). Temperate but firm in tone, it asked authority for the president to terminate hostilities between Spain and Cuba and to secure tranquillity to the tormented island. On April 19 both Houses recognized Cuban independence, invited Spain to withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directed the president to employ the forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect. The next day an ultimatum was cabled to Madrid. Without waiting for its reception, the Spanish Cabinet informed the American minister, General Woodford, that Spain regarded the action already taken by the United States as a declaration of war.

The war thus began on April 21. On July 26, through M. Cambon, French ambassador at Washington, Spain opened negotiations for peace. The conflict had then lasted only ninety-six days. Its continuance had been an unbroken succession of calamities for Spain. To an American it is rendered memorable by the victory of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay (May 1) when the fleet of Admiral Montojo was destroyed, by the annihilation of the squadron of Admiral Cervera off Santiago harbor (July 3), and by the surrender of the city of Santiago and of the adjacent dis-

trict with all the troops and munitions of war (July 17). The whole country knows the whole story by heart.

The peace protocol was signed (August 12) by Mr. Day, American secretary of state, and M. Cambon in behalf of Spain. Spain had been utterly crushed and was hopeless. Neither had she received real friendship from a single European nation in the hour of her necessity and distress. With generosity, rare on the part of a victorious nation, the United States imposed no pecuniary indemnity upon the vanquished. But Spain was to abandon all her trans-Atlantic possessions and withdraw from the New World. A suspension of hostilities was immediately ordered. But on the next day, before the news could reach them, the American forces in the Philippines had attacked and captured the city of Manila.

This last war was far more than a mere armed struggle between two peoples. However long delayed, the conflict was sure to come between the democratic spirit of America and the mediæval spirit of Spain. The continent was not broad enough for the permanent continuance of two so antagonistic systems face to face. When the two systems clashed in battle, no doubt was possible as to the ultimate result. But that the ships and sailors of the United States were destined in contribution to that result to achieve the first great naval victory ever won by a Christian nation on the waters of the Pacific, no man could have foretold. If the issues at stake were in their application world-wide, so too was the arena.

An attempt at this early date to sum up the consequences would be presumption. Two at least are already sure. At home, in the United States points of compass are blotted out. The lingering wounds of the Civil War are healed. For Americans there is now neither a north, a south, an east nor a west. There is only one common country. Abroad, the republic has made itself respected and recognized as it never was before. Its potent voice in behalf of humanity and freedom has been heard around the globe. The State can no longer remain isolated in the Western seclusion if it would. Almost against her will America has taken her seat in the parliament of the nations.

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